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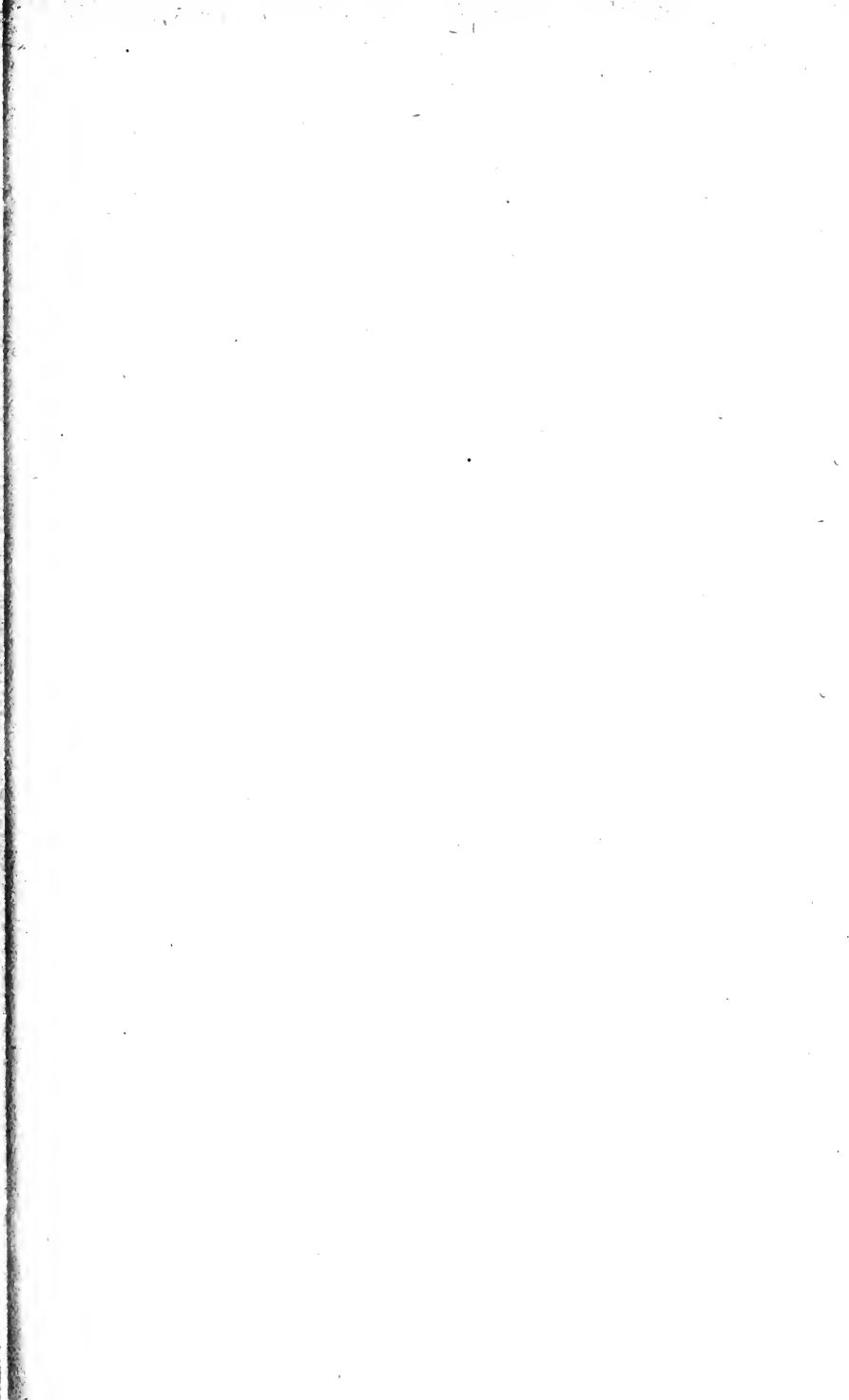


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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1891.

ART. I.—THE PENAL LAWS—AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

THE great dividing line in the religious history of this country is the year 1535—the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII. From the days of St. Augustine till then, England was in full communion with the See of Rome, and her laws recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The “Act concerning the King’s Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same” (26 Henry VIII. c. 1), severed the nation from the unity of Christendom, and transferred the Papal jurisdiction to “the Imperial Crown of this realm,” with which, except during the brief reign of Philip and Mary, it has since remained united. In popular language, this fact is expressed by the statement that up to the year 1535 England was Catholic and has since been Protestant. And the statement is perfectly accurate. Mr. Bryce has well observed: “The whole fabric of mediæval Christianity rested upon the idea of the Visible Church. Such a Church could be in nowise local or limited. To acquiesce in the establishment of National Churches would have appeared to those men, as it must always appear when scrutinised, contrary to the nature of a religious body, opposed to the genius of Christianity. . . . Had this plan, on which so many have dwelt with complacency in later times, been proposed either to the primitive Church in its adversity, or to the dominant Church of the ninth century, it would have been rejected with horror, but since there were as yet no nations, the plan was one which did not, and could not,

present itself.”* Unquestionably, the idea of the Church Catholic dominated the European mind from the very introduction of the Christian religion until the close of the Middle Ages. Protestantism represents—such is its inner meaning—the disallowance of that idea. The essence of the movement called the Reformation, in all the different forms which it assumed in various European countries, is not the denial of one or another article of the Catholic Creed, but the rejection of ecclesiastical unity and universality, and of the Supreme Pastorate which is the *Sacramentum Unitatis*. Hence the appropriateness of the name Protestant because it implied nothing positive and might be used, indifferently, by all who protested against and threw off the authority of the Church.†

The special characteristic of the English Reformation is that it attributed to the Crown the whole of the authority which it denied to the Pope. It is on this account that I have called the year 1535 the dividing line in the religious history of England. Archbishop Tait insists that what he terms “the national settlement” dates from the previous year, when by the Act of the 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, “appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were first forbidden, and the rule of appeal to the king, from the Archbishops’ Courts, the principle of which has ever since been maintained, was finally settled.”‡ But the change wrought by Henry VIII. went far beyond this prohibition of appeals to the Apostolic See. It involved his assumption of the entire spiritual jurisdiction, the whole ecclesiastical authority, previously exercised in this country by the Supreme Pontiff. It is declared by the 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, that “the king, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this realm, as well the style and title thereof, and all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining: and shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to

* “The Holy Roman Empire,” p. 95, eighth edition. On the rise of the European nations, see my “Chapters in European History,” vol. i. pp. 106–110.

† On this subject see Möhler’s “Kirchengeschichte,” vol. iii. p. 132.

‡ Preface to Broderick and Freemantle’s “Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council,” p. 10. I quote Archbishop Tait’s words as I find them. But, as a matter of fact, appeals to Rome were not first forbidden by this statute. They had been forbidden in “causes testamentary or matrimonial, divorces, tithes, oblations or obventions,” by a statute of the previous year—viz., the 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.

visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, and restrained, or amended: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding." "Every man," observes Professor Brewer,

who cares to read the history of those times feels at once that [the Royal Supremacy] is *the* question; this is the keystone of the Reformation; all other topics dwindle into insignificance beside it. This is the real point at issue between the advocates of the old and the new system; this, and not purgatory, not pilgrimages, not transubstantiation. . . . This has spread its broad shadow across the range of centuries. It has fallen like a thing of evil on Romanists and Puritans alike. If it brought More and Fisher to the scaffold in the reign of Henry, it wrung the hearts and wasted the life-blood of Cartwright and the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth. If it hung like a sword over the heads of the Tudor bishops, and prevented all relapse to Rome, it equally drove out from the pale of the National Church every conscientious Nonconformist who was a zealous Protestant in everything with the exception of this one Article. It kept the Church obedient to the Sovereign, and to the first principles of the Reformation. . . . No distinction [between civil and religious crimes] existed at the time in the mind either of Sovereign or of people; the king, as spiritual head of the Church, assumed to himself the right of punishing such offences, not as contrary to the laws of the State, but as contrary to what he was pleased to determine was the law of God—offences as much against his spiritual as against his temporal power. He never stopped to consider how far this or that creed might be excused or condemned, and its asserters brought to the scaffold as rebels or as heretics. That was a distinction first set up by the subtle statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth, when persecution for religion was growing unpopular. It had no place in the mind of Henry. The passing of the Six Articles, and the punishment of those who transgressed them, the persecution of Tyndal, and the death of Frith and Barnes, all show this. When he transferred to himself the supremacy of the Church, he transferred with it all the powers which the Church had ever exercised for the punishment of heresy or disobedience to its authority. If the Pope was the Bishop of bishops, so was he; if the Pope could of himself determine controversies of faith, so did he. Whether the doctrine of purgatory, or the sacrament of penance, or the worship of saints were or were not to constitute part of the creed, and of the teachings of the Church of England, depended upon the King alone. It is true that he did not administer the sacraments and ordain priests and bishops; but if any man had questioned his power to do so, he would have

incurred the penalty of high treason. "A bishop," says Cranmer, "may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them." In common with other reformers, Cranmer looked upon all spiritual functions as absolutely dependent on the will of the king, as temporal commissions, like those of any other magistrate.*

It would be an error to regard the momentous change thus effected in 1535 as being of sudden incidence. The contest between the Papal power and the regal power had been waged, with longer or briefer truces, from the days of the Norman Conquest.† One of its acutest phases was in the reign of the Second Henry, on whose behalf we find claims made anticipating, by nearly four hundred years, the pretensions successfully vindicated by the Eighth. Reginald FitzUrse, when he was disputing with Becket, just before the murder, asked him from whom he had the archbishopric? Thomas replied, "The spirituals I have from God and my lord the Pope; the temporals and possessions from my lord the king." "Do you not," asked Reginald, "acknowledge that you hold the whole from the king?" "No," was the prelate's answer. "We have to render the king the things that are the king's, and to God the things that are God's." "The words of the Archbishop," writes Bishop Stubbs, "embody the commonly received idea; the words of Reginald, although they do not represent the theory of Henry II., contain the germ of the doctrine which was formulated under Henry VIII.:"‡ a doctrine, it may be observed, set forth in the new form of the Oath of Homage prescribed by that monarch for his bishops: "I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty."§

* "English Studies," pp. 302-32.

† The first of "the statutes of præmunire and provisoes" was passed in the thirty-fifth year of Edward I. Its object was to prevent the Court of Rome from presenting or collating to any bishopric or living in England. The Act commonly called "the statute of præmunire" is the 16 Ric. II. c. 5, which provides that whoever procures at Rome or elsewhere any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, which touch the king, shall be put out of the king's protection, and shall be attached by his body to answer to the king and his council. *Præmunire*, corrupted from *præmonere*, is the initial word in the first sentence of the writ to which it gives its name.

‡ "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 294.

§ Bishop Stubbs (*ubi supra*) distinguishes between three kinds of "spiritualia": (1) *Spiritualia characteris vel ordinis*; (2) *Spiritualia ministerii vel jurisdictionis*; and (3) *Spiritualia beneficii*, "the ecclesiastical revenues arising from other sources than land." These last, he maintains, are the spiritualities referred to in the Oath of Homage, "the first and second never being in the royal hands to bestow." This learned writer must be congratulated that he did not live in the days when "the national settlement"

"The royal supremacy," writes Professor Brewer, "was now to triumph after years of effort, apparently fruitless and often purposeless. That which had been present to the English mind for centuries was now to come forward in a distinct consciousness, armed with a power that nothing could resist. Yet, that it should come forth in such a form is marvellous. All events had prepared the way for the king's temporal supremacy; opposition to Papal authority was familiar to men, but a spiritual supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated Henry VIII. from all his predecessors by an immeasurable interval, so was it without precedent and at variance with all tradition."*

The explanation of this triumph of the Royal supremacy is largely supplied by the general course of events and tendencies of thought during the two preceding centuries of European history. In particular, it may be observed that the authority of the Apostolic See had been much impaired by the great schism. And although when that breach of Catholic unity had been definitely healed, the Papacy had put on the semblance of its former greatness, it never recovered its predominance in the European public order. There was, as Ranke has pointed out, "throughout all Christendom, in the South as well as in the North, a general struggle to curtail the rights of the Pope;" and "Royalty began to make far greater claims than it had ever made before."† In this country, the authority exercised by the Tudor Sovereigns was such, both in kind and degree, as it is very difficult for us, in these days, adequately to conceive of. "The prerogative was absolute," writes Professor Brewer, "both in theory and practice. . . . Government was identified with the will of the Sovereign, his word was law for the conscience as well as the conduct of his subjects. . . . Any wrong, any injustice, any royal violation of the law, however flagrant, was a more tolerable evil than disobedience or opposition to the will of the prince, however just or sacred the cause. For that, in the temper of the times, people

of religion was made by Henry VIII., or remade by Elizabeth. His denial that the Sovereign is the source of the jurisdiction exercised by the Anglican Episcopate would then have cost him dear.

* "Letters and State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. cvii. (Intro.). So in the 1 Philip and Mary, c. 8, it is asserted, "The title or style of supremacy or supreme head of the Church of England, and of Ireland, or of either of them, never was, nor could be, justly or lawfully attributed or acknowledged to any king or sovereign governor of this realm." Dodd has some very judicious remarks upon the "mistake of several Protestant lawyers, who pretend that king Henry VIII. did not assume unto himself any more ecclesiastical power than what had been claimed and practised by his predecessors in former days, both under the British, Saxon, and Norman periods." See his "Church History of England," part i. art. 3 (vol. i. p. 249, in Tierney's edition).

† "Die Römischen Päpste," vol. i. pp. 39, 42.

had no sympathy; the will of the prince, however expressed, as Romanist or Protestant, in passing the Six Articles or beheading More, in divorcing Queen Katherine or marrying Anna Boleyn, was to be respected. Innocence itself was to plead guilty, or suffer as guilty if the king required it.* And this vast power was practically without check or limitation. The Wars of the Roses had swept away the old nobility, who, in the absence of constitutional restraints, kept down the extension of the royal prerogative, and the new race of ministers were the mere creatures of the Sovereign, usually taken from a low rank in life, flourishing in his smile, annihilated by his frown, made or unmade at his will or caprice. Again, the patrimony of the Crown was immense, and the servility of Parliament, together with the system of forced loans and benevolences, rendered its pecuniary resources almost limitless.† How utterly subservient Parliament was to the royal pleasure, how destitute of one spark of the spirit of freedom, how void of any, even the slightest, feeling for the liberties of the subject, a glance at the Statute-book is sufficient to show. Its functions were practically confined to registering the edicts of the Sovereign, and to voting the supplies which he required.‡ Nor was his power tempered by a force which in this age has to be reckoned with, even in despotic countries. "Public opinion" can hardly be said to have existed in the days of the Tudors. The influence most resembling it was that wielded by the ecclesiastical order. But under Henry VIII. this influence almost ceased to act as a check upon the authority of the Crown. Professor Brewer dates its total extinction as a barrier upon arbitrary power at the death of Wolsey.§ At the end of the fifteenth century the Church in England, as in the greater part of Europe, was in a lamentable condition. There is a mass of evidence that multitudes of Christians lived in almost total ignorance of the doctrines and in almost complete neglect of the duties of their faith. The Pater Noster and Ave Maria formed

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, &c.," vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiv. (Intro.).

† "The king had the entire and exclusive control of the money paid into the Exchequer. The country was called upon for loans and subsidies, and the Parliament determined the amount; but it never presumed to regulate the expenditure of the money so collected, or even dictate how it should be applied."—*Ibid.* p. xciii.

‡ "The king was the only representative of the nation, Parliament was little more than an institution for granting subsidies and regulating the duties on hats and caps. No ambassador or political agent cared in the least what Parliament might or might not think of his conduct. . . . His sole object was to please the king and perhaps his minister. . . . The entire personality of the nation was wrapped up in the king."—*Ibid.* p. lxxv.

§ "Letters and Papers, &c.," vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiii. (Intro.).

the sum of the knowledge of their religion possessed by many; and not a few passed through the world without receiving any sacrament save that of Baptism. The spirituality, from the head downwards, had fallen from their high estate. The religious were no longer animated by their first fervour, and among the secular clergy there was much corruption of life. Pope Adrian VI. has left on record his conviction that the troubles which he was called to face had arisen "*propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiæ prælatorum.*" In the Holy See itself, he declares, there had been for many years past, "*multa abominanda, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis et omnia denique in perversum; mutata.*"* Unquestionable is it that in most Continental countries Protestantism—to quote the words of Möhler—"arose, partly, from the opposition to much that was undeniably bad and defective in the Church."† In the Anglican Reformation, indeed, it is impossible to trace any religious motive. Lord Macaulay is well warranted when he states, "Of those who had any important share in bringing it about, Ridley is perhaps the only person who did not consider it a mere political job; and Ridley did not play a very important part."‡ And the clergy in their low estate, with slight hold upon the people, and practically severed from the protection of the Holy See,§ were unable to offer any effective resistance to the authors of the schism. Resist, indeed, they did. Nothing is more opposed to the fact than the assertion still made, from time to time, that the renunciation of the authority of the Pope was their free act, that their submission to the royal supremacy was voluntary. It is difficult to imagine more monstrous chicane than that by which the king involved them in the penalties of a *præmunire*—imprisonment for life and forfeiture of property—for submission to the legatine authority which he had himself, by royal warrant, permitted Cardinal Wolsey to exercise. And our annals record no grosser act of tyranny than his extracting from the Convocation of Canterbury, as the price of their pardon, a subsidy of £100,000—equal at least to a million of our money—together with their acknowledgment that he was

* In his letter to his legate, Chieragato, as to which see Pallavicino, l. ii. c. vii. The original of the letter is given in "*Fasciculus Rerum Expendarum et Fugendarum,*" printed in 1595.

† "*Der Protestantismus entstand theils aus der Entgegensetzung gegen unlängbar viel Schlechtes und Fehlbarhaftes in der Kirche, und darin besteht sein Gutes.*"—"Symbolik," p. 11 (5th ed.).

‡ "*Works,*" vol. v. p. 172.

§ See Professor Brewer's very able account of the affair of Dr. Standish. "In the reign of Henry VIII.," he observes, "the Papal authority had ceased to be more than a mere form, a decorum to be observed."—"Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. ii. part i. p. cccxvi. (Intro.).

“the singular protector, sole and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, also supreme head of the Church and clergy of England.”* “The clergy,” writes Mr. Gairdner, “were altogether helpless. Under the existing law of *præmunire* they were quite at the king’s mercy. It was an engine that might be turned against them capriciously, on the most slender pretexts, and, knowing its power, they may well have been glad to purchase immunity for the future by a frank recognition of the supremacy to which they were already compelled to bow in practice.”† Again, the denial of Convocation in 1534 that “the Bishop of Rome had any greater authority conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture than any other foreign bishop,” was merely the enforced answer to a royal question.‡ The terrorised priesthood

* The Northern Convocation adopted the same language, and voted the king £18,840.—Lingard’s “History of England,” vol. ii. c. viii.

† “Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.,” vol. v. p. 15. Mr. Gairdner had previously observed: “Even with the reservation contained in the words ‘quantum per Christi legem licet,’ the concession was made with considerable reluctance, but, at the Archbishop’s suggestion, it was passed unanimously. It was repented almost as soon as it was made; for however theoretically defensible might be the title to which they had agreed, and whatever pains they might have taken to guard against misconception, the clergy could not but feel the moral disadvantage at which they now stood in having yielded at all.”

‡ On this subject it is worth while to quote the following passage from the extremely able essay, by Dr. Lingard, “Did the Church of England Reform Herself?” contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW of May 1840 (vol. iii. of the First Series):

“To the Lower House of Convocation was proposed, by order of the king, the following question: ‘Has any greater authority in this realm been given by God in the Scripture to the Bishop of Rome than to any foreign bishop?’ The reader will observe the artful structure of this question. Avowedly, there is no direct mention of the Bishop of Rome in the Scripture, no specification of the spiritual authority given to the successor of St. Peter in particular; no, nor even of the authority given to the successors of the Apostles in general. On those subjects the Scripture is silent. Not one of the sacred writers has thought of describing in detail the plan of Church government which the Apostles established, to be observed after their death. For that we must have recourse, as the Oxford teachers admit, to tradition. Hence it was natural to expect that to confine the question to the doctrine expressly taught in the Scripture would serve the same purpose as the introduction of the qualifying clause, ‘as far as allowed by the law of Christ,’ had served in the recognition of the king’s supremacy. Many a man of timid mind, though he might in reality admit the authority of the Pope, might reconcile the denial of it with his conscience by contending that he had only denied that it was directly taught in the Scripture. It was not, however, before the last day of the Session, after the Bills abrogating the Papal jurisdiction had passed the two Houses, and when the king made them the law of the land by giving to them the royal assent, that the Lower House made its report to the Archbishop. Thirty-four members answered negatively, four affirmatively, one doubtfully. The same question was subsequently put to the two Universities, and from both were obtained such answers as the king required, from Cambridge on the 2nd of May, from Oxford on the 7th of June” (p. 345).

dared not return any other. "It was as easy," writes Harpsfield, "for the king to overthrow this brittle and fragile clergy as it is for a lusty, sturdy, strong man to give his adversary a fall in wrestling whom he hath long kept in prison, with coarse and thin diet, and hard lodging withal."*

So much in explanation of the great change effected by the Act 26 Henry VIII. c. 1. The other religious legislation of that monarch may be regarded as preparatory to, or supplementary of this enactment. It is extremely probable, indeed we may take it as certain, that when Henry entered upon his contest with the Papacy, in the matter of the divorce, he by no means contemplated the separation of his kingdom from the Holy See.† But we, judging after the event, can easily discern that the very existence of the Papal supremacy was involved in the king's matrimonial cause. Professor Brewer justly observes: "If Pope Clement had yielded to the menaces or flattery of the king and his ministers, if he had parted with any portion of his jurisdiction and authority at their desire, in so important a case as this, he would not only have sacrificed to his own wishes or personal convenience the rights and dignity of his office, but would have completely betrayed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction and order which he was bound to uphold, and of which he was the professed head and representative."‡ And, indeed, it was evident to one of the wisest and best of men, found in those evil days—"a light shining in a dark place"—that the course of events could not but lead to this issue. Whence, and of what kind, is the Pope's jurisdiction? When Sir Thomas More, we read, had been found guilty on the indictment charging him with having traitorously endeavoured to deprive the king of his title of head of the Church, he said: "I have, by the grace of God, been always a Catholic, never out of the communion of the Roman Pontiff. But I had heard it said, at times, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff was certainly lawful and to be respected,

* "Narrative of the Divorce," p. 96. (Printed by Lord Acton for private circulation.)

† Professor Brewer writes: "To this result he was brought by slow and silent steps. He had so long threatened to break with the Pope that he was compelled, at last, to make his own threats good. For his own purposes he had done so much to encourage attacks upon the Papacy, to question its dispensing power, to menace its authority, that to retrace his steps, had he felt inclined to attempt it, was impossible. The marriage with Anne Boleyn completed the recoil. He had stooped down from monarchy to match with a plebeian. He had forfeited his rank among the rulers of Christendom. It mattered little to take one step further, and sacrifice his place among Christian rulers, whose dignity and rule were endorsed and authenticated by the Pope."—"Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. iv. p. dclxiv. (Intro.).

‡ "Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. iv. p. dcxxx. (Intro.).

but still an authority derived from human law, and not standing upon a divine prescription. Then, when I observed that public affairs were so ordered that the source of the power of the Roman Pontiff would necessarily be examined, I gave myself up to a most diligent examination of the question for the space of seven years, and found that the authority of the Roman Pontiff which you rashly—I will not use stronger language—have set aside, is not only lawful, to be respected, and necessary, but also founded on the divine law and prescription. That is my opinion; that is the belief in which, by the grace of God, I shall die.”*

The statutes which prepared the way for, and led up to, Henry VIII.'s Act of Supremacy are seven in number. The first of them (21 Henry VIII. c. 13) prohibits, under pecuniary penalties, the obtaining from the Apostolic See of licenses for pluralities or non-residence. The second (23 Henry VIII. c. 9) forbids the citation of a person “out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases.” The third (23 Henry VIII. c. 26) is entitled “concerning restraint of payment of annates to the See of Rome,” and is specially worthy of note as being, at the same time, an attempt to intimidate and to bribe the Supreme Pontiff. It enacts that if any prelate hereafter should presume to pay first-fruits to the See of Rome, he should forfeit his personalities to the king, and the profits of his See as long as he held it, and that if the requisite Bulls for his consecration were, in consequence, denied, he might be consecrated without them; and it authorised the king to disregard any ecclesiastical censure of “our Holy Father, the Pope, or any of his successors,” and to cause divine service to be continued in spite of the same. But, further, it permitted each bishop to pay for the expediting of his Bulls, fees after the rate of five per cent. on the amount of his yearly income, and empowered the king to compound with “His Holiness” for the moderation of annates, and by letters patent, which in this case should have the force of law, to give or withhold his assent to this Act, and at his pleasure to suspend, modify, annul, or enforce it. This Act was, in fact, as Dr. Lingard has called it, a “political experiment to try the resolution of the Pontiff.”

The experiment failed, and in the next year the royal assent was given to the Act by letters patent. In this year also was passed a statute (24 Henry VIII. c. 12) forbidding, under the penalty of *præmunire*, appeals to Rome in “causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorce, tithes, oblations and obventions,” and requiring the clergy to continue their ministra-

* Sandar, “De Schismate Anglicano,” book i. c. 16. I avail myself of Mr. David Lewis's translation.

tions in spite of ecclesiastical censures from Rome under pain of one year's imprisonment. It provides that no appeal shall be made from the Archbishop's Court, save in cases touching the king, when the appeal shall lie to the Upper House of Convocation, and subjects persons appealing contrary to the Act to the penalties of *præmunire*. The "Act for the submission of the clergy to the King's Majesty," passed in the next session of Parliament (25 Henry VIII. c. 19), went still further, and forbade, under the like penalties, *any appeal whatever* "to the Bishop or See of Rome," "in any causes or matters happening to be in contention, and having their commencement and beginning in any of the courts" of the realm. Appeals from the Archbishop's Court, it provides, shall be to the King's Majesty, in the King's Court of Chancery, and shall be determined by commissioners to be appointed by the King.* It further recites the submission which had been extorted from the clergy in the previous year, forbids them to make constitutions save with the king's license, and empowers† the king to appoint thirty-two persons to examine former canons, and to approve or repeal them with the king's assent; such canons, if not contrary to law, or opposed to the royal prerogative, to be meanwhile in force. Another Act of the same year (25 Henry VIII. c. 20) utterly abolishes annates, forbids, under the penalties of *præmunire*, the presentation of bishops or archbishops to "the Bishop of Rome, therein called the Pope," and the procuring from him of Bulls for their consecration, and establishes the method still existing in the Anglican Church of electing,‡ confirming, and consecrating bishops. The next Act of the same year forbids, under the same penalties, the king's subjects to sue to the Pope or the Roman See for "licenses, dispensations, compositions, faculties, grants, rescripts, delegacies, or any other instruments or writings," to go abroad for any visitations, congregations, or assembly for religion, or to maintain, allow, admit, or obey any process from Rome.

The headship of the Church in England, taken away by these

* This occasional tribunal obtained the name of the Court of Delegates. Its functions are now exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

† This power was never exercised, but it is unquestionably still possessed by the Crown.

‡ Tersely described by Emerson in his "English Traits" as follows: "The Bishop is elected by the dean and prebends of the cathedral. The Queen sends these gentlemen a *congé d'élire*, or leave to elect, but also sends them the name of the person whom they are to elect. They go into the cathedral, chant and pray, and beseech the Holy Ghost to assist them in their choice, and after these invocations invariably find that the dictates of the Holy Ghost agree with the recommendation of the Queen."

enactments from the Pope, was, in the following year, annexed to the Crown by the Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII. c. 1), which completed the religious revolution. I have, in a previous page, quoted the words wherein the statute declares the king the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and sets forth his power and authority in that capacity. "Of this Act," Dr. Lingard well observes, "it may be remarked: 1st. That it differed greatly from the recognition originally extorted from the clergy. That recognition confined the royal supremacy within the limits prescribed 'by the law of Christ'; this declaration affirmed it absolutely, and without qualification. 2nd. That, by giving to the king all the pre-eminence and jurisdiction belonging to the dignity of the supreme head of the Church, it invested him with all that authority which the Pope had hitherto claimed and exercised in England, for no other supreme head had hitherto been known in the English Church. 3rd. That it also invested him with episcopal power and jurisdiction; not that he pretended to administer the sacraments—he had not made such progress in the new doctrine as to believe with Archbishop Cranmer that ordination was unnecessary—but he claimed the right of directing those who had been ordained to such ministry, of superintending their acts and teaching, and of correcting and redressing all their errors, abuses, and offences, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought to be corrected or redressed, that is, all such as were committed by any overt act; for such as were committed *sine scandalo* must be left to the justice of God." *

What full proof Henry VIII. made of his supreme ecclesiastical ministry is matter of history, known to every schoolboy, and need not be narrated here. The importance which he attached to it may be inferred from the high place assigned by him to Thomas Cromwell, who was appointed, in 1535, his "Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Principal Official," "with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as head of the Church;" the first place, namely, in Convocation, and "a place on the same form, but above the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the House of Lords." The Vicar-General's authority was confined to ecclesiastical discipline. The settlement of doctrine Henry took under his own personal care, as stands recorded in the "Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian Religion"; commonly called the statute of the Six Articles.† It is there related how the king, as "supreme head immediately

* DUBLIN REVIEW (First Series), vol. iii. p. 340.

† 31 Henry VIII. c. 14.

under God, of the whole Church and congregation of England," not only caused the questions of Transubstantiation, Communion in both kinds, Sacerdotal Celibacy, Vows of Chastity, Private Masses, and Auricular Confession, to be "debated, argued, and reasoned by the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy," but "also most graciously vouchsafed, in his own princely person, to descend and come unto his High Court of Parliament and Council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence, and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge, touching the said articles, matters and questions, for an unity to be had in the same." Soon after Henry, "of his bountiful clemency, appointed a commission of bishops and doctors, to declare the articles of faith, and such other expedient points, as with his grace's advice and consent should be thought needful"; and in the next session of Parliament it was enacted that all declarations, definitions, and ordinances which should be set forth by them, with his Majesty's advice, and *confirmed* by his letters patent, should be in all and every point, limitation and circumstance, by all his Majesty's subjects, and all persons resident in his dominions, fully *believed*, obeyed and observed, under the penalties therein to be comprised (32 Henry VIII. c. 26). "By this enactment," observes Dr. Lingard, "the religious belief of every Englishman was laid at the king's feet. He named the commissioners; he regulated their proceedings by his advice; he reviewed their decisions; and, if he confirmed them by letters patent under the Great Seal, they became, from that moment, the doctrines of the English Church, which every man was bound to believe, under such penalties as might be assigned. And what were these penalties? A little later it was enacted * that if any man should teach or maintain any matter contrary to the godly instructions and determinations which had been, or should be, thus set forth by his Majesty, he should, in case he were a layman, for the first offence, recant and be imprisoned twenty days; for the second, abjure the realm; and for the third, suffer the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life: but if he were a clergyman, he should, for the first offence, be permitted to recant; on his refusal, or second offence, should abjure and bear a faggot; and on his refusal again, or third offence, should be adjudged a heretic and suffer the pain of death by burning, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods and chattels." †

"All laws and statutes made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth" were repealed

* By the 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.

† DUBLIN REVIEW (First Series), vol. iii. p. 350.

by the 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, which “enacted and declared the Pope’s Holiness and See Apostolic to be restored, and to have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction as His Holiness used and exercised, or might lawfully have used and exercised,” before that date. By the 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, this statute was repealed, and six* of the Acts against the Roman Pontiff, passed between the 21st and 26th years of Henry VIII., of which I have given an account, were revived, as were also certain anti-papal statutes passed subsequently to the enactment of Henry’s Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII., c. 1). That Act was not revived, no doubt because Elizabeth, as a woman, shrank from assuming the title of Supreme Head of the Church bestowed by it upon the Sovereign. But although she did not take to herself that title, she took all the authority implied therein, by the first Act of her reign, which is called “An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; and abolishing all foreign Powers repugnant to the same.” The Act provides that the spiritual and ecclesiastical power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, privilege of every foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, shall be clearly abolished out of this realm; that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used, for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever be united and annexed to the imperial Crown: and that the power of exercising this authority by delegates to be appointed under the Great Seal, shall remain to the Queen and her successors for ever. It forbids any one to affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend, whether in writing or print, by word, deed, or act, the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, pre-eminence, power, or jurisdiction of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate; and ordains that every person offending against this prohibition shall, for a first offence, suffer forfeiture of all real and personal property; for a second offence, shall incur the penalties of *præmunire*; and for a third offence shall be guilty of high treason, and suffer accordingly. It provides, moreover, that an oath recognising the Queen’s highness as “the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal,” shall be taken by all holding

* It was not thought necessary to revive the first of them (21 Henry VIII. c. 13), as the prohibitions contained in it were covered by the more sweeping subsequent enactments.

office in Church and State, and by all laymen suing out livery for their lands, or doing homage to the Crown. By this Act the Queen was constituted the unique source of spiritual jurisdiction in the Church of England. And, accordingly, in her commission to her prelates appointed to perform the ceremony of Archbishop Parker's confirmation we find this clause: "Supplentes nihilominus, suprema auctoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his, quæ juxta mandatum nostrum predictum per vos fient aut in vobis, aut vestrum aliquo conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit eorum quæ per statuta hujus regni nostri aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante."* So also in the "Act declaring the making and consecrating of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect" (8 Eliz. c. 1), it is recited that "Her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that can or may, in any wise, be objected against the same, as by her Majesty's letters patent, remaining for record, more plainly will appear:" whence, "it is very evident and apparent that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations."

As the first Act of Queen Elizabeth was directed to the extirpation of the Catholic religion, which she found professed in this country upon her accession, so the second had for its object the establishment of Protestantism. It is entitled "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments" (1 Eliz. c. 2), and is commonly called the Act of Uniformity. It provides that "all and singular ministers in any cathedral, or parish church, or other place, within this realm of England, shall be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common and open prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the book intituled 'The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England,' authorised by Act of Parliament, holden in the fifth and sixth years of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth," with a few unimportant variations. The penalties which it provides for any minister who disobeys are, for the first offence, the forfeit of a year's profit of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions as it shall please the Queen to appoint, and imprisonment for six months; for a second offence, deprivation, *ipso*

* The document is given in Hadden's edition of Bramhall's Works, vol. iii. p. 178.

facto, of all his spiritual promotions and imprisonment for a year; and for a third offence, imprisonment during life. But in case the delinquent had no spiritual promotions, the first offence involved imprisonment for six months, and the second, imprisonment for life. The Act further requires all the Queen's subjects, having no lawful or reasonable excuse for absence, to resort to their parish church on Sundays and holidays, for the new service, "upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit, for every such offence, twelve pence."

Queen Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, as Hallam has observed, "form the basis of that restrictive code of laws which pressed so heavily, for more than two centuries, upon the adherents to the Romish Church."* I shall now proceed† to give an account of the superstructure raised upon this foundation.

First, then, by several statutes, Catholics offending against the Act of Supremacy were made liable to capital and other punishments as *traitors*. We have already seen that by this enactment whoever maintained "in writing, or by print, by word, deed, or act, the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of any foreign prelate," should be deemed, on a third conviction, guilty of high treason. A statute passed four years afterwards (5 Eliz. c. 1) expressly named the Roman Pontiff, and provided that any of the subjects of the realm who should be convicted of having, within a year previously, "by writing, copying, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act," extolled or defended the authority of the Bishop of Rome within the realm, or of having wittingly attributed such to that See, should incur the penalties of *præmunire* for a first offence, and upon conviction of a second should be guilty of high treason.‡ The statute imposes the same punishment for declining to take the oath of supremacy within a year after conviction.

The next of the statutes of spiritual treason is the 13 Eliz.

* "Constitutional History," vol. i. c. 3.

† In what follows concerning the offences of spiritual treason and recusancy, I have made free use of Mr. Anstey's learned work, "A Guide to the Laws of England affecting Roman Catholics."

‡ Mr. Anstey points out that the decisions under this statute very greatly extended its application. "It has been holden that the mere act of commending a book in defence of the Papal supremacy, or allowing it to be good, after having read it, and even after having heard a report of its being written in a foreign country, is an extolling or setting forth of the Papal authority within the meaning of the statute. It has even been holden (although two of the judges dissented from that construction) that a judge may ask a prisoner after conviction of, and condemnation for, a first offence, whether he be still of the same opinion, and that if he answer in the affirmative he is guilty of high treason as having advisedly maintained the Papal power a second time" (p. 31).

c. 2. The using, or putting in ure, within the realm, any bill, writing, or instrument of absolution, or reconciliation of persons to the See of Rome, the obtaining of any instrument whatever from that See, and the assuring, or even promising, under colour of such instrument to reconcile any person, and the receiving such absolution and reconciliation, are by this Act declared to be high treason, and punishable as such. All aiders, comforters or maintainers of offenders, after the fact, are made liable to the pains of *præmunire*, and all persons to whom such instruments have been offered and who shall not signify the same to the Council within six weeks afterwards, incur the penalties of misprision of treason.

The 23 Eliz. c. 1, refers to the same subject, but is far more ample in its comprehension. It enacts the penalties of high treason against all persons "who have, or shall have, or shall pretend to have, power, or shall by any ways or means put in practice, to absolve, persuade, or withdraw" any within the realm "from their natural obedience," or to withdraw them "for that intent" from the established religion to the Catholic religion, or to move them to promise any obedience to the See of Rome, to be had or used within the Queen's dominions; and aiders or abettors not disclosing the offence to a justice of the peace, or higher officer, for twenty days after knowledge thereof, are declared guilty of misprision of treason.

The penalties of high treason were enacted with greater rigour by 3 Jac. I. c. 4, against persons in like manner absolving, persuading or withdrawing others, or being themselves persuaded or withdrawn, "either upon the seas, or beyond the seas, or in any other place within the dominion of the King's Majesty, his heirs or successors," and against all their "procurers and counsellors, aiders, and maintainers."

The 27 Eliz. c. 2, was especially directed against the Catholic clergy. It enacted that no Jesuit or seminary priest, or religious or ecclesiastical person, born within this realm, and ordained, or professed, by authority derived from the See of Rome, should come into or remain in this realm, under penalty of high treason, unless licensed by the bishop of the diocese and two county justices, and that only in case of bodily infirmity, to remain in their actual abode for a period not exceeding six months and it provided the same penalty against all laymen educated in any Jesuit College, or seminary beyond the seas, who should not return to the realm, and take the oath of supremacy within six months, after royal proclamation made in that behalf in the City of London.

So much as to the offence of spiritual treason devised against those who adhered to the Catholic religion in this country. We

now come to the offence of recusancy, invented in aid of the Act of Uniformity. Popish recusants were Catholics who forbore or refused to attend the new religious worship prescribed by that Act. After conviction they were termed Popish recusants convict. The Statutes of Recusancy, properly so called, are 1 Eliz. c. 2; 23 Eliz. c. 1; 29 Eliz. c. 6; 35 Eliz. c. 2; 3 Jac. I. c. 5; 7 Jac. I. c. 6; and 3 Car. I. c. 2. But besides these, there is a multitude of clauses to be found among the penal laws passed for restraint of Popery, which declare that other offences of an entirely new order shall be deemed acts of Popish recusancy, and that those convicted of them shall be deemed Popish recusants convict. Thus, in the Toleration Act (1 Will. III. c. 18) it is enacted that "every justice of the peace may require any person that "goes to any meeting for the exercise of religion to subscribe the declaration" of the 30 Charles II., st. 2. c. 1, against Popery; and also to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and upon refusal thereof may commit him to prison without bail: and if he shall upon a second tender of the section refuse to make and subscribe the said declaration, he shall be then and there recorded for a Popish recusant convict, and suffer accordingly. This style of expression is used as a convenient mode of stating the penalties to which it is intended to subject certain offenders, just as it has frequently been enacted that certain other offenders shall incur the pains and forfeitures of *præmunire*. The expression, in neither case, is intended to signify that the specific offenders belong to the class noticed by the statutes of recusancy, or those of *præmunire*, but simply that they shall be punishable in like manner.

The pains of recusancy were various. They may be classed as Forfeitures and Disabilities.

As to *Forfeitures*, we have already seen that the Act of Uniformity imposed a fine of 12*d.* for a first offence. The 23 Eliz. c. 1, enacts an additional forfeiture of £20 a month for forbearing the established worship. And the 3 Jac. I. c. 4, empowers the king to receive the £20 a month, and to seize two parts in three of all the recusant's lands, leases, and farms. It further enacts that if any Popish recusant convict shall conform, and shall not afterwards, within one year from his conformity, receive the sacrament in his own parish church, or if there be none such, in the next adjoining church, he shall forfeit for the first year £20, for the second year £40, and for every succeeding year £60 until he have received the sacrament. Moreover, under this statute, every person who shall retain in his service, or shall relieve, or harbour, any servant, layman, or stranger, who shall not repair to church for a month together, shall forfeit £10 for every month.

The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, also provides that every Popish recusant

convict married to a woman, not being an heiress, otherwise than in open church or chapel, according to the orders of the Church of England, and by a minister lawfully authorised, shall forfeit £100. And that if she be an heiress, he shall be disabled from having any interest in her lands or hereditaments as tenant by the courtesy of England. And it denies to every female recusant convict either dower or freebench in any of the freeholds or copyholds of her husband.

By the same statute the omission of baptism at the hands "of a lawful minister according to the laws of this realm," for one month after the birth of the child, subjects the father, being a Popish recusant, to the penalty of £100 for every such offence: and should he be dead within the month, the liability falls upon the mother.

It likewise imposes the penalty of £20 upon the personal representatives of a Popish recusant, not being excommunicate, or the persons concerned in the burial of such person, if the corpse be buried elsewhere than in the church or churchyard, or "not according to the ecclesiastical laws of this realm."

Finally, as to married women, this Act provides that every Popish recusant convict, being the widow of one not convicted of recusancy, who does not conform to the established worship, and receive the sacrament according to law, during one whole year after her husband's death, shall forfeit to the Crown two-thirds of her jointure and two-thirds of her dower during her life, and all share in her husband's goods and chattels, and be disabled to be his executrix and administratrix: and that if a married woman do not conform, and receive the sacrament according to law, within three months after conviction of Popish recusancy, she shall be imprisoned until conformity. But if her husband shall pay to the Crown ten pounds for every month of her nonconformity, or, at his option, yields into the king's hand a third of his lands and tenements, she may, so long as the money is paid or the lands are retained, remain at liberty.*

First among the *Disabilities* which attached to recusancy must be reckoned excommunication. The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, and the 1 Will. III. st. 1, c. 8, enact that every Popish recusant convict shall stand, to all intents and purposes, disabled as a person lawfully excommunicated: that is to say, incapable of suing, of being a witness, surety, administrator, attorney, or procurator for any person; of acting as executor, or of receiving Christian burial; and liable, as Chief Justice Coke pointed

* James I., according to his own account, received a net income of £36,000 a year from the fines of Popish recusants ("Hardwicke Papers," vol. i. p. 446).

out in a celebrated case,* to being dealt with, according to the rigour of the law, by writ of *excommunicato capiendo*. This statute of James I. further enacts that no Popish recusant convict shall practise the law or physic, or exercise any public office or charge in the commonwealth, either in person or by deputy; and that the husbands of Popish recusants convict shall lie under the like disabilities unless they, their children above the age of nine years, and their servants conform to the established religion.

By the 35 Eliz. c. 2, and the 3 Jac. I. c. 5, every Popish recusant convict, above the age of sixteen, must repair to his usual abode, or if he have none, to his native place, and not remove above five miles from thence without a written license from the Queen or three privy councillors, or without a special written license, "granted under the hand and seal of four local justices, with the assent in writing of the bishop, lord-lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant. And twenty days after his return he must notify it, with his true name, and present himself to the parish minister and the town constable, who shall enter these matters in a book to be kept for that purpose. The penalties of not returning to such place of abode, or native place, or of removing thence more than five miles without license, were forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all rents and annuities during the offender's life. If he had not an inheritance of any kind of the clear amount of twenty marks, nor goods and chattels above the value of £20, and did not within three months after apprehension conform to the Established Church, he was bound upon his corporal oath, at the requisition of any two justices of the peace, or coroner of the county, to abjure the realm for ever and to depart out of it at once. The punishment of the convict for refusing to abjure, or for not departing out of the realm after abjuration, or from coming again into it, was death.

The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, also disables every person being a Popish recusant convict to present to any benefice, prebend or any ecclesiastical living, or to nominate to any free school, hospital, or donative; or to grant the assurance of any benefice, prebend or other ecclesiastical living; and devolves his rights, in such respects, upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, according to the local site of the benefice. It may here be added that the

* The Attorney-General *v.* Griffiths and others, 2 Bulst. 155. It has been thought that the words "as a person lawfully excommunicated" means nothing more than disabling the convict to sue, and this view is taken in Hawkins' "Pleas of the Crown" and Bacon's "Abridgement." But the better opinion seems to be that they imposed upon Popish recusants convict *all* the disabilities of excommunication. The point is discussed at length by Anstey, pp. 39-43.

1 Will. III. c. 26, extends this disability to every person who shall refuse to make the declaration against Popery, prescribed by 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, "as fully as if such person were a Popish recusant convict."

Further, this statute enacts that no Popish recusant convict shall come into the court or house where the king or his heir apparent to the Crown shall be, unless he be commanded so to do by the king, upon pain of £100. And the 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, enacts that every person convicted of Popish recusancy, who shall come advisedly into or remain in the presence of the king or queen, or shall come into the court or house where they, or any of them, reside shall be disabled to hold or execute any office or place of profit or trust, civil or military, in the realm, or its islands or plantations, to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to make a proxy in the Peers; to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information at law, or suit in equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, legatee, or donee; and shall forfeit for every such offence £500.

The same statute enacts that no Popish recusant, indicted or convicted of recusancy, shall remain within ten miles of London after ten days from the indictment or conviction, under pain of £100: that all armour, gunpowder, and munition that any Popish recusant convict shall have in his house or elsewhere, except such necessary weapons as may be allowed him for defence of his person or dwelling, may be taken from him by warrant of four justices of the peace, and kept at his cost at such place as the justices shall appoint, and that if he hinder the delivery thereof to the justices he shall be imprisoned for three months; and further that any two justices of the peace and the mayor, bailiffs, and chief officers of cities and towns corporate may search for Popish books and reliques in the houses and lodgings of Popish recusants convict, and may, at their discretion, deface or burn any altar, pix, beads, pictures, or such-like Popish relique, or any Popish book which they may find; and if it be a crucifix or relique of any price, the same must be defaced at the General Quarter Sessions of the county, and then restored to the owner.

It remains to speak of certain penal enactments directed against Catholics generally, and not specially against those professors of the old religion whom the law qualified as traitors and recusants. And first, let us note that the Mass was prohibited by two statutes. The earlier of these (23 Eliz. c. 1) enacts that whoever shall say or sing Mass shall forfeit 200 marks and be committed to gaol for a year and thenceforth until he have paid the fine; and subjects every person who shall hear Mass to the penalty of a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks. The later (11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4), "for a further remedy

against the growth of Popery, over and above the good laws already made," imposes the penalty of imprisonment for life upon any Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit saying Mass, or exercising any other part of a Popish bishop or priest's office within these realms or the actual dominions thereof, unless he be an alien, residing in a foreign ambassador's dwelling-house as chaplain, and registered as such in the Secretary of State's office.

Catholic books and other instruments of devotion were also rigidly prohibited. The 13 Eliz. c. 2, enacts that if any person shall bring into the realm any token or thing called by the name "Agnus Dei," or any crosses, pictures, beads, or such-like vain and superstitious things from the Bishop or See of Rome, or from any person authorised by, or claiming authority from him to hallow the same, and shall offer the same to any subject of this realm to be worn and used, he, and every person who shall receive the same, shall incur a *præmunire*. And by the 3 Jac. I. c. 5, no person shall bring from beyond the seas, nor shall print, sell, or buy, any Popish primers, ladies' psalters, manuals, rosaries, Popish catechisms, missals, breviaries, portals, legends and lives of saints, containing superstitious matter, printed or written in any language whatsoever, nor any other superstitious books, printed or written in the English tongue, on pain of 40s. for every book, and the books to be burned.

Catholic education was entirely disallowed. The 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4, enacts that any Papist who shall keep school, or assume the education, government or boarding of youth, within the realm or its actual dominions, shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. This penalty is expressed to be "over and above the good laws already made": that is to say, the 23 Eliz. c. 1, which forbids the keeping or maintaining of any schoolmaster who does not repair to the Established Church, or is not allowed by the Protestant bishop, under a fine of £10 per month, and subjects "such schoolmaster or teacher" to imprisonment for a year; the 1 Jac. I. c. 4, which imposes a fine of 40s. a day upon any one who, without special license from the bishop, keeps school or is a schoolmaster, except it be in the house of some man or woman of gentle degree not being a recusant; and the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 1, which requires tutors and schoolmasters, besides obtaining the bishop's license, to take the oath appointed to be taken by Roman Catholics, under penalty of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and the like imprisonment for every subsequent offence, and a fine of £5 to the Crown.

Nor were Catholics, thus debarred from educating their children at home in their own religion, allowed to send them for such education abroad. The 27 Eliz. c. 2, makes punishable as a *præmunire*

the sending of relief, directly or indirectly, to any Jesuit college or foreign seminary, or person of or in the same; and the 1 Jac. I. c. 4, enacts that any subject of the king sending any child or other person under their government to any such college or seminary, with intent to reside in the same, or to be instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the Papal religion, shall for every such offence forfeit £100. Under this statute the person so sent is disabled to inherit, purchase, take, or enjoy any real or personal estate whatsoever in England or its dominions, and all trusts, confidences, or interests whatsoever for his or her benefit are utterly void.

In the reign of Charles I. a further Act (3 Car. I. c. 2) was passed on this subject. It enacts that no one shall send any child or other person out of the realm to a foreign country, to the intent to enter, or to be resident, or train in any priory, abbey, nunnery, Popish university, college, or school, or house of Jesuits, or priests, or private Popish family, there to be instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the Popish religion. It likewise forbids the sending of money or other thing for the maintenance of any child or person so sent, or for the relief of any priory, abbey, nunnery, college, school, and religious house soever. Conviction of either of these offences, it further provides, shall disable the party to sue at law or in equity, to be committee of any ward, executor, administrator, or donee (by deed) for any person, or to bear any office within the realm; and such convict shall forfeit all his goods and chattels, and during his life, or the continuance of his non-compliance, all his lands and hereditaments, rents, annuities, office, and estates of freehold are to be forfeited.

It should here be noted that by the 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4, if any Popish parent, in order to compel his Protestant child to change his religion, shall refuse to allow him a fitting maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of such parent, as to the age and education of such child, the Lord Chancellor shall make order therein. And the Court of Chancery will also superintend the education of such Protestant child, and impose restrictions on the access and correspondence of its parents (*Blake v. Leigh*, Amb. 306).

In order effectually to exclude Catholics from the Legislature, the 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, provides that no one shall sit in either House until he shall first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to which the 1 George I. st. 2, c. 13, adds the oath of abjuration, and make and subscribe a declaration, denying transubstantiation, and asserting that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome are super-

stitious and idolatrous. This statute further provides that every such offender shall be adjudged a Popish recusant convict to all intents and purposes, and shall forfeit and suffer as such; and it subjects to all the pains, penalties, forfeitures and disabilities of the Act, any sworn servant to the king, who should not within the time limited by law take the appointed oath, and should come into the presence of the king or queen. And the 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 27, provides that every person who refuses to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, when lawfully tendered, shall be liable to suffer as a Popish recusant convict; and that no person who shall refuse the said oath shall be admitted to give a vote at the election of any member of Parliament.

The Corporation and Test Acts* applied of course to Catholics as to all dissidents from the Established Church. The last mentioned of these enactments provides that every person who shall be admitted into any office, civil or military, shall within three months after his admittance receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, on the Lord's Day, immediately after divine service and sermon; and if he shall neglect or refuse to do so, he shall be disabled to hold such office, and the same shall be void.

Nor were Catholics, thus debarred from public life at home, allowed to take service abroad. To do so without having previously taken the oath of obedience, is by the 3 Jac. I. c. 4, declared to be a felony. The same statute further enacts, upon pain of felony, that no person bearing any military office shall go out of the realm to serve any foreign prince, unless he shall become bound, with two sureties, in the sum of £20 at least, that he will not, at any time, be reconciled to the Pope or See of Rome.

Catholics were excluded from succession to the throne by the 1 Will. III. st. 2, c. 2, which enacts that every person who shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded from, and be for ever incapable to inherit or enjoy, the Crown and Government of this realm: and in such case the people shall be absolved of their allegiance, and the Crown shall descend to and be enjoyed by such person, being a Protestant, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the person so reconciled, holding communion, or professing or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

In the first year of William and Mary it was thought necessary to prohibit Catholics from residing within ten miles of London, and an Act of Parliament (1 Will. III. c. 9) was passed

* 13 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, and 25 Car. II. c. 2.

empowering justices to tender to reputed Papists "the oath appointed by law." Any one who refused it, and yet remained within ten miles of London, was to forfeit and suffer as a Popish recusant convict. Another Act of the same year (1 Will. III. c. 15) provides that no suspected Papist who shall neglect to take the oath appointed by law, when tendered to him by two justices of the peace, and who shall not appear before them upon notice from one authorised under their hands and seals, shall keep any arms, ammunition, or horse above the value of £5, in his possession, and in that of any other person to his use (other than such as shall be allowed him by the sessions for defence of his house and person). Any two justices may authorise by warrant any person to search for all such arms, ammunition, and horses, in the daytime, with the assistance of the constable or his deputy or tithing-man, and to seize them for the king's use. And if any person shall conceal such arms, ammunition, or horses, he shall be imprisoned for three months, and shall forfeit to the king treble the value of such arms, ammunition, or horse.

A later statute of the same reign (11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4), imposed heavy disabilities on Catholics in respect of real property. It provides that any person educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, unless within six months after attaining the age of eighteen, he or she take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribe the declaration in 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, shall in respect of himself or herself only, and not for and in respect of any of his or her heirs or posterity, be disabled and made incapable to inherit or take by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and that until he or she do take such oaths, and make such subscriptions, the next of kin, being a Protestant, shall have and enjoy the said lands, &c., without being accountable for the profits, but only for wilful waste. It further provides that, after April 10, 1700, every Papist shall be disabled and made incapable to purchase either in his or her own name, or in the name of any person or persons, to his or her use, or in trust for him or her, any manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments; and that all and singular estates, terms, and any other interests or profits whatsoever out of lands to be made, suffered, or done for the use or behoof of, or upon trust for, any such person, shall be utterly void and of none effect. And the 3 Geo. I. c. 28, after enacting that sales by Papists to Protestant purchasers for full valuable consideration shall be good, unless some person entitled to enter by previous statute has already asserted his claim, goes on to lay down that no manner of lands, tenements, or hereditaments shall pass from any Papist by any deed or will, unless such deed,

within six months after the date, and such will within six months after the death of the testator, be enrolled in one of the King's courts of record at Westminster, or in the county before the *custos rotulorum*, two justices, and the clerk of the peace.

Finally, the 1 Geo. I. st. 2, c. 50, provides that "all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions, annuities, and all other hereditaments whatsoever, and all mortgages, securities, sums of money, goods, chattels, and estates, which have been given, granted, devised, bequeathed, or settled upon trust, or to the intent that the same, or the profits or proceeds thereof, shall be applied to any abbey, priory, convent, nunnery, college of Jesuits, seminary or school for the education of youth in the Romish religion in Great Britain, or elsewhere, or to any other Popish or superstitious uses, shall be forfeited to the king for the use of the public."

Such were the laws devised to crush out the Catholic religion in England. Montesquieu remarks that "they are so rigorous, though not professedly of the sanguinary kind, as to do all the hurt that can possibly be done in cold blood." "In answer to this it may be observed," says Blackstone, "what foreigners, who judge only from our Statute-book, are not fully apprised of, that these laws are seldom exerted to their utmost rigour."* No doubt this was so; or Catholicism would have disappeared from the country. But however laxly administered, at certain times, or in certain cases, there these penal statutes were, hanging, like the sword of Damocles, for well-nigh three centuries, over the devoted heads of English Catholics, whose property, whose liberty, whose lives, were at the mercy of any common informer. It is well for us, in these easy times, to remember the great tribulation in which those spiritual heroes witnessed a good confession, and kept the faith that we have received from them.

"Wohl dem der seiner Väter gern gedenke
Der froh von ihren Thaten, ihrer Grösse
Den Hören unterhält, und still sich freuend
Ans Ende dieser schönen Reihe sich
Geschlossen sieht."

W. S. LILLY.

* "Commentaries," book iv. c. 4. These laws were still in force when Blackstone wrote.

ART. II.—JOHN MacHALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam: His Life, Times, and Correspondence. By the Right Rev. BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D., D. Lit. Laval., Domestic Prelate of his Holiness. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1890.

THESE two beautifully printed and bound volumes, which are thus ushered into the world, are very important. They weigh nearly eight pounds avoirdupois. The style is heavy, the matter is heavy, and the indictments against several of the actors on the stage of this life are so weighty that no moral balance can be found to register their heaviness with any degree of accuracy. Biographers are supposed to be partial to the man whose life is written by them, and to put even mistakes in a favourable light. Mgr. O'Reilly actually injures the character of Dr. MacHale by the manner in which he describes his career. Instead of giving us a history of the great man, as a youth, an ecclesiastic, and a prelate, he gives us a glowing description of his fighting powers, which ultimately convey the impression that he was a veritable Ismael in the nineteenth century. Dr. Doyle once said of a journalist, who wished to apologise for an attack upon his lordship, "Give him five pounds to keep him from writing an apology." It is a pity somebody did not bribe the historian of MacHale's life to keep him from writing this Life. John MacHale stands out pre-eminent amongst his earlier contemporaries, just like his own beloved Nephin amid the other mountains of Tirawley. If Nephin be grand and majestic, it by no means follows that the other mountains are without any grace or perfection peculiar to themselves. Nay, their minor beauties may be more harmonious and pleasanter to gaze upon, than the rugged cliffs of their dominant neighbour.

If Dr. MacHale's life were written as it ought to be we should see a grand figure of a disinterested man, attentive to his duties, faithful to his charge, and worthy of imitation. What have we here of his personal virtues? We are treated to one or two sketches of his private life and the routine of his daily occupations; but we have nothing of that social intercourse with his clergy, the sweet condescension which drew the crowds of poor people around him, and the words of consolation which fell from his lips. He is always on stilts in this biography, and never seems to touch the ground of commonplace life—except, for a

little rest, in order to get upon a higher pair of stilts for a new charge against the enemy. A Boswell was very much wanted to give the proper tone and interest to a life that was so full of incident and celebrity. Still, we can form a fair estimate of his character from the materials published in these two volumes.

The circumstances of birth, early associations, and education have a great deal to do with the formation of a man's character. John MacHale was born on March 6, 1791, in a place called Tubbernavine, in the county of Mayo. His childhood was passed amid the wild beauties of mountain and lake, and fostered by the care of affectionate relatives. He borrowed the grandeur of his thoughts from the scenery around him, and the kindness of his heart from the love of his companions. We rarely find in history such a combination of genial affection and fierce indignation in the same individual. He loved the poor, the wretched, the downtrodden peasants with a love surpassing the greatest kindness, whilst his hatred of the powerful, the oppressors and the enemies of his country was simply unbounded. The two dispositions were worthy of a great mind, and the only defect to be seen in his life was a want of that balance which could be adjusted by prudence. Where are we to look for an explanation of this want? It seems clearly attributable to his premature elevation to high honours in his profession. He was made a professor before he had ceased to be a student, a bishop before he had matured his knowledge of governing, and an archbishop before he had thoroughly learned the work of an ordinary independent bishop. That he deserved all these grades of promotion every one is ready to admit; but that they gave him a notion of supremacy over others, scarcely any one can deny. From the time of the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century there was a dearth of Catholic writers, and when such writers appeared, even then they were rather apologists than champions. Arthur O'Leary would not be tolerated now, and the Gallicanism of Dr. Doyle was a sad blot on his eminent success as a polemic. Dr. MacHale ran into neither of the extremes of his two famous predecessors. He put the cause of Ireland before English readers in clear and emphatic language; never degenerating into personalities, nor minimising a single principle of Catholic doctrine.

He was well schooled into this watchfulness of the golden mean in controversy. He was but a child when he heard from the lips of his own parish priest the horrors of the French Revolution. He saw the French troops march to Castlebar, on their futile errand for the liberation of Ireland, and he was afterwards to be shocked by the barbarity of a local representative of English rule, who hanged his beloved pastor without even the form of a trial. This youthful experience gave him a wholesome

dread both of revolutions and of tyranny, which after events in his life only helped to increase.

When professor, in Maynooth, in the year 1820, he wrote his first public letter, which was signed "Hierophilos." This created a sensation in its day. His next letter was directed against the Kildare Street school system, which, under the appearance of giving secular instruction, was intended to subvert the faith of the Irish children. This letter was addressed to the Catholic clergy and hierarchy. It unmasked the wiles of the Bible Society, and put Catholics on the alert. Several other letters followed, and Catholic Emancipation was so powerfully advocated that those of the English nobles who were Catholics applauded this new champion of their faith. He did not apologise for being a Catholic. He hurled heresy and its professors from their niches of self-complacency. It was just at this time that he was chosen as coadjutor to the Bishop of Kilala. He was the honoured and loved one of all Catholics; and, in his work as coadjutor, he grew in the esteem of his diocesans. This was in the year 1825. His position as coadjutor gave him an opportunity of visiting every parish in the diocese, and seeing the state of religion, whilst preaching the Jubilee which was granted in 1826. He also saw the poverty of the people, and the grinding exactions of landlords and tithe-proctors. His heart was with his people. Their miseries touched him, and penetrated him. Speaking the Celtic language with fluency and grace, he won their hearts, and they poured out all their sorrows to him in the glowing accents of that ancient tongue.

In 1830 there was a bad harvest, and in 1831 famine was scourging the province of Connaught and decimating its inhabitants. The Coadjutor-bishop of Kilala (Bishop of Maronia *in partibus*) undertook to plead their cause with the Government of that day. Here begins his public career as a writer of letters against the then state of things, in the hope of having them rectified. He says, in a letter to Earl Grey, who was then getting his Reform Bill through the British Parliament :

Important as the question of Reform is, the distress that now afflicts, and the famine that menaces, some portions of this country, are still more imperative topics. Reform itself might be adjourned with safety for a short time, whereas, should his Majesty's subjects become the victims of starvation, it is a loss which no ulterior measures can retrieve (vol. i. p. 133).

The bishop proceeds to give instances—and very painful ones—which confirm his proposition.

In this, as in every measure he advocated, he was certainly in the right. Still, to look at the matter from a distance, how can

we see his prudence? He lays bare the sores of misrule, and wants to have them remedied at once. He brings the miseries of poor famishing peasants in Connaught to move the hearts of landlords and English aristocrats, who care no more about them than they do about the Hottentots. Again, there are other bishops in Ireland—older than he is—and the English Government is never troubled by any of their publications. As a professor he lectured priests and bishops about education; and now, as a coadjutor-bishop, he undertakes to lecture the head and body of the British Parliament. He had a fine case, and he advocated it with surpassing zeal and eloquence. He saw hunger in the midst of plenty. The people had to live on the potato, whilst breadstuffs, more than sufficient to support a larger population, were taken out of the country to support landlords who were squandering the fruits of the peasants' toil in dissipation and sinfulness. Was not this a terrible picture? It has been repeated time after time; but the powerful who throve upon the miseries of the weak had eyes and saw not. They only saw the rights of property, and could not see the rights which the tillers of the soil had to a livelihood. He was holding up a looking-glass to men who could not see their own deformities therein, and uttering protests to deaf ears. It was said of him that he proved too much; and, therefore, proved nothing. Counter-statements were made against his, and these were believed by a class of society who "would not understand, lest they might have to act righteously."

The measures advocated by Dr. MacHale in 1831, and subsequent years, may be thus summed up:—Denominational Education, Abolition of Tithes, Tenant Right, Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and Repeal of the Union. All these were legitimate, and English statesmen carried most of them—only about fifty years later. They were just and equitable: but were looked upon by the dominant race as radical, destructive, and communistic. The people of England—the landlord class and Protestant clergymen of Ireland—considered that such measures would be nothing less than wholesale robbery of themselves and their children. The powerful voice of one bishop had as much force against such momentum of prejudice as the proverbial ram had against the steam engine which invaded his pastures. Dr. MacHale was alive to this: he says, in one of his letters:

The gilded saloons of London are not the appropriate lecture halls for studying the wretchedness of the Irish cabin . . . faces sparkling with mirth are not the fittest mirror for reflecting the sunken eye and gaunt visage of despair; a taste palled with the satiety of feasts and revels cannot well judge of the acuteness of

the pangs of hunger. . . . It requires a heart as well as eyes to be affected by the wants of others.

If the rich voluptuary were the historian of the unpitied miseries of Lazarus, we never should have been favoured with the instructive gospel lesson. The unfeeling rich man is not, therefore, the fittest witness to the depth or extent of human calamity, since the glutton, who refused the crumbs from his table, would deny the existence of an evil which he could not avow without revealing his own cruelty (vol. i. p. 139).

Unfortunately, these letters rather irritated than convinced those to whom they were addressed. They were denied, explained away, contradicted; and only a few paid any heed to them. They made a great impression upon the laity, and their author was hailed as a new champion of the Catholic faith. Newspapers reproduced his letters, and columns of leading articles were written upon them *pro* and *con*. The other Irish bishops left him alone. In those days meetings of the bishops, for united action, were not so systematically arranged as they are at present. Each one did as he thought best, in the Lord; and was applauded, blamed, or unheeded, according to the bias of his *confrères*. It was at this juncture that Dr. MacHale paid his first visit to Rome. He was received by Pope Gregory XVI. with the greatest cordiality; and he was asked to preach a course of sermons in English in the Church of the "Gesù e Maria." He met several great men there—De la Mennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Drs. Wiseman and Cullen—and was honoured and respected by all. His sermons were translated into Italian by the Abbate (afterwards Cardinal) de Luca, and his visit was a real triumph. John MacHale was now, for the first time, brought into contact with diplomacy. He never could properly master its intricacies; and, although he was successful against it in the beginning, it diminished his prestige and seared his heart towards the end. The history of the intrigues which were set on foot by the English Government and its agents, to prevent Dr. MacHale's elevation to the Archbishopric of Tuam, are matters of history. We have them related in Greville's Memoirs, in the "Life of Palmerston," and in other State papers, and fully detailed in this biography. The Pope overruled all objections, and placed him on the throne of St. Jarlath. This was his first victory over diplomacy, and it did not tend to sweeten his temper or his disposition towards the Saxon. It is well to observe here that, although he hated the Government of England, he liked extremely such English gentlemen as came within the range of his acquaintance. He became Archbishop of Tuam in August 1834. Then began a long series of those mental combats and paper wars which fill nearly the remainder of these two volumes. Henceforth, in

Mgr. O'Reilly's pages, every ecclesiastic of position who differed from the Archbishop of Tuam is made to look as if he sacrificed his honour, and every one who sided with him is lauded as if he were a veritable hero. This is the portion of the work which no one can read with pleasure—no matter on which side his sympathies may be enlisted.

Is it fair that worthy, holy bishops and their followers should be described as prejudiced, and that those who oppose them should look as if spiteful or jealous? The poet exclaims:

Tantaene animis coelestibus irae!

The writer of this biography extorts this exclamation from his readers at almost every page. It is pitiful to observe and record dissensions in ecclesiastical rulers; but it is vicious to ascribe them to ignoble motives on one side and to magnanimity on the other. Let the scales be held fairly, and let the events be weighed impartially, and then some sort of sound conclusion may be drawn by those who judge from facts, and not from merely attributed motives.

To understand properly the cause of the split amongst the Bishops on the point of *National Schools*, we must take into consideration the state of the country at the time.

The Emancipation Bill, passed about three years before this agitation began, did not benefit the mass of the people. It removed legal disabilities from those of the higher and middle ranks of society; but nothing was done for the peasantry. Such benefits as might be derived from establishing schools were not within their reach, on account of their poverty and the periodical famines, which made them poorer still. The Government offers a Bill for the education of the people, and this Bill is not acceptable to all parties. The system was founded on the liberal notion of educating Protestants and Catholics together, so that the school friendships of their youth might prevent acerbity when they had grown up. Religious matters were to be excluded from the ordinary routine of school exercises, and the books to be used were to be free from any religious tendency. The bishops all saw that the Bill did not go far enough; but they saw that it was a boon, that they could get no better one just then, and that the system could be improved in course of time. The principle of the majority was—*rem, quoquomodo rem*—in the matter of education. Dr. MacHale took quite a different view of the matter. He saw in the system a deep-laid scheme for destroying the faith of the Irish children. In fact, this is confessed to have been its aim in the "Life of Archbishop Whately," by his daughter. Dr. MacHale would make no terms with it, on any account. He was followed by the bishops of his province, and by

two or three outside the province. The three Archbishops and their suffragans, to the number of eighteen, accepted the system, and wrote a joint letter to the Holy See to prevent its condemnation. It was tolerated; and it proved an incalculable boon to the Irish nation. The managers were the priests—whenever the Catholic population was in the majority—and they had full control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers. In a very short time it proved a great success. The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were the most edifying Christians in the parish, in most cases, and their example and teaching improved the tone of the people. What was intended by its framers to undermine Catholicity proved to be the greatest help to its conservation. How many of the priests of Irish parentage throughout the world are there at the present day who do not owe their rudimentary education to the national school?

The consequence of Dr. MacHale's opposition was that, for a long time, Connaught was altogether behind the age in the matter of primary education, and ignorance prevailed to a deplorable extent. He was right in *theory*; but who can say that he was right in *practice*? Was it fair to deprive the children of a diocese of the opportunities to learn reading and writing for fear of some metaphysical error which was altogether above their comprehension? *Summum jus summa injuria*: and never was the aphorism more truly verified. It has been remarked that students from the diocese of Tuam always took high honours in Maynooth and elsewhere. These were the favoured few, who were able to get to the Colleges, and the "mute inglorious Miltons" of the hamlets were allowed to "blush unseen" on principle. The Archbishop introduced monks and nuns into his diocese. These were utterly unable to extend their labours sufficiently wide, and the resources of a poor people were not capable of doing more. The absence of primary schools was taken advantage of by the proselytising societies established in Dublin to invade the Archdiocese of Tuam in its most vulnerable points. The "Soupers" (as they were called) established centres of operation. They had food and clothing for the poor, and attractions of a higher order for such as could help their efforts. Apostates were soon put into places of honour and emolument. Their children were educated for respectable positions in society. To give more success to their machinations they had teachers of the Irish language, who used nicely bound portions of the Scripture for class-books, and were rewarded for the success which their pupils made. Besides these, there were Baptist missionaries, who made nests of perverts in various villages, and did a great deal to lower that respect for the clergy which had been characteristic of the Irish in the days of persecution. Bibles

were sown broadcast, and every one who could read was able to gather a crowd around him to listen to the histories of the patriarchs and the kings of Israel. In course of time, the old piety began to give way, and even the Sacraments were cavilled at by half-educated pedants. National education, even as then given, would have counteracted all this in a great measure.

His opposition to the godless colleges is founded on the same lines. Here he was right both in theory and practice. The difference between the two lies in this: the children in primary schools cannot reason much, and are under the control of their parents, but the young men in colleges are let loose from parental government, and begin to exercise their reasoning faculties, when their passions and the opportunities of indulging them are all in the freshness of novelty. Hence it came to pass that the toleration of the national system worked a benefit, whereas even toleration of the other could produce nought but evil. Yet there were many reasons why bishops like Drs. Murray (of Dublin) and Denver (of Belfast) should look upon such a concession as even a favour. They lived in large towns where young men must get some sort of superior education. They had no place for this in Dublin except Trinity College. Many Catholic students went through their course, took their degrees in Trinity, and still continued good Catholics, notwithstanding the decided Protestant tendency of Trinity in those days. Could not the same thing happen in these new colleges? If young men lost their faith in them it was their own fault. Thus was there another golden apple of discord cast amongst the Irish bishops at a later date, and Dr. MacHale kept to his principles with unflinching tenacity. Dr. Murray and Dr. MacHale were cast in different moulds, and had been brought up in different surroundings. Their *penchants* were quite contrary; one being for conciliation and the other for war to the knife with the English Government. Dr. Murray would take half a loaf as better than no bread. Dr. MacHale would starve if he did not get the whole loaf at once. Whatsoever the latter claimed was justly due, but the debtors would not pay; what the former claimed was also due, and the debtors were willing to give it with cheerfulness. Dr. MacHale saw himself and his starving people neglected and despised. Dr. Murray found his gentlemen and tradesmen getting on in life under the fostering care of the Castle. They could not combine for the one purpose of furthering the better interests of the country. Again, Dr. MacHale went in for the Repeal of the Union, or what we now call "Home Rule"; Drs. Doyle and Murray, with many others, thought this project something like a castle in the air.

On the matter of self-government for Ireland differences of

opinion were more excusable at that period than they would be now. The old Irish Parliament was composed of Protestants, mostly of an Orange hue, who had scant sympathy with the sufferings of Catholics. There was no proper representation of the people. The lords possessed a certain number of pocket-boroughs, and the landlords (nearly all Protestants) could force their tenants to vote according to their wishes, under pain of eviction. Now, when the ballot protects the voter, and when the power of the landlords is abolished, things wear a different aspect altogether. "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*" This phase of political life was not revealed in the days when John of Tuam sided with O'Connell. Yet he looked forward to it, and had foresight enough to see that it must come to pass. If his fellow-bishops were not far-seeing enough in the crisis, this want of political wisdom should not be ascribed to their mental obliquity. That the Catholic bishops of the last century could be in favour of the Union was very natural, because the Catholics had no voice in the councils of the nation. That they should be slow to bring back the same state of things is very commendable. How could they transfer their interests to peasants driven to the poll by landlords? This would have been the case had the Union been repealed before the new Land Acts and the voting by ballot. We cannot, therefore, blame bishops for standing aloof from such a movement at that period. Even under present circumstances bishops have a right to their opinion, quite as much as a blustering layman, or a priest whose politics are in excess of his piety.

Hitherto Dr. MacHale had to contend, in print, only with English newspapers, and in intrigues only with secret emissaries to Rome. His ground of contention is changed at last; for some English lords attack him in the public prints, and try to undermine his influence in Rome. Lords Clifford and Shrewsbury are his chief opponents. The opposition of the first began with the difficulties about a certain Dr. O'Finan, who became Bishop of Kilala when Dr. MacHale was translated to Tuam.

Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen writes thus to Dr. MacHale in 1836:

Lord Clifford has been quite in the dark regarding what has been done; and I hope the propaganda will continue to keep him so. Every little English lord would wish to have a hand in managing Irish affairs, of which they know nothing. *What would become of the Church of Ireland, if Government had anything to do with it?* (vol. i. p. 380).

In the end, Lord Clifford wrote an ample apology, and the other lord got more than he bargained for from John of Tuam's

reply. Charles Waterton entered the lists on the side of the Irish prelates. The quarrel is of interest only in showing the anxiety of English Catholics, of some position, to have control over Irish ecclesiastical affairs, and the sturdy opposition of the Irish to their meddling. The Irish have always been averse to having their affairs presented to Rome through an English medium, from the experience handed down of how, when the English were Catholic, the richer benefices in Ireland were conferred on Englishmen. Nay, monasteries were built and endowed in Ireland, into which no Irishman could enter as an ordinary monk, much less as an abbot or superior of any kind.

The first volume closes with the death of O'Connell in 1847, and the second begins with the consequent changes in Irish politics. Efforts were made in Rome, which were seconded by Dr. Wiseman, for having diplomatic relations with England. After passing through the scenes of the terrible famine of '47, Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins go to Rome, to neutralise the efforts of English statesmen regarding the Queen's Colleges. The Revolution of '48 breaks out—the Pope flees to Gaeta, and the Irish bishops come home to contend again against famine, rebellion, and efforts to enslave the Irish Church.

Matters go on, in a confused sort of way, until Dr. Cullen is made Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. The Synod of Thurles was convoked, and new disciplinary enactments were made for the better government of the Church in Ireland. Up to this time, Dr. MacHale had great influence in the councils of the Irish bishops; but, from the Synod of Thurles to the end of his life, his influence was waning so fast that it came to nothing. It was his misfortune that many of those whom he was instrumental in promoting to high offices in the Church became his opponents afterwards. In Mgr. O'Reilly's biography, of course, all these are blamed, and Dr. MacHale is praised. Perhaps the praise and blame might be shared more evenly between both parties.

Dr. Cullen knew little about the practical condition of the Church in Ireland when he was placed in the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh. He had been educated in Rome, spent all his life there—either as professor or rector of the Irish College—until the time of his elevation. He had, therefore, imbibed a full complement of Italian notions regarding Church polity and the resuscitation of old customs which the penal laws had caused to fall into desuetude. How he was to effect all this was the difficulty. The Bishops of Ireland wished for a national Synod, and the Synod was convoked to meet in Thurles. The four provinces, into which Ireland was divided, were comparatively independent. The power of the Primate was restricted. Dr. Cullen was made

Apostolic Delegate, and, as such, had quasi-papal powers. He did not like Maynooth, or the system of education there carried on. He wanted an almost unfledged hierarchy to fly as high in the ecclesiastical atmosphere as those who never had their wings clipped. His intentions were good, but the country was not prepared for carrying them out. His secular ideas regarding politics were borrowed from what he saw of the revolutions in Italy. The influx of converts from the most learned and virtuous ranks of English clergymen caused the Romans to think that a new era was beginning in the British dominions, and that England was about to heal the schism of the sixteenth century. A new cloak was to replace the tattered garment worn by the Irish Church for so many long years. In fact, everything was to be made new, and shaped after the latest Roman fashion.

Dr. MacHale, and those who thought with him, looked upon a great many of the new measures as premature. He was accustomed to the old ways. Marriages and baptisms took place in private houses, and the stations of confession (when people went to their duties) were held also in private houses. All this could not be changed in a moment. Dr. MacHale lived amid a simple primitive people, who spoke their native Gaelic, said the Rosary around their hearths at night, and went to Mass on Sundays and holidays. When religion began to be undermined in France and Italy, revivals, in the way of missions and retreats, were started by zealous holy priests to bring people back to their pristine fervour. Confraternities were founded in order to preserve the fruits of these efforts, and new devotions were sanctioned by the Holy See for all these good purposes. Dr. MacHale was of opinion that the Irish were better in their simplicity and semi-ignorance than were those who were so highly favoured by new incentives to piety. A great many of the Irish prelates and priests were of his way of thinking.

These two lines of thought must naturally clash, and clash they did. The influence of Dr. Cullen was always on the increase; and, in 1854, it became supreme in Rome. It was on this occasion, when a meeting was held to arrange the differences between Drs. MacHale and Cullen, that Mgr. (afterwards Cardinal) Barnabo undertook to lecture the Irish bishops. Dr. MacHale said: "*Solius Papae est instruere episcopos.*" From that day forward MacHale had little or no influence in Propaganda. The Apostolic Delegate began to interfere in many things, which (although within his rights as Delegate) had never been interfered with before by any one outside their proper province. Priests were appointed to Sees without consulting their own bishops. Sometimes coadjutors were sent to bishops who did not ask for them, and did not want them. As early as 1851 Dr.

Cullen—then primate of Armagh—wrote to Dr. MacHale wishing him to select coadjutors for several bishops, and giving some reasons assigned by Cardinal Franzoni. Who wrote to Franzoni about the want of “efficient men at the head of each diocese?” This, we must suppose, was the commencement of that estrangement between the two prelates which lasted to the end. Dr. MacHale was not accustomed to be dictated to. His voice was seldom heard in the appointment of bishops, and complaints were sent against him to Rome continually. His day had passed.

When the Catholic University was established, the two prelates differed again. The bishops of Ireland were assembled to arrange matters concerning its government. Each bishop gave his opinion freely, and Dr. Cullen saw that the majority was against him. Just then he produced a Papal document, in which everything was arranged according to his own notions. At this Dr. MacHale left the meeting in disgust. He withdrew his support from the University altogether. He was opposed to the appointment of Dr. Newman as Rector, and other Englishmen as professors, in the new University. The conclusion to be drawn from these and other events, detailed in Mgr. O'Reilly's pages, is that both sides made mistakes.

The chapters on the “Episcopal Jubilee,” and “The Archbishop of Tuam asks for a Coadjutor,” xix., xx., and xxi. in Mgr. O'Reilly's second volume, are written in very bad taste. It was not necessary to show that the fiftieth year of Dr. MacHale's episcopate left him with few admirers among the Irish bishops. We do not think that his opposition to the appointment of Dr. McEvilly as his coadjutor is stated fairly; and that, if fairly, it is much to his credit. Dr. McEvilly was a great friend of Dr. MacHale's before he became Bishop of Galway. He had ruled one diocese and administered two more, with great success, for several years. He was a native of the Archdiocese; he had the majority of the votes; he was approved of by the bishops of the province. Finally, Rome sanctioned the choice of the priests and bishops, and why should his present Grace of Tuam have been still objected to? Does it look well for a bishop to beg so hard to have as coadjutor his own nephew—excellent and worthy as that nephew is—instead of taking the choice of the priests? Then, his acceptance of *any one*, except the Bishop of Galway, does not show a very charitable mood of mind. It was not a judicious act on the part of Mgr. O'Reilly to send these private communications out before the public, and thereby lessen the esteem which so many had for the late Archbishop of Tuam. Some of the statements, made in these chapters, have already been publicly contradicted; and many of the sentiments attributed to Dr. MacHale are supposed never to have actuated his movements in

the whole business. It makes one exclaim : "Save me from my friends."

Some notice may not be out of place here regarding John of Tuam's literary works. His "Letters of Hierophilos" were written for an occasion and served their purpose. His great work is "The Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church, showing that the former are no less convincing than the latter are propitious to the happiness of Society." This work shows immense research, and an amount of learning which could scarcely be expected in so young a man. It is still recognised as a class-book in some of our colleges, and has passed through several editions. It is said that he copied out portions of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" several times, in order to imitate his style. It was a pity he did so: for this very thing made him write simple matters in that ornate ponderous manner so much affected at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. Johnsonian or Gibbonian English would scarcely find place in a daily paper in our days; but when John MacHale began to write, it was the mode to clothe one's thoughts in the armour of Goliath. The faults of his style, then, were the faults of his education. He was a splendid logician, a far-seeing politician, an eloquent preacher, and a severe controversialist. It is not probable that his writings, in English, will live for ever; but they acquired a reputation for their author which far exceeded their merits in point of style, though it was not unworthy of their matter.

In writing Gaelic he was more fortunate. His works, in his own native tongue, are worthy of his bright intellect and his Celtic heart. He was not, evidently, a reader of our old manuscripts, or a Celtic scholar, in the same manner as were Eugene Curry, O'Donovan, or the late Mr. Hennesy. He did not spend much of his time—in fact, he had not it to spend—in poring over the treasures which are contained in the Bodleian, Trinity College, or the Royal Irish Academy; but he gave his spare hours to making a literature for his day out of the modern Irish. For this purpose, instead of writing anything original in prose or verse, he gave translations from works which he admired. The first of these were selections from "Moore's Melodies." In this he was very successful. He often equals, and, in three or four instances, surpasses the original; as in his translation of the second verse of "The Harp that once through Tara's halls." In his translation of Homer he was not so successful, and his want of success is owing to the metre he adopted. The Irish language is more adapted for trochaic than for iambic verse. Dr. MacHale uses the measure of Pope's Homer, which is iambic. This puts him into great difficulties in rendering the original. In the first twenty lines of the "Iliad," each line begins and ends

with a monosyllable. This had to be done in order to make his trochaic words become iambs. He was obliged, often, to give two lines of his own for one of the original, in order to render the sense, and to introduce epithets which are not found in Homer. His translation of *παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης* is rendered thus :

Le hais na tonta glorach geimnach garg.

Here we have *three* adjectives for the *one* in Homer. Two of them, as well as the word for *waves*, are trochees. There are some fine specimens of hexameter to be found in the relics of the ancient Irish bards, and a brief study of them would fit a translator to render either Homer or Virgil in the same metre as the original. In fact, trochees are very common in old Irish poetry, and some of the Irish songs are nearly all in dactyls. Neither is there a lack of spondees. His best Irish prose is to be found in his translation of the Pentateuch. This is far superior to Bedell's, which was made from the Protestant version.

Taking Dr. MacHale, all in all, one cannot help thinking that he was a great man in his day—overrated in the people's estimation, at one time, and lowered, beyond his deserts, towards the end of his career. His life is instructive for young and old. He will live long in the memory of his countrymen ; and even his enemies must confess that he fought his battle nobly and honourably throughout his long and toilsome life. The letterpress of Mgr. O'Reilly's volumes is excellent, and the views of some of the scenes, amid which the Archbishop's life was chiefly passed, are a credit both to the designers and engravers.

PIUS DEVINE, C.P.



ART. III.—TRADES UNIONISM AMONG WOMEN IN IRELAND.

IT is important that women should be organised everywhere, but in Ireland especially so. Her greatest industry, numerically by far her greatest, is also pre-eminently a female industry. The linen trade of Ireland still holds the markets of the world; a province is populous with its mills; and in this great trade the percentage of women and girls employed was in 1886 (the latest return obtainable) :

| | Women. | Girls. |
|----------------|------------|--------|
| Belfast . . . | 59.1 . . . | 17.8 |
| District . . . | 44.3 . . . | 21.7 |

It is on account of Ulster that Ireland has this especial claim: but there is only too appealing a necessity also in Dublin and the larger cities, and even in the mills scattered throughout the country. It is true that Mr. Redgrave, the Chief Inspector of Factories, is quoted in the Report of the Sweating Commission as having stated that "in Dublin there is very little sweating, indeed hardly any; in fact, I did not come across a single sweater's workshop similar to the London ones; and in Belfast the same." And our own inspector makes the same report. But they used the word "sweating" in its technical sense of the filtration of wages through a middleman, or a series of middlemen; in its looser and (through a natural association of ideas) very popular sense of starvation wages and long hours we can hold our own lamentably well. We may most safely take it for granted that the match-box makers of Dublin are no less miserably paid than the match-box makers of London, whose wages for a week of seventy-two hours is five to six shillings; or piece-work payment (the wretchedness of which, however, can only be realised by those who have seen it) at twopence-farthing a gross of match-boxes. Out of this, moreover, the workers pay for paste, hemp, and, in the winter, firing to dry the boxes. Machinists—that is, women who work sewing-machines, chiefly in tailoring and bootmaking—are paid at a much lower rate in Ireland than are those employed upon a similar class of work in England and Scotland. And certainly, no less in our own cities than in London and Liverpool and Glasgow, there are hundreds of women daily living the "Song of the Shirt."

The importance of the number of women employed in Ulster is emphasized by their condition and opportunities. In the Report on the Major Textile Trades we find that wages are very

much higher in England and Scotland than in Ireland, in Scotland going as high as twenty-five per cent. Mr. Giffen leaves these figures quite unexplained. To explain them would be one of the most important duties of a trades union. Only the multiplied resources of such an organisation, or some one with exceptional opportunities, could. It is a question of an average, and individual cases are only contributive knowledge; to argue from them singly would be as rash as an argument from the particular to the general usually is. But a Union could easily learn the rates for each place, and the local circumstances that might modify their significance, and so decide fairly and safely. Of course the difference in the price of coal and oil, and, perhaps, distance from the markets, will account for, at all events, part of the twenty-five per cent., but will it account for all of it? It is well known that unscrupulous employers, under the cover of depression of trade, often reduce wages below the necessity of the time, or, at least, make their "hands" bear all the burden of the depression, while conceding to them no proportionate, if any, share in the profits of returning prosperity. Not any more may the difference in the price of coal and the cost of carriage be always equally distributed.

A friend of mine was much struck by an example of this kind while visiting, through the courtesy of the manager, a factory in Belfast. My friend was shown, among other objects of interest, the engine-shed of what was one of the largest factories in the district, and the perfection of the latest Manchester invention was pointed out by the manager. The engines, he explained, were constructed upon a self-feeding principle, and by the aid of the improvement the firm had been enabled to abolish the labour previously required to keep them constantly filled. This new process also made it possible to use a much cheaper kind of coal than had been used in the old system, and a lesser quantity, and that with better results than were formerly produced by a larger quantity of the dearer description. And now comes the point of the story. Some time before my friend's visit the wages had been reduced because of an increased expenditure consequent upon an increased price of coal. Coincident with the reduction to which I have referred in the price of labour, and the reduction through quantity and quality in the price of coal, there was a still further reduction—a fall in the price of coal all round. But all these improved conditions did not result in a return on the part of the workers to the original wages! Here we have immediate reduction in wages following upon an increase in outlay upon one point, though apparently a reduction, and a considerable one, upon four points is not—when it concerns the "hands"—considered sufficient to counteract the effect of an increase upon one.

At the Trades Congress held in Liverpool last year the delegates from Belfast invited Lady Dilke to organise the women of their district. Lady Dilke was unable to accept the invitation, but she recommended the project to the Women's Trade Union League, of which she is the leading member. Accordingly, early in October the Secretary and Treasurer of the League arrived in Belfast. A preliminary and informal meeting was first held by one of the delegates. About thirty women, representing from seventy to eighty thousand workers, attended. Their grievances and claims were then ascertained, and the campaign mapped out. On the 8th a large public meeting was held under the auspices of the Belfast Trades Council. The newspaper reports say that there was not room for the crowds of women that besieged the hall from an early hour. The address dealt chiefly with the general principles of Trades Unionism, and what it had achieved; what their special case demanded, what they might expect, and what they should do. At the end of the meeting the formation of the following societies was agreed to: an Amalgamated Society of Weavers, Warpers, and Winders; an Amalgamated Society of Warehouse Workers; a Fancy Box Makers' Union; a Milliners' and Dress and Mantle Makers' Union; a Union of Tailoresses; a Union of Bookbinders and Tobacco Spinners; and a Union of Rope and Twine Workers. On the following night three meetings were held to carry out the resolutions passed at the first meeting. These meetings were devoted to the routine work of forming the unions, and with some exhortation the new unions were committed to that spirit of self-help which alone can bring outside help to fruit. Such is the bald history of the movement in Belfast, but it is a history full of hope and suggestion to those whose experience is able to develop it. In the words of one of the delegates, "she had seen numerous unions started, but her experience afforded nothing so encouraging as the manner in which the work was being taken up by the women of Belfast. If they were as keen in working the unions and making them effective as they were at the start, she argued well for their success."

No doubt we are a people of inflammable enthusiasms; but all our history contradicts the frequent loose deduction that they burn themselves out in a "big blaze." It is simply that both our heads and our hearts are quick. Whatever fears we may have for other parts of Ireland, I trust to the shrewd business-like and energetic North. Still, the success of a trades union so often depends upon one of the rarest, as it is one of the greatest qualities of the human mind, the power of working for a far-off end unrewarded and without earnest, that I dare prophesy nothing. Of course this difficulty is intensified, unless for a trade liable to strikes, if the union be worked on the new unionism principle of

unions being purely trade forces. It is wiser that women's unions, specially at first, should offer to their members "friendly" as well as trade benefits (such as sick pay), and the rules of the Belfast unions have been drawn up on these lines. The unions very prudently deprecated militant intentions; merely claiming to seek something like an equation of power. To attain to that will undoubtedly take some time; but when they have attained it, there are some important grievances to discuss. But as far as can be argued from the present, it is a very encouraging present to argue from; it is a powerful tribute to the justice of the cause, the alertness of the workers, and the goodwill and assistance of the men. It ought certainly to be very much easier to start the propaganda in Ireland than it was in Great Britain; for here it is preaching a cause that has been fought and won. It is much to be able to assure the tired mechanic or seamstress that the cause that claims their scanty and hard-earned leisure and pence represents success; to point to victories won against the same odds that handicap themselves, and with the same weapons they too may wield. Also, we have not had to drag against the under-current of the men's ill-will. Men have at length recognised that the women are "the weak link in the chain of organisation;" that since woman cannot be forced out of the markets, the cheaper woman-labour is, the more employers will use it as a substitute for their own, and the more the family earnings will dwindle. Here the men have not merely not opposed, passively or actively, the organisation of women, but they have shown themselves eager to assist it. Whatever may have been the determining influence, the genius of the people or the assistance of the men, I cannot but regard the genuineness of the adoption of trade-union principles, and the numbers enlisted, as full of promise for the future.

In Dublin, as in so many other places, it was the strike that made the union, not the union the strike. A few women, a short time before, had been enrolled in the already swollen ranks of one of the largest men's unions. This, however, scarcely can be considered as the beginning of the trades union for women movement here, as that movement works on the much sounder principle of the women managing their own affairs. Apart from their interests being swallowed up in alien and perhaps opposed interests, and the loss of that most important benefit, the education that responsibility and power and discussion brings, the free consideration of some of their distinctive and most grievous wrongs would be impossible. Trades unions should have the double motion that rules the solar system—each interest in revolving round the central federation revolving on its own axis. I therefore look upon the union formed during the strike of

weavers which occurred last September as the beginning of the movement in Dublin. The girls complained of oppressive foremanship, and of the usual grievance of heavy (and illegal) fines taxed on miserable wages. The Dublin Trades Council took up their cause, and the attention of the public was secured by full reports in all the papers. If the courage that the girls showed in coming out remained to them to the end, they probably would have obtained unaided all that they did obtain. Being skilled workers, they could not have been replaced in a short time, and the very lowness of the wages would have proved their salvation, for wages being higher, not merely in England and Scotland, but also in Belfast, it would have been only a chance of unemployed that could have enabled the owners to replace them. But without the assistance of the men they never would have thought of securing for themselves any safeguard for the future. After some time had been worse than wasted over the inevitable playing at cross-purposes, the girls' most pressing demands were conceded. A substantial union was formed, temporarily, however, officered by men, a prominent member of Trades Council being treasurer, and the secretary of another union being secretary. Time will show whether that was a sound plan—whether, in spite of the difficulty, it would not have been better to have plunged into the middle of things at once.

The second effort that has been made was an attempt to organise the seamstresses and shop-girls. The result is strikingly reminiscent of Lady Dilke's article in the *New Review* for January 1890 on the same subject in England. It had just the same elements of hope, and just the same elements of discouragement. No doubt, as that article says, the first requisite for organisation is material.

We were united [the article proceeds] as far back as 1874, by Mrs. Paterson, in a league now called the Women's Trades Union and Provident League, which has its office where any one may apply for help—at the Industrial Hall, Broad Street, Bloomsbury, and we have gone on ever since, distributing leaflets, handbills, pamphlets, by the thousand, in the many crowded centres of women's industry; yet, when we fondly hoped that the ground was thoroughly prepared, we have called meetings only to find ourselves face to face with so scant an audience that the platform had to be abandoned by the speakers, and the meeting, prepared with so much zeal, lapsed of necessity into a chat with the four or five anxious women who alone had ventured to respond to our invitations. Indeed, we very soon came to regard such an experience as rather encouraging; for our four or five women, well indoctrinated, would come back to us at a later day, bringing as many more with them, and gradually the numbers would increase until, created by the efforts of the little

band which had met us that first evening, there would arise a genuine trade society, soundly established and self-governed, though numbering perhaps only a hundred or so. The nights we learnt to dread were our apparently successful nights, when, in reply to our call, we found a room packed with idlers, come out of curiosity, frightening away those we wanted to meet, and as certain to withhold all help as they were ready to give us their amused approval.

Considering the very large numbers employed in these occupations the attendance was undoubtedly depressing, and of the few a large proportion came out of curiosity. We must, however, remember that the women the organisers were endeavouring to benefit belonged to a body upon whose ranks the driven crowds of the unemployed are ever pressing, unwilling allies of their masters' vengeance if the masters need to take it. And there is this to encourage us in the project—that the union has secured the services of some able and zealous, if, what is almost inevitable, inexperienced ladies; and that the workers themselves, if I remember aright, are directly represented on the council.

This brings me to consider the possibilities of support for the movement among the ladies of Ireland. We have here, of course, nothing like the Women's Trade Union League; very little, I am afraid, even like the material of such a society. In these days of a Conservative Labour Commission and Free Education we need not despair that Trades Unionism may yet become a fashionable philanthropy; but for the present it is a subject limited both by sympathy and culture to a comparatively narrow circle. Wealth and influence, no doubt, would be useful, more particularly in a crisis; but what Trades Unionism here really needs is the time and effort of those who, learning, will teach—counsellors, organisers. We would call them to assist the poorest, but it is not wealth we ask, unless the wealth of brain and heart. Feminine sympathy has a tendency to confine itself to a few personal cases, and to pass over the same miseries worked out to tens and hundreds as mere statistics. Happily that tendency belongs to the "old order," and a wider world is revealing itself to women. How many ladies have laboured all their lives amid the misery and crime that capitalist greed has produced, seeing the effect, but never asking the cause, soothing a cancer that should be cut out? Charity, unfortunately, will always have its special work, but much of its present work could be done more efficiently and more lastingly by Trades Unionism, and that without fear of charity's so serious blemishes of subsidising the profligate and thriftless and demoralising the weak. And for the same amount of money, where charity deals with one, Trades Unionism deals with ten. In the main, those to whom Trades Unionism has yet to be carried are those who need it most, for the more igno-

rant, the poorer, the more oppressed the workers are the harder it is to organise them, and the less chance there is of their organising themselves. It is of them we speak, and have been speaking chiefly. Trades Unionism as a philanthropy is better than charity, as prevention is better than cure; better to house and feed the worker as well as the average horse and dog, than to doctor and bury them when overcrowding and cold and starvation have done their work; better, as discipline, self-sacrifice, and the larger life are better than dependence. Then, too, Trades Unionism has this great claim—that it reaches that class of poor who are too worthy of charity for charity ever to reach them.

There is less public spirit among women here than in England; we are more afraid of publicity and of each other. If some lady here, of the talent, self-sacrifice, and social influence of some of the ladies who have made the London society such a success, were moved to take up the project, things would be much easier. There are many who could be made either to think or feel only by a personal challenge to their sympathy and responsibility, and who could be encouraged to act upon their convictions only by the courage of another. One of our chief difficulties is the sheer ignorance that, even among otherwise cultured ladies, exists both as to the scope and meaning of this movement. To many the mere name of Trades Unionism is enough; it is something to their ignorance synonymous with anarchy, and bitter with all the bitterness of class war. To them a strike is always an insolent rebellion against just authority. So heavy is the debt of justice to the workers, that to defend them seems to me grotesque with irony. However, to those who honestly, if superficially, are alienated by the surroundings, the bitterness, and occasional violence of the people, I would say one word: it is, Think. Apply that fairest test of changing places—dream the dream of Longfellow's king. "They work," said Dr. Arnold White in the Sweating Commission, "from eighteen to twenty hours a day, and their ordinary food day after day consists of bread and coffee." For but a few minutes to realise the undeserved horror of life to some—to live the life that so many workers live, from their unnatural, unjoyous childhood to their death in the dreaded workhouse; learning no knowledge but the dark and polluted life around them, as they herd in dens of naked rotteness, and drag on the weary life they hardly hold through the long toiling day to the few hours of sleep—the uneasy sleep of scarcely covered cold, or fever of the poisonous sultriness; their future without hope, as their past was without joy; the drunken oblivion that is for ever at their doors tempting them, to be paid for in an awakening to even worse misery; all the pain inevitable to every lot intensified in theirs, such pleasures as they have, as even the

wretchedest may sometimes look to have, brutalised out of all fineness of joy: so live, and see if the hideous oppressions and inequalities of life may be borne as calmly by those in the valley of darkness and death as by those who dwell in the high places.

And now that I have said my say, I am painfully conscious of a certain very wise saw—the wiser, I fear, in this instance, if we take it the least bit cynically. And in that sense Irish Trades Unionism can illustrate it with a “modern instance” as encouraging as it is appropriate. Bakers here in 1872 worked for sixteen to seventeen hours a day, being only paid so many shillings a week. They had, moreover, heated from the ovens, to deliver the bread. They petitioned for shorter hours and better wages, but their employers and the public were deaf to the obvious justice of their claim. At length they struck. Public opinion got hungry, got sympathetic, put pressure on the employers, and “the men remained victors, with no gratitude”—“Il y a de certaines vérités qu’il ne suffit par de persuader, mais qu’il faut encore faire sentir!”

HENRY ABRAHAM.

ART. IV.—THE AUGUSTINIAN SYSTEM.

HAVING recently (DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1890) pointed out the futility of the efforts made to represent St. Augustine as anti-Papal, we shall now examine the one other point on which Protestants still claim his patronage—viz., “The Augustinian System.” This formula, invented by the Pelagians, has been adopted by Protestants from the days of Luther and Calvin. By it the Pelagians meant that St. Augustine’s doctrine of original sin and grace was an innovation; the Reformers, that his doctrine of original sin, free-will, grace, and predestination was the same as their own. The present indifference of Protestants on the first of these points, and the admitted clearness of the Saint’s teaching upon it, dispense us from the obligation of treating it specially. We shall therefore devote the space at our disposal to a detailed examination of the three other points, as far as they concern St. Augustine and the Protestant “Augustinian System.”

In his own day, St. Augustine regarded the imputation of being an innovator as a grievous insult, and always protested that he had no system except the doctrine of the Church. Thus, (“Cont. Jul.” vi. n. 39), he says to Julian:

You say I have innovated, and that I thought as you do at the time of my conversion; but you are either deceiving or deceived,

calumniating what I say at present, or not knowing or understanding what I then said. . . . My books are still extant which I wrote immediately after my conversion, while still a layman; and although I was not as conversant with Sacred Scripture then as I was afterwards, still on this subject I neither thought nor said anything but what the Church teaches and says from the earliest times.

Again, to the same adversary ("Opus Imperf." i. 59):

No, I did not, as you pretend to deplore, vomit this doctrine into Italy, but received it from the Italian bishop from whom I received the water of regeneration; for it is the Catholic faith, though not yours.

This protest is often renewed in his anti-Pelagian treatises; and on every branch of the subject he professes to teach nothing but the Catholic doctrine always held in the Church, always taught by the Greek and Latin Fathers. ("Cont. Jul." i. 6-30, ii. 7, vi. 70. "De Gratia et Lib." Arb. 10. "De Correp. et Grat." 2. "De Predes Sanc." 2, 27, 29. "De Spir. et Lit." 32. "Epis." 215, 217). Hence, besides his copious extracts from Holy Scripture, he constantly appeals to the teaching of the Church, as exhibited in her liturgy, her Sacramental rites, her public prayers, her approved councils, the uniform teaching of the Fathers, and the doctrinal decisions of the Roman Pontiffs.

We need not repeat here what we have so recently said about his attitude towards the Apostolic See and its teaching. The uniform teaching of the Fathers, when they testified to the doctrine of their time, was final with him. Thus, he says to Julian ("Opus Imperf." iv. 112):

You say, "I have already crushed you beneath the weight of such persons," meaning Ambrose and his companions. It is evident that you have not only been crushed, but ground to powder by this weight, "like the dust that is carried away by the wind from the face of the earth" (Ps. i.). For, these prelates of God, so numerous, so great, so holy, and so illustrious, children of the Catholic Church as learners, and Fathers as teachers, have so spoken of the sin of the first man and of those subject to death by its sad inheritance, not as men at variance with each other, or with themselves; but with such absolute unanimity and constancy, that no one who reads them without heretical bias can doubt whether, on this subject, Holy Scripture can be otherwise understood, or the Catholic faith questioned.

This passage was written in answer to a charge of having rejected the testimony of certain Fathers quoted by Pelagius; and on looking at the reference given ("De Nat. et Grat." n. 71), we find that there was some apparent ground for the charge; but it was only *apparent*, for it was as mere disputants (*disputatores tractatores*), not as *witnesses*, they had been rejected. St. Augus-

tine always makes this distinction, and sometimes takes care to prove that a given Father had spoken as a *witness* ("Cont. Jul." i. 16). Protestants often make ludicrous mistakes by not attending to this distinction; thus, an Anglican dignitary gravely tells us (*Church Quarterly*, July 1887, p. 270)

that every element and constituent of Church authority, whether the individual teaching of the Fathers, or the united voice of Councils, is to him (Augustine) capable of mistakes.

Now, this medley of insinuations and assertions is based on a letter (Ep. 82) written to St. Jerome during the celebrated dispute about the text from the Epistle to the Galatians, and on St. Augustine's refusal to be bound by mere private interpretations of Scripture. And on this account a distinguished Anglican writer thinks him capable of rejecting the authority of Fathers, Popes, and Councils! *

We may here remark that St. Augustine does not always think it necessary to quote a great number of Fathers; he very often quotes only one or two representative men, like St. Cyprian, St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose. Nor does he always require long declarations from those who lived before the controversy had arisen; he is quite satisfied with their testimony expressed in any form, saying: "That although they had no occasion to discuss this difficult question before the heresy had arisen, they would undoubtedly have done so had it been necessary to answer such adversaries" ("De Predest. Sanc." 27).

"Lex orandi, lex credendi," was another of his principles. Thus, writing ("Epis." 217) to the unsteady Vitalis, he says:

Well, then, say plainly of those to whom we preach the Gospel, that we must preach to them, but not pray for them; argue against the prayers of the Church, and when you hear the priest of God at the altar inviting the people of God to pray for unbelievers, that God may convert them to the faith; for the catechumens, that He may inspire them with the desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that He may enable them to persevere; deride these pious words, and say you will not heed the invitation, as such things are not gifts of God, but efforts of our own will.

Again ("De Dono Persev." 63):

Listen to the prayers of the Church, which she has said from the beginning, and will always say to the end. She has never been silent in her prayers regarding this doctrine, which we are now

* His belief regarding the infallibility of General Councils is clearly declared in his work "De Baptismo, Contra Donatistas," i. ch. 18, ii. ch. 9; and it was of the decisions of local African Councils, when confirmed by Pope Innocent, that he said, (Serm. 131, n. 10), *the cause is ended*.

obliged to defend against new heretics; although she did not think it necessary to raise her voice otherwise when there was no adversary in question. . . . As in these prayers, so in this faith, has the Church grown up from her infancy.

Another of his arguments is drawn from the public rites of the Church. Thus ("Cont. Jul." vi. n. 11) he says:

All reasons and explanations apart, that must be an undoubted truth which, in accordance with all antiquity, and with the true Catholic faith, is believed and taught by the whole Church which would not exsufflate and exorcise the children of the faithful except to rescue them from the powers of darkness and the prince of death.

These arguments he often repeats. (See "De Nuptiis," &c., ii, 22, 32, 51; "De Pec. Mer." i. 63.)

All this agrees with his doctrine on the infallibility of the Church, and proves that he could not have been the author of a "System" opposed to her teaching. This has been demonstrated again and again by Catholic theologians in the greatest detail; and yet Protestant writers persist in repeating this legend in the very spirit of Gibbon, who said ("Decline and Fall," c. 33): "The difference between him (Augustine) and Calvin is invisible to a theological microscope." (See *Church Quarterly*, July 1887, p. 275; Schaff's "St. Augustine," c. 27; Cutt's "St. Augustine," c. 22; Lloyd's "North African Church," c. 14; Farrar's "Lives of the Fathers," vol. ii. p. 547.)* The coolness with which nearly every recent Protestant writer who alludes at all to St. Augustine, attributes to him, as a matter of course, the "Augustinian System," induces us to remind them of a few works on the subject, such as Tournely, "De Gratia," and "De Arbitrii Libertate": Des Champs, "De Hæresi Janseniana"; Merlin, "Véritable Clef des Ouvrages de St. Augustin"; Cardinal Noris, "Vindiciæ Augustinianæ." Merlin's work was reprinted at Paris by Garnier

* It is almost incredible to what lengths some of these writers go. Thus Mr. Lloyd says, p. 401: "He (Augustine) alone has ventured with impunity to indite a letter to the Bishop of Rome, accusing him of haste, and bidding him reconsider his judgment." He had already described the Council of 418 as having met in a most anti-Papal spirit, as having been swayed by Augustine's anti-Papal eloquence, as having by its canons saved the Church from Pelagianism, in spite of the Pope, &c. Our readers are already aware that most of this is pure fiction; but all may not know that the acts of this Council are not extant at all, and that its canons—the only extant record—make no allusion to this mythical speech. Need we add that "the letter to the bishop of Rome" is equally mythical? This Council, at first *plenary*, became simply *general* (every *plenary* Council of Africa was *general*, but not *vice versa*), and in this form lasted about a month, thus affording time for the arrival of the Encyclical of Pope Zosimus, and for the letter of thanks mentioned by Prosper (C. Collat. 15) as sent to Zosimus for this and his previous letters.

in 1877 in an appendix to Migne's edition of St. Augustine's works; it is particularly valuable for its complete exposure of the frauds of Jansenius in pretending to have found in the writings of St. Augustine the two or three catchwords of his own heresy.

For Catholics, who know St. Augustine's teaching on the infallibility of the Church, no more need be said on the "Augustinian System," but how many Protestants are aware of this teaching? How many of their writers will tell them, "that he (Augustine) would not have believed the Gospel, had not the authority of the Catholic Church persuaded him?" ("Cont. Epist. Fundam." No. 6); or that "to question that which is practised by the universal Church, is a piece of most insolent folly" (Ep. liv. No. 6). All this is concealed from the mass of Protestants, and therefore the general argument here indicated cannot fully come home to them. We must therefore examine the "system" in detail to show clearly the injustice of representing St. Augustine as an innovator and the patron of Jansenius and Calvin, as Dr. Mozley, the great English authority on this subject, has done. He tells us that St. Augustine improved out of existence the mild doctrine of the early Church and Fathers, substituting a doctrine of his own, which is accurately represented by the "Augustinus" of Jansenius. This long discredited work Dr. Mozley follows with the most implicit confidence.*

FREE-WILL.—Entering on the subject of free-will, we must carefully bear in mind the terminology of the text books. (See Perrone's "De Homine.") Inattention to this point would be sure to cause endless misunderstandings.

Liberty or free-will is the faculty of choosing. It is called liberty of *exercise* in the case of internal acts of the will; liberty of *execution* in the case of external acts, such as rising, walking, &c.; it is only the former that are strictly free. To choose is to will one thing among two or more, with power to do so or not. Choice between contradictories is called *liberty of contradiction*, as to love or not love; choice between contraries is called *liberty of contrariety*, as to love or hate; only the former is of the essence of liberty, since God is infinitely free; but man possesses the latter, too, since he can do good or evil. Choice between things only specifically different is called *liberty of specification*, as to read or write. Choice supposes advertence and power of election. Only *co-action* or *necessity* can destroy

* His "Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination" was published in 1855, mainly to *inculcate* mutual forbearance (on his Anglican brethren); he lived to see them "agreed to differ" on the most fundamental dogmas of Christianity.

liberty; the former being compulsion from without, can reach only to external acts; the latter being an invincible inclination from within, renders internal acts either simply voluntary, as in the case of the blessed who love God necessarily, or merely spontaneous, as in the case of indeliberate first motions. It is manifest that *necessity* is incompatible with real liberty; the fundamental error of the Jansenists was the assertion, with Luther and Calvin, that they are quite compatible. Hence, man's power over his own acts is called *liberty of indifference*. Freedom from obligation or law is called moral liberty; hence, moral servitude or subjection is quite compatible with true natural liberty. Thus, a Christian is *naturally* free to break the ten commandments, but not *morally* free to do so. Ancient writers do not always *explicitly* observe these distinctions; but in St. Augustine's case, the scope and context will always show that he carefully keeps them in mind. We must also remember that he often uses the word *will*, in its formal sense, for free-will, and that he often takes it for granted that his readers are quite aware of the various states in which liberty may exist in man, as the natural and supernatural states, and the states before and after the fall. No Christian of his time, and few Pagans who had heard of the "Golden Age," would question the following passage ("City of God," xiv. ch. 26): "Man therefore lived in Paradise as he pleased, while he wished to obey the command of God. He lived in the enjoyment of God, whose goodness made him good. He lived free from all want and could have always so lived. His food and drink were at hand lest he should suffer hunger or thirst, as also the tree of life to preserve him from the infirmities of old age. No corruption from or of the body affected his senses. He had no ailment to fear from within, no accident from without. His body enjoyed perfect health, his soul perfect peace. Just as in Paradise there was no excess of heat or cold, so were its inhabitants free from those desires and fears that hinder good inclinations. There was no sadness, no vain joy, but true and constant joy from God, who was loved *with charity from a pure heart, a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith*. Conjugal society was faithful under the influence of chaste love; concord was the guardian of soul and body, and the commandment was easily observed. Leisure did not beget weariness, nor did sleep oppress the unwilling." No one will deny that in this state man's will was far stronger and more unimpeded for good than it could have been after the fall, or even after the reparation. But even after the fall the natural free-will remained; Luther was the first to deny this, and also the distinction between the natural and the supernatural; and from this arose all the other errors of the Reformers with regard to

free-will and grace.* Some idea of these errors may be gathered from the following canons enacted against them by the Council of Trent (Sess. vi. Can. iv. v. vi.):

If any one saith that man's free-will, moved and excited by God, by assenting to God exciting and calling, nowise co-operates towards disposing and preparing itself for obtaining the grace of justification; that it cannot refuse its consent if it would, but that as something inanimate it does nothing whatever and is merely passive: let him be anathema.

If any one saith, that since Adam's sin the free-will of man is lost and extinguished, or that it is a thing with only a name, yea, a name without a reality, a figment, in fine, introduced into the Church by Satan: let him be anathema.

If any one saith that it is not in man's power to make his ways evil, but that the works that are evil God worketh, as well as those that are good, not permissively only, but properly and of Himself, in such wise that the treason of Judas is no less His proper work than the vocation of Paul: let him be anathema.

Protestant writers at the present day, though very unsound on the subject of free-will, are far from adopting the repulsive language here condemned in the early Reformers; but they still generally assert with Gibbon, "that the difference between Augustine and Calvin is invisible even to a theological microscope." A Cambridge lecturer, Mr. Cunningham, who in 1885 timidly ventured to question this tradition, was taken to task by a high Anglican dignitary in the *Church Quarterly Review* of July 1887. The only other recent Protestant writer whom we have known to question it, is the Rev. James Field Spalding, of Cambridge, Mass., who in 1886 wrote an excellent little work on St. Augustine, mainly to prove that the rejection of Calvin need not at all involve the rejection of St. Augustine.

But the reader must not imagine that Protestant writers have anything new to say in defence of this tradition; they merely repeat it, serving up with it one or more of the extracts from St. Augustine that were relied upon by Jansenius and Calvin. As they take good care never to allude to the answers of Catholic

* They broke off from the Catholic doctrine by asserting that Adam's state of original justice was natural and *debitum*, not supernatural and *indebitum*; and that consequently original sin has deprived man of an integral part of his nature, and especially of his free-will, thus rendering him as powerless for good as a "stone or a log." (See Perrone's *De Hom. c. v.*). It has been already shown in this REVIEW (March 1856) that Mozley's teaching differs very little from this, and that he continues to attribute the same to St. Augustine; but who can tell what Protestants hold at present regarding original sin and Baptismal regeneration? The only thing that can be said with certainty is, that they still continue to credit St. Augustine with the old Reformed doctrines, with the whole "Augustinian System."

writers, we must give a few specimens, for the convenience of those who may not have time to consult our theologians or text-books.

1ST OBJECTION.—Augustine says ("Enchirid." c. 30), "By a bad use of his free-will, Adam lost himself and it."

RESPONSE.—The context shows that the free-will here meant was that more perfect one of Adam before his fall; and therefore no inference can be drawn against fallen man's natural free-will. The parallel texts remove all doubt on the subject; thus, in his "Books to Boniface," i. c. 2, he says, "Which of us asserts that free-will perished from the human race by the sin of the first man? Liberty did perish, indeed, by sin; but that liberty which existed in Paradise of having full justice with immortality."

2ND OBJECTION.—"Free-will being made *captive* avails only unto sin; but unto justice it *avails not* unless it be divinely aided and delivered" ("Ad. Bonif." iii. c. 8).

RESPONSE.—This *captivity* and *impotence* of the will are in no way opposed to Catholic doctrine, if they be not meant as a denial of man's natural liberty of *indifference*. That they are not so meant is clear from the fact that such a meaning would place St. Augustine in the most flagrant contradiction to himself. For he says ("De Duab. Anim." 17): "To hold any one guilty of sin because he has not done what he could not do is the height of iniquity and folly. Therefore, whatever these souls do, if they do it by nature and not by will; that is, if they are not endowed with free mental activity to do or not do it; if, in fine, they could not have abstained from what they did, we cannot hold them guilty of sin." Such passages abound in the Saint's writings, and hence our objectors are obliged to say that he changed his opinion under the pressure of the Pelagian controversy; but, unfortunately for this subterfuge, he, on the contrary, confirmed it at the close of his life in his "Retractations," i. ch. 9-15; and even in the Pelagian controversy itself, as in the above passage to Boniface, and in many others quoted in our text-books. After this it matters little what meaning we give to the passage here objected; but really, to any one moderately acquainted with St. Augustine's terminology its meaning is very clear. For, in the first place, it had a very definite meaning in the ecclesiastical language of the time; and, in the second place, he himself often uses these terms in contexts that clearly fix their meaning. By this servitude or *captivity* he meant that, since the fall, every child of Adam is born in sin, is subject to the penalties of sin, is incited by his unruly passions to actual sin, and is unable without the grace of Christ to do anything towards his deliverance from this servitude, or towards meriting any supernatural reward ("De Lib. Arbit." i. 22; "De Nuptiis," ii. n. 8; "Ad. Bonif."

iii. n. 24; "Op. Imperf." i. 25, 27, 88, 217). And, as to the *impotence* alluded to, most Protestants will admit with Dr. Mozley (ed. l. p. 109), "that grace was necessary for the righteousness of man, upright as well as of man fallen," and with St. Augustine ("Enchirid." 106), "that without grace no merit was possible, even then (in Paradise);" and even with the Council of Trent, which says ("Sess." vi. can. 1):

If any one saith that man may be justified before God by his own works, whether done through the teaching of human nature or that of the law, without the grace of God through Jesus Christ: let him be anathema.

All this implies a definite kind of impotence; but an impotence which is no more opposed to liberty of *indifference* than is the impotence of a man to perform valid judicial acts without having been raised to the dignity of judge. All the confusion has arisen from confounding *moral liberty* with natural *liberty of indifference*, as the Reformers did from the first, and as many of their followers do to this day. A Jew was free to eat swine's flesh, naturally, but not morally; a paralytic is free to walk, morally, but not naturally.

3RD OBJECTION.—"Our will would not be a will at all, if it were not in our own power; but it is in our power, and is, therefore, free" ("De Lib. Arbit." iii. n. 8).

"For, it would be very absurd to say that our desire of happiness does not belong to our (free) will, because by, I know not what good natural necessity, we cannot desire the contrary; we do not venture to say that God desires justice necessarily; not willingly, because He cannot wish to sin" ("De Naturæ et Gratia," n. 54).

In these and similar passages, St. Augustine supposes that *necessity* is not opposed to liberty.

RESPONSE.—On the contrary, the first passage occurs in a context occupied in proving that God's foreknowledge of our acts does not destroy their freedom, and that liberty and *necessity* are incompatible: all through this argument *voluntas* is manifestly taken, in its *formal* sense, for free-will. In the second passage, *necessity* is, indeed, united to freedom, but not regarding the same object. God cannot will evil; but, when He wills a certain good *ad extra*, the creation for instance, He may will it, or not, or may will something else instead. So the blessed cannot will evil, but they may choose between one good and another, outside the beatific vision. And as regards man at present, although he necessarily wills his own good and happiness *in general*, he freely selects the object, good or evil, in *particular*. That such is St. Augustine's meaning is clear from the fact that

he is arguing against Pelagians, who held that indifference of *contrariety* is of the essence of liberty. Hence he says to Julian ("Op. Imperf." i., 100): "If no one be free who cannot will good or evil, then God is not free. . . . Do you want thus to praise God by depriving Him of liberty?"

This is a fair summary of the principal objections against the Catholic doctrine of free-will, drawn from the writings of St. Augustine; the few remaining ones will come in under the two next subjects. He had to defend the Catholic doctrine of free-will against Fatalists, Stoics, Manicheans, Predestinarians, Necessitarians, Astrologers, and Pelagians; and, therefore, to understand him, we must always ascertain which of these adversaries he is refuting. Although obliged to lay bare all the cavils of these sophists, he thought the common sense of mankind an all-sufficient argument. Hence he exclaims ("De Duab. Animab." No. 15): "Was I obliged to search these obscure books in order to discover that no one can deserve blame or punishment for wishing that which justice does not forbid him to wish, or for not doing what he could not do? Is not this sung by the shepherds in their mountains, by the poets in the theatres, by the unlearned in their assemblies, by the learned in their books, by the masters in the schools, by the bishops in the churches, and by the human race over the whole earth?"

GRACE.—The second item in the "Augustinian System" concerns the doctrine of grace, which is, of course, very closely connected with the doctrine of free-will. The following extracts from a well-known book, will serve as an introduction to our present remarks on the subject:*

Q. What is the grace of God?

A. It is a supernatural gift of God, not at all due to us; a divine quality communicated by God to the soul, which cleanses her from all the stains of sin and renders her beautiful and agreeable in the eyes of God. It is also a divine help, which excites us and enables us to do good and avoid evil.

Q. How many kinds of grace are there?

A. It is principally divided into two kinds, actual grace and sanctifying grace.

Q. What good does actual grace do to us?

A. It fortifies and strengthens the soul.

Q. What good does sanctifying grace do to us?

A. It washes and beautifies the soul.

Q. What is actual grace?

A. Actual grace is an internal supernatural help which God communicates to the soul, to enable us to do good and avoid evil.

Q. How does this actual grace operate on the soul?

* Hay's "Sincere Christian," ch. xviii.

A. By enlightening the understanding to see what ought to be done or avoided, and inclining the will towards what is good, or averting it from evil; and on this account it is called *exciting* grace and *preventing* grace. It is called exciting grace, because it excites and invites us, as it were, to do good and avoid evil; and it is called preventing grace, because it is wholly the work of God in our souls, and precedes every deliberate and voluntary act of our own, as experience itself teaches us; for we feel these holy inspirations arise in our souls without anything done by us to procure them, or having it in our power to hinder them; though when they come we have it always in our power either to comply with them or to resist them. When we freely comply with this first motion of actual grace, it continues to fortify and strengthen us to go on and perfect the good work we have begun, and on this account it is called *concomitant* grace, because it accompanies us during the whole action; and *strengthening* or helping grace, because it helps our weakness and enables us to perform it.

Q. What does the Scripture say of this *actual* grace?

A. Our Saviour says himself, "Behold I stand at the door and knock"; see here the exciting grace; and he immediately adds, "If any man shall hear My voice and open the door, I will come in to him and will sup with him, and he with Me" (Rev. iii.); behold the helping grace, or the continuation of His actual grace when we comply with the first motions it works on our souls. To the same purpose St. Paul says: "It is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to His good pleasure" (Phil. ii.).

Q. Can we of our own natural strength, without the help of God's grace, do anything towards our salvation?

A. No, we cannot of ourselves, and without the grace of God, do the least thing towards our salvation, in thought, word, or deed; nor so much as have a good motion in our heart towards God, but which must first be excited in us by Him. . . . Our Saviour says: "No man can come to Me, except the Father, who hath sent Me, draw him" (John vi.). . . . To the same purpose St. Paul says: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy" (Rom. ix.). . . . We cannot have true faith in Jesus Christ, nor believe the sacred truths of eternity with divine faith, without the help of His grace. Thus, St. Paul declares, "To you it is given for Christ to believe in Him (Phil. i.) . . . Hence, the Church of Christ, by the mouth of her General Councils, pronounces anathema upon those who teach, "that without the preventing inspiration and help of the Holy Ghost a man can believe as he ought (Counc. Trid. Sess. vi. can. iii.). . . . And hence St. Paul acknowledges that all the good that is in him, and all the good works he had wrought, flowed from this divine grace and mercy: "By the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me hath not been made void, but I have laboured more abundantly than all these; yet, not I, but the grace of God with me" (1 Cor. xv.).

Q. Why does he say, the grace of God with me?

4. By these words he shows that although Almighty God is always the first to begin the good work in us by His exciting and preventing grace, and although it is God that carries on the good work in us to its perfection by His assisting grace, yet it is not the grace alone that does it, but that we co-operate with this grace, freely consenting to its motions in our soul, and willingly performing the good work to which it inclines and assists us. . . .

Q. Is it in our power to resist this grace of God?

A. Most certainly. The grace of God does not force us, nor take away our free-will, but it helps our weakness, and enables us to will and do what we could neither will nor do without it. . . . Free-will is an essential part of our nature with which we are created. . . . This liberty and free-will with which God created man, was greatly diminished by original sin, and our power of doing good exceedingly weakened, from the violence of concupiscence let loose in our souls by that sin. Now, the grace of Jesus Christ cures this infirmity, fortifies and perfects our liberty, excites us to do good, and enables us to perform it; but by no means forces us. Nay, fatal experience itself teaches us that we too often resist the motions of grace; which, alas! is the source of all our woe.

Q. Why do you say that without the help of God's grace we can do nothing towards our salvation?

A. That is to say, that whatever good action we may do by the mere strength of nature, and without the aid of the grace of Jesus Christ, can never in any manner conduce to our eternal salvation; for, "there is no other name given to men under heaven by which we can be saved but the name of Jesus only; neither is there salvation in any other. . . . (Acts iv.).

Q. But can man do no good without the grace of God?

A. Observe, although our nature was greatly vitiated by sin, yet it was not totally corrupted and lost to all good. There still remain in us some sparks of that original rectitude in which we were created; and hence, among the numberless vicious dispositions of the heart of man, there are few or no persons to be found who have not some good natural inclinations, some to one moral virtue, some to another. Thus, some are naturally inclined to compassion, some to generosity, some to honesty in their dealings, and so of others. Now, though these good natural dispositions will not be able to support a man when they are occasionally opposed by other violent passions, yet in ordinary cases he can act according to them, and when he does so he performs a good moral action; and this he may certainly do by the strength of nature only; and though such actions can in no respect conduce to salvation, which is a supernatural reward, yet they do not fail to receive from God some temporal recompense; "for the divine justice will render to every one according to his works."

Q. As we can do nothing conducive to our salvation, without the actual grace of God exciting and aiding us thereto, does God bestow this grace upon all men without exception?

A. It would certainly be the height of impiety to suppose that God would lay His commands upon us, His creatures, and oblige us to obey them under pain of eternal damnation, the most dreadful of evils, and at the same time refuse to give us those helps without which it is impossible for us to observe them. . . .

Q. What is the tendency of all those actual graces which God bestows upon all mankind?

A. The ultimate tendency of them all is to procure the salvation of souls; but their immediate tendency is different, according to the different people who receive them. . . .

Q. Whence comes it that these noble effects are so seldom produced in the greatest part of mankind?

A. Not from any deficiency in the graces we receive, which are all fully sufficient for producing these effects in our souls; but from the perverse will of man, which resists these motions of the grace of God, refuses to comply with them, and renders them of no effect.

Q. But cannot Almighty God give us such graces as would effectually overcome the perverseness of our will?

A. No doubt Almighty God has an absolute power over the heart of man, and in the treasures of His infinite wisdom and mercy has such superabundant and suitable helps and graces to give him, as would infallibly procure his free and willing consent to whatever God requires of him. This power he exercised in a most miraculous manner in the conversion of St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalen, and others. Hence, the Scripture affirms "that God works in us both to will and to do, according to His good pleasure" (Philip. ii.). . . . Now, this supreme dominion which God has over the heart and will of man, as our Sovereign Lord, He exercises not by forcing our will or infringing on our liberty, but by giving us such abundant and suitable graces as He infallibly knows will procure our ready consent, and effectually enable us to do what He pleases, and cheerfully to walk in His commandments. Thus David says, "I have run in the way of Thy commandments, when Thou didst dilate my heart" (Ps. cxviii.). . . . On this account, those graces of God which man resists, and to which he refuses his consent, are called in the language of divines *sufficient* graces, because they are always sufficient to enable us to do what God requires we should do when He gives them, though by our resistance we do it not; but those to which we consent, and with which we co-operate, are called *efficacious* graces, because the happy effects for which they are given are actually produced in our consent and co-operation with them.

Thus far this accurate manual. The whole chapter will repay perusal; but we are at present concerned only about *actual* grace. The first Reformers boldly attributed to St. Augustine their own doctrine of "irresistible grace"; and Dr. Mozley, the acknowledged leader of English Protestants in this matter, everywhere makes *efficacious* and *irresistible* grace synonymous. As St. Augustine certainly held the doctrine of *efficacious* grace,

although the scholastic terms, *efficacious* and *sufficient* were not yet in use, Dr. Mozley asks us to swallow the following choice morsel :

He (Augustine) argues for free-will as a doctrine of Scripture, and uses the common arguments which the maintainers of the ordinary doctrine of free-will use, viz., that Scripture employs commands, promises, and threats, and speaks to men as if they had free-will. . . . While, therefore, in the case of Scripture, we are justified in taking such language to imply an original and self-determining will in man, because Scripture is addressed to the popular understanding, and this is the popular inference to draw from such language ; in the case of a philosophical writer like Augustine, who treats of the human will and the questions belonging to it in a scientific and subtle way, and from whose language, therefore, we are not justified in inferring more than it logically contains, we cannot take it as implying more than the existence of a will in man (p. 225, 1st ed.).

That is, St. Augustine had one doctrine for the learned and another for the unlearned ! And he had to teach Pelagians not the liberty of the will under grace, but the "existence of a will in man" !

Now, during the long Jansenist controversy, it was proved beyond all doubt, firstly, that St. Augustine never tolerated the idea of *irresistible* grace ; secondly, that he never tolerated the idea of *efficacious* grace being opposed to free-will ; thirdly, that he held the existence not only of *efficacious*, but also of *sufficient* grace, although he did not employ this scholastic distinction. All this is so familiar to every one acquainted with our theologians and text-books, that it is needless to go over the ground here again. We shall therefore content ourselves with a few decisive extracts from the Saint's latest anti-Pelagian works, reminding the reader that all through this controversy he uses the word *voluntas* in its formal sense for free-will.

No incident in the Pelagian controversy better illustrates his teaching than the well-known case of the monks of Adrumetum. Some of his anti-Pelagian writings having penetrated into that remote monastery, caused great dissension among the monks ; five or six of them insisting that their Father, Augustine, taught the doctrine of irresistible grace ; and one going so far as to hold that the Abbot's duty was to obtain for them this grace by his prayers, and when they did not obtain it, to overlook their faults. After many fruitless efforts to compose the dissensions, the matter was at last referred to the Bishop of Hippo. He wrote two letters on the subject to the Abbot Valentine, and for the use of the monks, two most important works, one on "Grace and Free-Will," the other on "Correction and Grace." In the first letter

to Valentine (Ep. 214, No. vii.) he says: "Take care therefore of the terrible warning of so great an Apostle, and when you feel that you do not understand, at least believe, the words of God, which teach both the grace of God and the free-will of man." His first work to the monks opens thus: "We have said and written much, as far as God condescended to enable us, on account of those who so proclaim and defend the free-will of man, as daringly and wilfully to deny the grace of God by which we are called to Him, delivered from our demerits, and enriched with merits. But as there are persons who so defend the grace of God as to deny the free-will of man, or imagine that free-will is denied when grace is defended, I have thought it necessary to write something to you, my dear brother Valentine, and to the others who serve God with you; all in the spirit of fraternal charity."

He then gives at great length the scriptural proofs of man's free-will; free not only from *coaction*, but from *necessity*. Dr. Mozley would say this was only for the unlearned; but he cannot play on the word *voluntas*, as *liberum arbitrium* is here used throughout, although in the scriptural proof of grace which immediately follows, both terms are used indifferently.

In the second work, written soon after the first, he reaffirms the doctrine of grace and free-will, solving the objections of those who might be tempted to refuse correction on the plea of not having received grace to do well; and concluding with these words: "Which things being so, neither does grace forbid correction, nor correction deny grace; and justice is so to be commanded that grace be sought from God by prayer to fulfil the command."

This was at the close of the Pelagian controversy; but he had spoken in the very same way at its commencement; thus he says ("De Gratia Christi," c. xlvii.): "Because this question regarding the grace of God and the choice of the will, is so difficult, that when free-will is defended the grace of God seems to be denied, and when the grace of God is defended free-will seems to be denied, Pelagius is able so to conceal himself in the labyrinths of this obscurity as to pretend to agree with what we have quoted from holy Ambrose," &c. That is, in the doctrine of grace and free-will he saw great difficulty and obscurity, but no contradiction; just as in the case of all the other revealed mysteries.

And now in conclusion, what is there in his doctrine of grace to make him a partner in the "Augustinian System" with Jansenius and Calvin?

PREDESTINATION.—We now come to the third branch of the "Augustinian System," *Predestination*. The first Reformers particularly distinguished themselves on this subject. Calvin's

doctrine caused fierce controversies, even among his own followers. The dispute convulsed the States of Holland, where such men as Grotius and Maurice of Nassau took opposite sides, and the terms Supralapsarians and Infralapsarians, Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants, Gomarists and Arminians, were heard far beyond the limits of Holland and of the Calvinist communities. And all the time, the name of Augustine was the battle cry, and to this day remains closely linked to that of Calvin in the Protestant mind. Hence, nearly every Protestant writer on St. Augustine—and they are still very numerous—makes him the master of Calvin; and, on this account chiefly, the author of “*The Augustinian System.*” Dr. Mozley did so, more than thirty years ago (pp. 108, 133); and even Archdeacon Farrar, who wrote only last year, gravely tells us (“*Lives of the Fathers,*” vol. ii. p. 547):

That the Pelagian controversy ended in his (Augustine’s) producing a system of scholastic theology which tried to define the undefinable, introduced into Catholic doctrine a complete novelty, and was prolific of horrible inferences dishonouring to God and revolting to the conscience of mankind.

The “horrible inferences” here alluded to were drawn and thus propounded by Calvin (“*Instit.*” iii. c. xxi.):

We call Predestination that eternal decree of God whereby He hath determined what the fate of every man should be. For, not to the same destiny are all created, since to some is allotted eternal life, to others eternal damnation. According as a man is made for one end or the other, we call him predestined to life or to death. . . . We assert, that by an eternal and unchangeable decree God hath determined whom He shall one day permit to have a share in the eternal felicity, and whom He shall doom to destruction. . . . Those whom He delivers up to damnation, are by a just and irreprehensible judgment excluded from all access to eternal life.*

* The Catholic doctrine of Predestination may be thus briefly stated: 1. There is on the part of God a Predestination truly and properly so called, and it is certain and immutable. 2. It imposes no necessity on the Predestined, but leaves their liberty quite intact. 3. No one can, without a special revelation, be certain that he is predestined. 4. It is impious to assert that God of His mere will, and without any prevision of sin, has condemned some of His creatures to reprobation, and destined them for everlasting punishment.

Arising out of these fundamental propositions, there are many questions which are fully discussed in our ordinary text-books. The Pelagians denied the Catholic doctrine, impudently comparing it to the doctrines of the Fatalists, Manicheans, and Astrologers; and it was this that obliged St. Augustine to defend it so strenuously. They denied God’s special predilection for His elect; and it was in defending this point the Saint unsuspectingly furnished Calvinists with the passages which they have most abused.

Moehler ("Symbolism," vol. i. c. 3), commenting on these words, says :

It is scarcely credible to what truly blasphemous evasions Calvin resorts, in order to give an air of solidity to his doctrine, and to secure it against objections. . . . He asserts that God intentionally produced within them (the unstable) an apparent faith ; and that He insinuated Himself into the souls of the reprobates in order to render them more inexcusable. Instead of acknowledging in the above-mentioned facts the readiness of God to confer His grace on all who only wish it, he explains them by the supposition of intentional deceit, which he lays to the charge of the Almighty.

Nothing in the life of St. Augustine is more notorious than his respect for the authority of the Church ; that is, the Catholic Church, for he was the open foe of all the sects of his time. Now, these horrible doctrines of Calvin are, beyond all doubt, diametrically opposed to the constant teaching of the Church ; this is admitted by the Archdeacon in the above passage, and by Dr. Mozley as well (pp. 108, 133), for the centuries before St. Augustine's time. What, therefore, we are asked to believe is, that this most obedient child of the Church shook off her authority in order to teach a new doctrine "revolting to the conscience of mankind." For this we require something stronger than "inferences" ; nothing short of the most express declaration will convince us. Calvin professed to have found his doctrine in St. Augustine ; but when we examine his quotations, we find ourselves obliged to rely on his own "inferences." This is asking too much ; for we have a painful impression that Calvin was neither modest nor truthful in drawing his inferences, whenever he had a theory to maintain. Were this matter to be decided by inferences, we have a very strong case against Calvin. St. Augustine wrote a work, "On the Predestination of the Saints," for the purpose of correcting the mistakes then current regarding his teaching on this subject. In this work he quotes the very texts of Scripture on which Calvin relies, but without even alluding to any such doctrine as that of Calvin. And yet he there speaks expressly of reprobation, but only as something caused immediately by man's own sin, not by any antecedent decree of God. (See Nos. 2, 11, 14, 16, 17, 33.)*

* This controversy raged at one time or another in all the Reformed Churches ; in Wesley's own lifetime it split up his sect ; and two Anglican bishops represented the head of their own Church at the Synod of Dort in 1619, and signed its ultra-Calvinistic canons. (See Lingard's "England," A.D. 1619.) The terminology of the subject is therefore pretty well settled, but at present we shall only direct attention to the terms *antecedent* and *consequent*, *positive* and *negative*. By *antecedent* reprobation is meant a decree independent of all prevision of sin ; by *consequent* reprobation, a decree resulting from a pre-

We shall not here weary our readers by going over the long-settled controversy regarding the passages from St. Augustine relied upon by Calvin for his terrible "inferences"; we say *long-settled*, because Catholic theologians have invincibly proved that St. Augustine never meant what Calvin attributed to him. We shall take a shorter way, but one which must have weight with every reasonable Protestant. Calvin quoted the strongest texts to be found in Scripture for his doctrine; how many intelligent Protestants now believe in his doctrine or his proofs? Well, his quotations from St. Augustine are weakness itself, compared to those from Scripture; is it then logical, or just, or honest, for Protestant writers to go on still attributing to St. Augustine this Calvinistic doctrine?

But the great Bishop of Hippo has not left us to depend on "inferences" or conjectures; he has stated his anti-Calvinistic doctrine in most express terms, not from being confronted with an adversary like Calvin, but from the fulness of his Catholic faith. Thus, he says ("Cont. Jul." iii. No. 35):

God is good, God is just; because He is good, He can deliver some without any merits of their own; but He can condemn no one without demerits, for He is just.

Again ("De Civ. Dei," xiii. c. 15):

For her [the soul's] evil begins from her own will; her good from the will of her Creator.

Again (Ep. 186, No. 20):

For it is piously and truly believed that God in justifying the guilty, and the impious, delivers them from the penalties they deserved; but to believe that God punishes any one who does not deserve it, and who is guilty of no sin, is to believe Him not exempt from injustice. When the unworthy are delivered, the greater the penalty due, the greater the thanks to be rendered; but to condemn the innocent is neither mercy nor truth.*

Not only did he thus explicitly condemn beforehand the fundamental tenets of Calvinism; but in the same incidental manner, and with no adversary to refute, he contradicts their corollaries as well; namely, that God does not sincerely desire

vision of sin. By *positive* reprobation is meant a formal decree of condemnation; by *negative* reprobation, simply non-election. The strict Calvinistic reprobation was both antecedent and positive, with all the revolting circumstances mentioned by Moehler.

* It was as the reputed author of the old rigid Calvinism that St. Augustine was credited with the "Augustinian System"; but it would be very easy to show that the new Calvinism has just as little claim as the old to his patronage.

the salvation of all men; that Christ did not die for all; that God's foreknowledge of men's sins leaves them no liberty for good or evil; and that, consequently, man's eternal destiny is no way dependent on his conduct here below. His pronouncements on these subjects extend over the whole period from his conversion to his death. Thus, he says ("Retrac." i. c. 9) :

While we still tarried at Rome, we wished to discuss the origin of evil, and we did so, in order to understand by reasoning, as far as God might enable us, what we already believed on the subject, in submission to the divine authority. Having, after diligent discussion, come to the conclusion that evil has no other origin but free-will, we called the three books produced by the discussion, "De Libero Arbitrio."

This deep and interesting dialogue between the newly baptised Augustine and his pious friend, Evodius, bristles with anti-Calvinistic passages; and, moreover, by its terminology deprives such writers as Dr. Mozley of their *locus standi*, by using indifferently the terms *liberum arbitrium* and *voluntas* for free-will; for these writers insist on taking *voluntas* for the mere faculty, although St. Augustine had no dispute about the mere faculty, but only about its liberty. Our space will permit only a few brief extracts (iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4) :

AUG. Have we effected anything by our two first disputations?

EVOD. Indeed we have.

AUG. I think you remember that in our first disputation it was sufficiently established that only by her own will could the soul be made the slave of lust. . . .

EVOD. I see, and as if touch, these truths. . . . But, with all this, I am terribly at a loss how to reconcile the foreknowledge of God with our liberty to sin. . . .

AUG. You have knocked earnestly; may God in His mercy assist and enlighten us. But my own opinion is that most men are tormented by this question, only for want of seeking piously, and because they are more ready to excuse than to confess their sins. . . . Your fear, then, is that we must either impiously deny the foreknowledge of God, or confess that sin is committed not by freewill (*voluntate*), but by necessity; is this your whole difficulty?

EVOD. Yes, for the present.

AUG. You therefore think that whatever God foresees, comes to pass by necessity, not by free-will (*voluntate*)?

EVOD. Just so.

AUG. Just think for a moment, and look into yourself a little; tell me, if you can, what wish you shall have to-morrow—the wish to do evil, or the wish to do good?

EVOD. That I cannot tell.

AUG. And do you think God cannot tell?

EVOD. I could think no such thing.

AUG. If, then, He knows what you shall wish to-morrow, and foresees the future wishes of all who now exist or shall exist, *fortiori* He foresees what He Himself shall do with the just and the impious.

EVOD. Of course, if I say that God foresees my acts, I must still more confidently assert that He foresees His own. . . .

AUG. Take care then, lest it be said to you that God, too, shall do whatever He is to do, not from will, but from necessity. . . .

EVOD. Yes, I no longer deny that whatever God foresees must come to pass, or that He foresees our sins; but in such wise that our will remains free, and in our own power. . . .

AUG. For what reason does our free-will (*lib. arb.*) seem to you opposed to the foreknowledge of God; by reason of the foreknowledge, or because it is God's foreknowledge?

EVOD. Rather because it is God's.

AUG. Then, if *you* foresee that some one will sin, he will not necessarily sin.

EVOD. Yes, he must, or my foreknowledge is not certain, and, therefore, not foreknowledge at all.

AUG. So, after all, it is not because it is God's foreknowledge, but because it is foreknowledge, that the thing foreseen must happen. . . .

EVOD. Be it so; but what of that?

AUG. This, if I mistake not; that just as *your* foreknowledge does not oblige any one to sin, so neither does the foreknowledge of God.

God, indeed, wishes all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, but not so as to deprive them of the free-will (*lib. arb.*) for the good or bad use of which they may be most justly judged ("De Spiritu et Lit." n. 58).

"For," he says to the Corinthians, "*if one died for all, then all were dead, and He died for all* (2 Cor. v.). . . . He proves that all were dead, from the fact that one died for all; this I must press, urge, and insist upon, whether you like it or not" ("Cont. Jul." vi. 8).

Extricate yourself if you can from this, *one died for all*; and dare to assert that all were not dead for whom Christ died, although the Apostle concludes at once, *therefore, all were dead*" ("Opus Imperf." ii. 175).

When, therefore, you hear the Lord saying, "*I have deceived that Prophet*" (Ezek. xiv.); and the Apostle saying, "*He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardens*" (Rom. ix.), recognise the demerits of him whom God *permits* to be deceived or hardened; and in him who receives mercy, unhesitatingly recognise the grace of God, who renders good for evil, not evil for evil. And take care not to deprive Pharaoh of free-will, because God often says, "*I have hardened Pharaoh*" (Exod. iv. 14); for it does not follow that he did not harden his own heart, as the Scripture thus tells us, "*And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time too.*" And thus, God hardened by a just judgment, and Pharaoh by his own free-will. Be, therefore, quite

certain that your labour will not be in vain if you persevere in your good purpose to the end. . . . God will certainly render evil for evil, because He is just ; good for evil, because He is good ; and good for good, because He is both just and good. But He will not render evil for good, because He is not unjust ("De Grat. et Lib. Arb." No. 45).

These extracts speak for themselves ; they are not *truncated*, and could be strengthened by their context, did space permit. Is it possible that the man who wrote them could have held or taught Calvinistic doctrine ? And yet they are only a few out of the numerous passages that could be collected from the Saint's voluminous writings.

In the course of our reading on these subjects, we were much struck with the fact that the writers most bent on attributing to St. Augustine "The Augustinian System," are exactly those who have taken least pains to examine the origin and merits of the tradition. On the other hand, the few Protestant writers who, like Mr. Cunningham, the Cambridge lecturer, or Mr. Spalding, the American writer, already mentioned, have seriously examined the matter, refuse to attribute to St. Augustine this "Augustinian System." We commend these facts to the attention of Protestant writers on this subject.

THE AUTHOR OF
"ST. AUGUSTINE ; AN HISTORICAL STUDY."



ART. V.—A NEW SYSTEM OF BIBLICAL HISTORY: THE AGE OF THE PSALMS.

IT is well known what the books of the Old Testament have suffered at the hands of modern criticism; how they have successively lost their date, their rank, their authors. The first have become last. The Pentateuch—or rather Hexateuch, in the modern phraseology, which comprises the book of Joshua—has been adjudged as entirely the work of the restoration which followed the return of the Jews into Palestine after the Babylonian captivity. And other books have been added to these as the work of the same period, until only a few historical and prophetic books remained that can pretend to claim a pre-Exilian origin. To these few, however, might still be attributed authenticity more or less complete, and a date relatively ancient. But last year, M. Maurice Vernes, Professor of Biblical Exegesis at the New Sorbonne of Paris, published his “*Etudes Bibliques*,” and the chief object of that work is to prove that the whole of the Old Testament, without exception, was composed not only after the Exile, but after the great period of Nehemias and Esdras, and that no part of it can be traced back to earlier than the fourth century B.C.

M. Vernes adduced no proofs in support of his new system, and it naturally met with nothing but opposition; it was even asserted that the learned author had chosen that date only because it had not been chosen by any one before, and so was available for a system which he could thus create and designate with his name. Stung by these criticisms, M. Vernes has just published a new work in confirmation of his assertions.* Let us, however, at once mention that he is not one of those who work in order to demolish, who *drag the Bible through the mud* for the pleasure of doing so; his is no rude contempt for what others deem sacred. On the contrary, his object is to preserve the honour of the sacred books, and provide for the orthodox—Catholic or Protestant—the means of placing them beyond the reach of criticism, on absolutely safe ground. He calls his system “The Regressive Method.” It will be seen that he deserves every consideration in our discussion of it.

M. Vernes begins by condemning the whole system of modern exegesis, because, “starting from traditional conclusions, it simply busies itself in correcting and rectifying whenever it finds these

* “*Les Résultats de l'Exégèse Biblique*.” Paris: Leroux. The volume contains other essays; but we need here give attention to only the two chapters treating of the Old Testament chronology.

conclusions in contradiction with avowed facts, or in disagreement with philosophical and religious tendencies." In his eyes the work of rectification and correction, whatever care be bestowed upon it, can never attain any result worthy of general approbation unless the first foundation be a solid one. Here, however, the foundation is of the weakest—nothing but blind tradition. M. Vernes, therefore, casts about for one which shall be truly scientific and beyond cavil. And he has excogitated the following.

All literature must be placed in one or other of two categories. Either (1) it has an historical basis; has been formed in the true light of history; can produce in its favour historical, epigraphic, or other undeniable proofs, in which case the *details* alone can be brought into discussion, the basis and the entire structure must be accepted without contention; or, (2) historical proofs, synchronisms, taken from the history of other peoples, and documents contemporary with its own writings, are completely wanting, in which case its statements must be rejected *en bloc*.

And, according to M. Vernes, in this last unhappy category must Biblical literature be classed, *without one single protestation being possible in its defence*. Under such conditions there is abundant opportunity for subjective and personal appreciations, hence great danger of error. There is only one means of escaping from this danger, and that is to choose some incontestable principle of judgment, and to hold firmly to it. This principle is unique of its kind; there is but one, and no other. According to M. Vernes it is as follows:

We must seek for the first point of stable ground, not move from it, but hold to it without flinching. We must start from a *terminus ad quem* and not from a *terminus a quo*; we must look for the date at which the books of the Bible possess an undeniable existence, and stop there.

M. Vernes admits that the Bible existed 150 or 250 years before our era, at least in its essential parts, for the learned exegete looks upon all the hagiographical books as of a still later date. This, then, is the first landmark. And this first date being fixed, it remains to seek for a date immediately preceding, at which it is most suitable to place the composition of those books whose fortunes are thus being disposed of. Having discovered this second date, the books are attributed to it; and then we may feel certain that we have found the real date we were seeking. Now, between the year 600 and the year 200 B.C. only the last two centuries presented a period of peace and of calm sufficient to have given birth to the numerous books of the Holy Scripture. *Therefore they must have been composed during that period.* Then M. Vernes arranges them according

to the rank which seems to suit them; and in this distribution he gives the *last* place to the Book of Psalms.

We cannot pretend here to discuss M. Vernes' system in its entirety; it would require volumes. We will only, before devoting attention to our principal object, the Age of the Psalms, say something on this fundamental principle—and merely a few and brief words. We deeply regret being obliged to answer M. Vernes in this summary manner, holding him, as we do, in particular esteem; but it seems impossible for us to understand how a judicial mind like his could be blinded by an illusion. He does not appear to see that his argument is anything but logical, and that he opens the way for all those "personal appreciations" which he himself justly condemns as unscientific. "The existence of such a book is authentically attested only since such a date; *therefore* it was composed a short time previously, and at the epoch which appears to be the most suitable to its composition." There you have the whole principle! It is impossible not to see that the first part of the conclusion is a sophism, and that the second is but the result of an arbitrary judgment of purely subjective taste. The only deduction that can legitimately be made is, that the date of composition is *unknown*; any other is wider than the premisses, and vitiated by sophistry. To determine the most "suitable" epoch to which to assign any book must be a question of taste and personal sentiment; it is building upon the moving sand of the desert. M. Vernes invokes the rules of historical criticism, and does not perceive that he violates them at every point. What historical literature has ever received such treatment? Always and everywhere, if a people presents its annals in regular order, they are accepted; that is, if their contents do not render acceptance impossible. What do we know of the ancient history of those peoples, isolated entirely from the world, from Europe and Western Asia—of the Chinese, the Tartars, the Aztecs, the Peruvians, and so many others—if not from themselves? Would one consign all their annals to the flames, or hold them of no account? Why should traditions be false *a priori*? Why should the Bible be treated differently from the annals of even barbarous peoples? All that M. Vernes tells us of the pretended arbitrary character of the tradition which assigns a date and author to the books of the Bible shows him to be himself most completely arbitrary. In making such an accusation, M. Vernes affirms what he does not and cannot know. Besides which, he forgets that there are other sources of certainty than exterior testimony; that a book may carry in itself the credentials of its authenticity. Let us quote a single example. How was it possible for an

author of the fourth century B.C. to know the names of the ruined Egyptian localities through which the Israelites passed? Why did the author of Leviticus imitate Egypt rather than Babylon? We need not, however, discuss any further a point so simple and clear. We pass on to our principal object: the Age of the Psalms.

The Psalms were composed long after the Captivity, says Kuenen; they were the last effort of Biblical genius, adds M. Vernes. Welhausen lays it down as a principle—and Professor Cheyne warmly approves—that the post-Exilian composition of the Psalms is certain; so certain, indeed, that nothing is left for its opponents, except perhaps to show that one or other Psalm may belong to an anterior epoch. Now, what gives to the New Criticism this tone of assurance? How can it assume as almost, if not quite, a certainty, the later age of those hymns, the greater portion of which tradition attributed to King David?

Because, they say, the Psalms are of a liturgical character, and this indicates a sacerdotal origin; but no epoch suits so well a sacerdotal production as does the epoch in which the priests ruled the nation, and when the civil as well as the religious power was in their hands. These Hymns of the Sanctuary, it is clear, did not come into existence during a period distracted by incessant wars and revolutions, nor did they emanate from a prince who, like David, was always compelled to stand with sword drawn to defend his country and his throne, and whose disposition, somewhat cruel as it was, is in strong contrast to the sentiments of the sacred bard who composed these hymns for the ceremonies of the temple.

Others, however, on the contrary, have discovered in the Psalms characteristics such as do not allow them to be regarded as anything else than the warlike songs of the Machabees!

In fact, the basis of all these chronological conclusions rests upon the "scent" of these keen critics, which enables them to determine with assurance what time, or what persons such and such documents suit or do not suit. We will not allow ourselves to doubt the refined nature of the sensitive and apprehensive faculties of these learned critics; we will suppose that it is very much superior to that of the common lot of men, that it even touches upon genius. We will only ask them how comes it that this superior perception leads those who are endowed with it to such contradictory results that what one sees white another sees black; that some of them detect quite a warlike inspiration, where others, just as learned no doubt, perceive only the peaceful and balmy inspirations of the sanctuary?

We might content ourselves with this reflection, and oppose

this self-contradiction to the New Criticism as an incontestable demurrer. But this reply is not sufficient, except to show that personal appreciations, subjective perceptions, are very bad guides, and that all reasoning and criticism established upon this basis errs from its source, and does not guarantee one single legitimate affirmation or one serious hypothesis. But from the point of view of the age of the books of the Bible this is but a negative argument, which leaves the main point of the debate entirely undecided. We require proofs which go to the kernel of the difficulty. With regard to the Psalms, the question is a very wide one, and we cannot attempt to examine it in its entirety; we will therefore limit ourselves to the two most important points—viz., the possibility of the authorship of David, and the chronological indications of the text.

But before beginning we must mark out the ground for debate, and eliminate whatever has no right to a place there. That *some* Psalms do not date back farther than the time following the return from Babylon and the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem, we shall not call in question. That tradition has attributed to David certain Psalms that are not his at all, but are of some contemporary or posterior hymnologist, and dating from an epoch other than the monarchy; that the name of the great king having been found at the head of certain Psalms, has also been placed at the head of others to which he had no right, we admit no less easily. We are simply concerned with the bulk, the main body of the Psalms as a whole, and not of one or other hymn in particular. This being said, and with these reserves, let us return to our two points.

I. David, it is objected, was a warlike king, of a violent and cruel character, whose life was passed in military expeditions of every kind; and one cannot understand a prince of this disposition being at the same time the author of hymns that breathe peace of soul and tender devotion. Such is the argument in its full force: what are we to think of it? In our opinion the answer cannot be doubtful. Even had David been such as he is depicted, and nothing else, the question resolves itself into this other one: Do not human characters ever present contrasts? Who would dare to answer in the negative? In fact, if theory tells us that these contrasts have nothing impossible in them, experience teaches us that they are very often met with. Without seeking them very far back in history, what do we find, for example, in Frederick the Great and in Napoleon? It is certain that both the one and the other were quite as warlike as David, and even more so, since their military campaigns were generally aggressive and conquering; and as for their character, one would not doubtless maintain that it was much more humane than

David's. The man of iron and of blood, who said that "in battle minutes were everything, men nothing," who cannonaded the ice so as to engulf entire armies beneath its fall, had not more refined feelings than the king of Israel defending his country and his throne by means which were entirely in conformity with the spirit of his time, and quite necessary in his eyes. But of these two monarchs, of such warlike spirit, the one, nevertheless, was the zealous protector of letters and of philosophy, delighting to practise himself the art of rhetoric, and even to compose madrigals; the other, a politician, putting all his energy into the establishing of peace in his States, and in bringing back calm to men's minds, and the reign of law; being able at one and the same time to conduct a murderous expedition, and to discuss a point of legislature even in its minutest details. This argument, then, leads us entirely astray. But has it not at least some value in the present case in particular, because of certain exceptional circumstances?

To be certain upon this point, let us verify what is alleged of the great king of Israel, and see if his actions do really show a character incompatible with that of the sacred poet. To do this, let us briefly recall the events of his life.

To begin with, the physiognomy of David appears to us from the first under two traits, which do not speak at all in favour of the alleged impossibility. The youth of the future king of Israel is passed in tending the flocks and in playing the *kinnor*. He excelled in playing this musical instrument to such an extent that the officers of Saul believed him capable of charming away by his music the evil spirit which agitated their master. We know that he succeeded perfectly in accomplishing this difficult task. (See 1 Kings xvi. 23.) It may be presumed that David was not only a harpist, but that he accompanied with his voice the sounds of his *kinnor*. But at this very period he was remarkable as a young man of warlike spirit, which proves that the two qualities were certainly combined in him. After this the days of David are divided between wars against the enemies of Israel and flying from the snares laid for him by Saul; but when that unfortunate king falls under the stroke of the Divine reprobation, the poet at once shows himself beneath the warrior's garb, and David composes an elegy upon the death of his friend and of the unfortunate monarch. The following years are filled with fresh struggles against the partisans of Saul and enemies from without, and also with the conquest of Jerusalem. But scarcely is he installed as king of the Holy City when he thinks of bringing thither the ark of the Lord. And further, he who before every undertaking consulted the Lord as to what part he should take, joins in the procession which conducted the sacred tabernacle to

its new resting-place, and, attired in a linen ephod, plays his harp, sings, and dances with all his might. Certainly, if anything were incompatible in itself with a warlike character, it would be this conduct of the son of Jesse; still, the record of the one is just as authentic as the record of the other. It is, then, incontestable that David, though constantly wielding the sword, was none the less a man of poetical and religious sentiments—that the splendour of Divine worship was dear to him. Consequently one cannot be surprised that he wished to add to it by either composing himself, or causing to be composed, sacred hymns in God's honour. Do we not see him, a little later, resolved to erect a magnificent temple to the Lord? (2 Kings vii.); then, after the promise which God made to him to exalt his son and successor, and to treat him like a father, we see him enter the tabernacle and improvise, in a burst of gratitude, a hymn of thanksgiving, which is in reality nothing but a psalm:

Who am I, O Adonai Jehovah, and what is my house that thou hast brought me thus far? . . . And what can David say more unto thee, for thou knowest thy servant, O Adonai Jehovah? . . . Thou art magnified, O Jehovah, because there is none like to thee, neither is there any God beside thee according to the things we have heard with our ears. . . . O Adonai Jehovah, thou art God, and thy works are truth (2 Kings vii. 18–29).

The same sentiments are manifested throughout the wars that followed these events, when the pious king consecrates to the Lord the vases of gold and silver which belonged to the king of Emath, and the treasures taken from the king of Saba. At the close of these struggles, and when David was forty years old, we see him delegating the command of his armies to his generals, and he himself taking no part in warlike struggles, except at such times as victory seemed to be escaping from them (*ibid.*, ix., x. and xi.). The vanquisher of all his enemies, as well as of the revolts of Absalom and of Seba, David composes a canticle of praise to the glory of God, who had given him victory:

Jehovah is my firmament, my refuge, and my deliverer. My God is my helper, and in Him will I put my trust; my protector and the horn of my salvation, and my support. Praising, I will call upon Jehovah; and I shall be saved from my enemies. The sorrows of death surrounded me; and the torrents of Belial troubled me. The sorrows of Sheol encompassed me; and the snares of death prevented me. In my affliction, I called upon Jehovah; and I cried to my God. And He heard my voice from His holy temple; and my cry before Him came into his ears. The earth shook and trembled; the foundations of the mountains were troubled and were moved, because He was angry with them. There went up a smoke in His nostrils; and a fire from His mouth devoured (the earth); coals

were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens and came down ; and darkness was under His feet. And He ascended upon the cherubim, and He flew upon the wings of the winds. And He made darkness His covert, His pavilion round about Him ; the floods of waters, the clouds of the air. From the brightness that was before Him, the coals were kindled and took fire. And Jehovah thundered from heaven, and the highest gave His voice ; hail and coals of fire. And He sent forth His arrows, and He scattered them ; His lightnings, and troubled them. Then the bed of the sea appeared, and the foundations of the world were discovered. At thy rebuke, O Jehovah, at the blast of the spirit of thy wrath (2 Kings xxii.).

And so he continues through fifty verses. We have given this passage from the Second Book of Kings at length, because of its extreme importance to the question which occupies us ; for in the first place it forms an absolutely peremptory answer to the attempt to deprive David of his poetical genius and of his pious sentiments ; and secondly, because this same hymn of gratitude is found, over again, and almost in the same terms, in the 17th Psalm, and many of the verses are repeated in other Psalms ; which, more or less, permits the presumption that these Psalms are due to the same author, and that to contest the Davidic authorship of them is an arbitrary proceeding. If, on the other hand, we choose to look upon the testimony of the 22nd chapter of the Second Book of Kings as false, then the whole Bible must be a gigantic falsehood, and there is no use troubling ourselves at all with it. In any case, we can no longer argue from the warlike character of King David, for he is known only from the same book whose testimony is rejected upon this one point alone.

We will not quote all the passages which are analogous to the different verses in the Song of David. Let us take as examples only : Ps. cxliii. 1. "Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight, and my fingers to war" (*cf.* 2 Kings xxii. 35). 2. "My mercy, and my refuge ; my support, and my deliverer : my protector, and I have hoped in Him" (*ibid.* 2, 3). 3. "Lord, bow down thy heavens and descend : touch the mountains, and they shall smoke" (*ibid.* 10, 15).

David lived for eleven years after this victory, but his days were occupied only with the cares of his kingdom and works of piety. During this space of time, which was considerable enough, he was certainly able to give to his feelings towards the God of his fathers, his Protector, and his Saviour, all the effusions of his ardent soul. The Second Book of Samuel or of Kings does not tell us this ; but what precedes sufficiently indicates that the great events of his life provided the pious king with the occasion of composing certain poems, as proof of

his friendship, of his devotion, and of his various other sentiments. We must of necessity return to this reflection later on, for it is of the highest importance to the subject. We shall see, moreover, that the Paralipomena fill up this gap.

It is, therefore, certain that David may very well have been the author of a number of Psalms more or less considerable, and that to deny him the poetic faculty would be simply what is called "denying evidence." For it is an absolute certainty that he did compose some, and that he was inspired by remarkable events in such a manner as to enable him to improvise long and magnificent odes. And if David himself could compose, he may also have employed others to compose under his direction; and this is quite sufficient to have the authorship ascribed to him.

II. Having once gained this point, it remains for us to discover which Psalms carry in themselves a certain date, and one anterior to the captivity of Babylon, for this is the essential point. We do not intend, however, to enter into all the details that this discussion involves; we will simply indicate the landmarks which may serve for a complete solution.

(1) There are certain Psalms which, one might say, bear the author's signature in themselves. Such, for example, is Psalm cxxxi. (or cxxxii.) which commences thus:

O Lord, remember David and all his meekness. How he swore to the Lord, he vowed a vow to the God of Jacob. If I shall enter into the tabernacle of my house; if I should go up into the bed wherein I lie: if I shall give sleep to my eyes, or slumber to my eyelids, until I find out a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. Behold we have heard of it in Ephrata; we have found it in the land of the forest. We will go into his tabernacle; we will adore in the place where his feet stood. Arise, O Lord, into thy resting-place; thou and the ark of thy holiness. For thy servant David's sake, turn not away the face of thy Anointed. The Lord hath sworn truth to David, and He will not turn from it: of the fruit of thy womb, I will set upon thy throne. . . . There will I bring forth a horn [power] to David; I have prepared a lamp [glory] for my Anointed.

It would be impossible to relate in a better manner a fact in the life of David, with all its precise details.

In the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Kings (or Samuel) is found even the name of the place where, says the Psalm, the Ark was found again. *צִיִּית* alludes to the town of Cariathiarim, where the Ark rested. It is the land of forests, or rather the town of forests. Furthermore, the promise that Solomon should reign after David, and the dynasty of this king be perpetuated, recalls the seventh chapter of the same book. Finally, the

qualification of "Anointed" of the Lord is particularly suited to David, who *was* anointed neither more nor less than three times, as we shall see later on.

What we have just quoted of the "Memento Domine David" is applicable in a particular manner to Psalm lxxxviii., in which we find reproduced part of the expressions which we see in the one hundred and thirty-first :

The mercies of the Lord I will sing for ever. I will shew forth thy truth with my mouth to generation and generation.

The Lord has said : I have made a covenant with my elect : I have sworn to David my servant : Thy seed will I settle for ever. And I will build up thy throne [and maintain it] unto generation and generation. I have exalted my chosen one out of my people. I have found David my servant : with my holy oil I have anointed him.

Once have I sworn by my holiness : I will not lie unto David : his seed shall endure for ever. And his throne as the sun before me.

But thou hast rejected and despised : Thou hast been angry with thy Anointed.

Thou hast overthrown thy promise : Thou hast profaned his diadem upon the earth : Thou hast broken down all his protections : Thou hast made his strength fear. All that pass by the way have robbed him : he is become a reproach to his neighbours. Thou hast set up the right hand of them that oppress him : and thou hast not assisted him in battle.

Lord, where are thy ancient mercies, according to what thou didst swear to David in thy truth ?

Be mindful, O Lord, of the reproach of thy servants, which I have borne alone for all. Therewith thy enemies have reproached the fall of thy Anointed.

Blessed be the Lord for evermore !

Here we find indisputable allusion to the Divine promises of which we have already spoken (2 Kings), and a description of the miserable state to which David was reduced when he was flying before Absalom, when Semei flung stones and insults at the almost dethroned king—for Absalom was in occupation of Jerusalem, and had taken to himself the royal concubines (2 Kings xvii.). "Lord, remember Thy servant," he said, in the depth of his fall. "Who shall preserve himself from death, and from the dangers that threaten life ?" (Ps. lxxxviii. 48, 49). "Thou hast shortened the days of his reign : thou hast covered him with ignominy." It would be indeed difficult to show more clearly the occasion and the object of these words.

Still more precise is the text of Psalms lix. and cvii., in which we read these significant words :

I will rejoice, and I will divide Sichem : and I will mete out the

vale of tabernacles. Galaad is mine, and Manasses is mine, and Ephraim is the strength of my head. Juda is my chief, Moab is my washpot. I will crush Edom with my heel, and the foreign peoples, the Philistines, will unite themselves to me. Who will lead me into the fortress? Who will conduct me into the heart of Edom?

We should very much like to know to what epoch after the return from the Captivity these words could refer; what civil or religious leader could have made use of such language, and promised himself the conquest of Edom, and the sacking of Moab, in the manner shown in our psalm.

If, however, we refer to tradition, there we find such a natural and simple explanation that we are constrained to accept it. In fact, we read, in 2 Kings viii., that David defeated Moab, and measured its warriors by a cord, to decide the lot of his prisoners; that he vanquished Syria, as well as the sons of Ammon and Amalec; that he smote 13,000 Syrian warriors in the valley of the salt pits, and that he reduced Edom to captivity. The tone of our hymn agrees perfectly, moreover, with the warlike character of David. If any exegete has the courage to maintain that all this is an innovation, and fitted together artificially so as to suit the sixth or seventh century B.C., we need not give ourselves the trouble of contradicting him—a useless trouble, moreover, for one must be either a mere partisan or a stranger to the meaning of history, to affirm anything of the sort. Such a thing has never happened in the annals of humanity.

This psalm furnishes us with still another proof of its origin, and is one to many points of which we must pay attention in what follows. The king of Israel is distinguished in it as the “Anointed” of the Lord. Now this term is applicable to David alone. This qualification, taken thus in an isolated manner and *nuncupative*, is either applied without specifying to whom it applies, or with the single name of King David. It is said clearly enough elsewhere that such a prophet anointed such a king or such another prophet; that the High Priest was anointed so as to be consecrated to the service of the Lord (see *inter alia*, 3 Kings xix., xv. and xvi.); but no other than David is ever styled *substantively* “The Anointed,” “The Anointed of the Lord of Israel.” It is, then, contrary to all principles of criticism to make it, without any motive, relate to any other person.

(2) Other psalms bear witness to their date in a different manner, but none the less evidently. In the first place, in Psalm lxxi. the author invokes the Divine protection upon the king and the king's son, and then announces the destiny and the great actions of this prince:

And he shall rule from sea to sea, and from the [national] river unto the ends of the earth. Before him the Ethiopians shall fall down: and his enemies shall lick the ground. The kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents: the kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts. And all the kings of the earth shall adore him: all nations shall serve him. And he shall live [long], and to him shall be given the gold of Arabia. And there shall be a firm power on the earth on the tops of mountains; above Libanus shall the fruit thereof be exalted.

This cannot have been written otherwise than under the kings, since it speaks of a king of Israel and of his son, and among the kings there are but David and Solomon to whom this can reasonably apply. Putting the prophetic point of view on one side, we must admit that Solomon alone realised what is said in this canticle. He it was who received gold from Arabia, the homage of the Queen of Saba, &c.

It is absolutely improbable that this psalm can have been composed after the Captivity. It certainly was not the work of the priests, masters as they were of the people, nor what they would have wished the minds of their subjects to be filled with. The sacerdotal power must have been much dearer to them than that of the kings, the remembrance of whom, in the manner they are represented, could be only harmful to their power and their prestige. There are even a number of psalms which sing the praises of royalty; but we will speak of them later on. Before doing so, we must finish the examination of those which David has, so to speak, signed with his own hand.

As such we must consider those that relate the history of Israel, the wonders which God worked in favour of His people, and which terminate their recital at the reign of the son of Jesse (Ps. lxxvii.):

Listen to my law, O my people [says the inspired poet], incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in parables, I will tell the secrets of old. That which we have heard, which we know, and which our fathers have told us, so that future generations may know it, and that they may put their hope in God, and may not forget the works of God, and may seek [meditate on] His commandments, and may not be as their fathers, a stubborn and perverse generation, and whose spirit was not faithful to God; [such as were] the sons of Ephraim, who bend and shoot with the bow, but who turned back in the day of battle. They kept not the covenant of God, they forgot the miracles He worked for them in Egypt, in the field of Tanis.

After this the poet recalls these wonders of the Divine protection: the passage of the Red Sea, between the waters heaped up on either side; the pillars of cloud and of fire which guided

the Israelites across the desert; the water which gushed forth from the rock, notwithstanding the insulting defiance of the people; the sending of the manna, which for so long fed so great a number of fugitives; also of the quails obtained by the murmurs of the people, which God punished with severity. Then the poet tells of the infidelity of this people chosen by God; the chastisements with which they were in consequence overwhelmed, and which brought them back to God by reminding them of the evils with which He had punished the Egyptians. He then goes on to relate the events that took place in the Promised Land; the carrying off the ark by the Philistines; the fresh infidelity of the Israelites, which forced God to reject the tribe of the descendants of Joseph, and to choose His elect, the prince of His people, from the tribe of Juda. He finishes with these words:

He chose David his servant, he took him from among the flocks of sheep, to feed his servant Jacob and Israel his heritage. And he fed them in the innocence of his heart, and conducted them by the skilfulness of his hands (*ibid.* lxx.-lxxii.).

We do not hesitate to say that the slightest historical sense necessarily obliges us to recognise that these pages could not possibly have been written after the Captivity, or under the government of the priests. Such certainly is not the language which would have been adopted by Zorobabel, Nehemias, Esdras, or any of their successors. It would have no *raison d'être*, and would have been highly imprudent, and very unsuited to produce the effect which the pastors of Israel were obliged to aim at above everything. To relate such events, which had been forgotten or invented, to recall to mind the glory of David, would have been entirely contrary to reason. And this scene, to which only a simple allusion is made—the overthrow and the flight of the people of Ephraim—what place could it possibly have in a composition of the fourth or fifth century? At the very least, the author of this piece would have explained what he meant to say, unless he wished to speak so that he might not be understood. We need not insist, therefore, upon any superfluous proofs.

(3) Other psalms, without mentioning David, relate in the same manner the events which happened from the time of the flight from Egypt until the entry into Palestine, or the establishment of the kingdom; and therefore they cannot, any more than the preceding ones, have been composed after the return from Babylon. Among others, there are Psalms lxxvi., civ., cv., cvi., and others besides, which recall the faults committed by the Jewish people in the desert, and which make absolutely no mention of events that happened after the Captivity, and which

must have been the most striking example for the chiefs of Israel of the Divine justice, and would therefore naturally have come to their minds more readily than the events in the desert which had taken place, it is asserted, eight centuries before, or rather had been invented by these clumsy forgers. Could one imagine a French Tyrtæus in the year 1892 recalling to the mind of his compatriots the invasion of the Germans in the fifth century, instead of the war of 1870, when exhorting them to retrieve the military honour of the French name? Yet such is the act which we are asked to attribute to Nehemias, Esdras, and their successors.

Let us examine only one of these psalms, so as not to fall into weary prolixity. We will take at hazard the 106th. The sacred bard is wishful to strengthen the sentiment of respect in the Jews, and of obedience towards their religious chiefs, who have given them a law according to their own heart in the name of God and of Moses. We are in the sixth century B.C., perhaps in the fourth, if not the second, and some two or three hundred years after the return from the Captivity. To inspire himself with the necessary sentiments he has before his mind the terrible example of the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem, of the successive captivities of Israel and of Juda. He has also, if necessary, in the next place, events of the highest importance, such as those of the reign of Solomon, of Josias, of Ezechias, of Josaphat, or again of Joas, of Manasses, and of Joakim, of which the people still have some remembrance. Instead of making use of these, he goes in search of remote events, invented either by himself or his predecessors, and which cannot reasonably make any impression upon his hearers. Such are the Israelites of the tenth century, represented as going out of Egypt, understanding nothing of the wonders worked before their eyes, irritating the Lord by their idolatry, their greed, and their meanness, their worship of Beelphegor, their impious sacrifices, and their marriages with pagan women in the land of Chanaan. He reminds them, at the same time, that God has successively pardoned all their crimes, that He has restored to them His favour, and then he prays the Lord to continue to act in this manner. One must acknowledge that this is a very unskilful manner of securing the fidelity of the people to the laws of the priests. Above all is this true of the part which alludes to the fault of Moses, an allusion not at all likely to confirm the people in the respect due to the priesthood.

(4) Others of the psalms are dated in much the same manner, though differing somewhat in details. They are those in which the author speaks of himself as King of Israel, or exalts the royalty of David. To suppose that this language had been

made use of by a successor of Esdras would be to suppose him to be completely void of sense. It is not even possible to attribute it to the last of Machabees invested with the title of king. Neither Simon, nor John Hyrcanus, nor Aristobulus would have been able to say such things as we read in these Psalms. Furthermore, these religious songs were in existence before the Machabees. Those we wish to refer to here are principally Psalms ii., xvii., xxvii., xlv., lix., lx., lxii., lxvii., lxxi., lxxxiii., lxxxviii., xcvi., cvii., and cxxxi. Let us look over them rapidly, gathering upon our way such passages as are interesting to us for the moment.

In Psalm ii. the sacred author rises up against the peoples who rebel against God and against His Anointed :

Why have the nations raged, and the peoples devised vain things against the Lord and His Anointed ?

Let us break their bonds asunder [they said], and let us cast away their yoke from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. But I am appointed king by him over Sion. . . . The Lord hath said to me, Thou art my son. . . . Thou shalt rule [the nations] with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. And now, O ye kings, understand : receive instructions, you that judge the earth.

Serve ye the Lord with fear : and rejoice unto Him with trembling.

Let us put this language, whatever be its meaning, into the mouth of a Hyrcanus, an Aristobulus, or some less famous priest, and we shall immediately fall into the ridiculous. Such pretension in personages of the kind, if it ever could be conceived and display itself, would have instantly cast them into ridicule.

Exactly the same may be said of Psalm xvii., the author of which, after having praised his great actions and the wonders of the Divine protection, finishes with these words :

Therefore will I give glory to thee, O Lord, among the nations, and I will sing a psalm to thy name.

Giving great deliverance to his king, and showing mercy to David his Anointed : and to his seed for ever.

Could any kinglet, a "descendant of the Machabees," possibly give himself important airs in this manner? We will do no one the injury of believing him capable of answering in the affirmative. Besides, how possibly could this psalm have fraudulently inserted itself into the versification of the Septuagint? But to continue.

In Psalm xix. the last verse reads thus : "O Lord, save the king : and hear us in the day that we shall call upon thee." If this was an isolated verse one might, at a stretch, though without any plausible motive, maintain that this passage could be applied

to the Machabean kings; but what renders this hypothesis impossible is this other verse which precedes it, and which runs: "Now have I known that the Lord hath saved his *Anointed*." Now the post-Exilian kings of Jerusalem never had any claim to this last qualification, and it can be affirmed that wherever it is used it designates either the Messiah or David. This consideration will exempt us for the future from occupying ourselves with the puny royalty of the predecessors of Herod. There is no reason which would allow of any distinction being made between Psalm xix. and any of the others which speak of the king of Israel; notably the one that follows, Psalm xx. This psalm commences with these words:

In thy strength, O Lord, the king shall joy; and in thy salvation he shall rejoice exceedingly.

And it continues thus:

He asked life of thee: and thou hast given him length of days for ever and ever.

His glory is great in thy salvation: glory and great beauty dost thou lay upon him. For thou dost give him to be a blessing for ever and ever. . . . For the king hopeth in the Lord: thou shalt make him joyful in gladness with thy countenance.

Evidently this language cannot but be attributed to a pious king and to an illustrious reign such as that of David, Solomon, or Ezechias.

Of a different kind, but possessing an analogous meaning, is Psalm xlv., the famous "*Eructabit cor meum verbum bonum*." The singer addresses himself to the king; to the king, he says, I consecrate my work:

Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty. . . . The daughters of kings have delighted thee in thy glory. . . . The queen stood on thy right hand in golden clothing. . . . Harken, O daughter, and see. . . . And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty. . . . And the daughters of Tyre with gifts, yea, all the rich among the people, shall entreat thy countenance.

Although this does not properly apply to an earthly king, but to the King of heaven—or, at least, these two ideas are very closely united—these, again, are conceptions which lead to the supposition of a flourishing royalty at Jerusalem. We will only mention Psalm lx. *en passant*, in which we read these words:

Thou wilt add days to the days of the king: his years even to generation and generation. He abideth for ever in the sight of the Lord.

This evidently alludes to the Divine promises made to David,

according to 2 Kings vii. and xvi. It is also to this prince that undoubtedly the words of Psalm lxii. apply :

But they [my enemies] have sought my soul in vain : they shall go into the lower parts of the earth. . . . But the king shall rejoice in God (Elohim) : all they shall be praised that swear by him.

To him and to Solomon are applicable those words of Psalm lxxi., of which we have already made mention : " Give to the king thy judgment, O God (Elohim) ; and to the king's son thy justice." And all this allegorical idea of the grandeur of earthly royalty could have been inspired only by the event of the two greatest monarchs who ever reigned over the people of God.

Only Solomon, moreover, could have been the "*Rex virtutum*" (*Malek Tsəbaoth*) of Psalm lxvii., who waited for the ambassadors from Egypt (ver. 32) and from Ethiopia, with his hands raised towards God.

Let us again mention Psalm xcvi., in which the author tells us that " the king's honour depends upon his just judgments," and then pass on, so as to speak more explicitly of another category of psalms of which we have said but a passing word. They are those in which the author speaks of himself as the " Anointed of the Lord," a qualification which can be applied, as we have seen, only to David, or at most to Solomon, and which cannot be attributed to the petty kings of the Machabees. This expression occurs in Psalms ii., xvii., xix., xxvii., lxxxiii., lxxxviii., civ., and cxxi. ; some among which have already been referred to in what precedes. We will only pause an instant to glance at the others.

Psalm vii. 52 tells us that God showed mercy to David, His Anointed. The 19th, that God saved him from his enemies. In the 27th, David implores the aid of God against his enemies ; he blesses Him for having heard his voice. It is He—his hope—who has made his flesh to flourish again ; then he adds that the Lord is the joy of His people, the power which saves His Anointed from danger. In Ps. lxxxiii. 10, the poet, singing of the grandeur, of the delights of the tabernacle : " Behold, O God, our protector," he cries, " and look on the face of thy Anointed ; " *i.e.*, of him whom the Lord hath chosen and consecrated as the supreme chief of His people. Psalm lxxxviii. deserves special attention, as it once more, and in a marked manner, shows us that the Anointed of the Lord is truly David, even though other kings of Israel, or of other countries, or even priests and prophets, may have been sanctified in this manner. This psalm, which calls to mind the mercies of Elohim and the favours which He has granted to His people, mentions equally both the past and future greatness of David and of his race :

I have exalted my chosen one out of my people (says God) : I have found David my servant : with my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall help him : and my arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall have no advantage over him : nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him. But my mercy I will not take from him : neither will I profane my covenant. . . . Once have I sworn by my holiness : I will not lie unto David ; his seed shall endure for ever. And his throne as the sun before me. . . .

At the same time, David is in trouble ; he is driven from his capital, and his throne is in danger :

But thou hast rejected and despised me : thou hast been angry with thy *Anointed*. . . . Thou hast overthrown the covenant of thy servant : thou hast profaned his sanctuary on the earth. All that pass by the way insult him. . . . Thou hast shortened the days of his time. . . . Lord, where are thy ancient mercies, according to what thou didst swear to David in thy truth ? . . . Be mindful, O Lord, of the reproach of thy servants. . . . Where-with thy enemies have reproached, O Lord, wherewith they have reproached the passing by of thy Anointed [flying from his enemies].

This is the history of the son of Jesse related over again, and of him alone.

We do not insist upon the other psalms of which mention has been made previously, and we conclude from all that we have said so far, that there are at least forty psalms the antiquity of whose date cannot seriously be contested.

III. Is this all, and must we stop here ? I do not think so. There still remains quite a long list of psalms, the date of which is rendered eminently probable by the perfect agreement between their contents, and the occasion which a constant tradition assigns to them, and thus constitute a second indication which corroborates the first. The greater number of them relate to one or other of the events in the life of David which very naturally seems to have inspired the royal singer ; and to deny him the authorship can be nothing else but a completely arbitrary proceeding. In every other matter we keep scrupulously to the common rules of historical criticism, and there is no reason why, because both Jews and Christians believe in the inspiration of the Bible, there should be any violation of these rules in what concerns them.

We cannot enter into all the details which relate to this subject, nor into the minute examination of another class of these psalms, which might furnish still more matter for strong probabilities—namely, those which bear witness to a state of peace, of grandeur, of prosperity, which we may look for in vain outside of the reigns of David, Solomon, and of two or three other sove-

reigns of Juda, and consequently in the time anterior to the Babylonian captivity. For Juda knew no more peaceful days, except under the Lagides, and then she was dependent upon a strange people. Moreover, as we shall see later on, to suppose the composition of the Psalms to have taken place under the kings of Egypt would be to commit a most remarkable, if not a most regrettable oversight; it would be to forget the date of the version of the Septuagint which was executed under the second Ptolemy, towards the commencement of the third century B.C., or else towards the middle of the same. We will therefore merely pass in brief review these two kinds of Psalms, and will content ourselves with a few summary remarks.

The principal circumstances in the life of David which supplied subjects to the Psalms are: the persecutions of Saul; the wars, successful or otherwise, that he engaged in; his hymns of thanksgiving; his flight from the revolt of Absalom; and the repentance of his two great sins. Taking the Psalms successively in the order in which we find them in the Bible, for the greater facility of our readers and of ourselves, we will note the following relations between these events and the different hymns.

Psalms iii. describes perfectly the fears and hopes of David, driven from Jerusalem by the still growing revolt:

Why, O Lord, are they multiplied that afflict me? Many are they who rise up against me. Many say to my soul, There is no salvation for him in his God. But thou, O Jehovah, art my protector, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I have cried to the Lord with my voice, and He hath heard me.

Psalms vi., like Psalm iv. and many others, enables us to hear the sighs and supplications of the penitent King:

O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak. I have laboured in my groanings; every night I will wash my bed: I will water my couch with my tears (vi. 1, 2, 7).

Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy. And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity. Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me. To thee only have I sinned, and I have done evil before thee. . . . Create a clean heart in me. . . . Deal favourably, O Lord, in thy good will with Sion; that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up. Then shalt thou accept the sacrifice of justice, oblations, and whole burnt offerings; then shall they lay calves upon thy altar. (1.)

Perhaps one might wish to take the last verse but one literally ("that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up"), and make it relate to the time which followed the return of the Jews to their own country. But it is quite evident that the "Miserere" is the

prayer of an individual, of a penitent sinner, and could not be put into the mouth of an entire people. And, from another point of view, it is impossible to discover during this period any action which could be considered as having provoked the composition of this psalm. We can say as much of Psalm xxxi. Psalms x., xii., xvii., and lviii. agree exactly with the time when David was flying from the anger of Saul, and thanking God for having escaped from it:

I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my firmament, my refuge, and my deliverer.

The sorrows of death surrounded me.

In Psalm xli. we find David wandering from place to place to escape from the violence of Saul, not daring to approach the spot in which the Ark of the Lord was kept, sending up to God the expression of his piety from the heart of the mountains of Hermon, whither he had fled for refuge:

As the hart panteth after the fountains of waters, so my soul panteth after thee, O God. My soul is troubled within myself; therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan and Hermon. Whilst my bones are broken, my enemies who troubled me have reproached me. Hope thou in God, for I will still give praise to Him: the salvation of my countenance and my God.

Psalm liv. represents the same king insulted in his flight by Semei; Psalm lix. recalls his campaign against Edom, as we have already seen above.

Let us here remark one point which we have passed over in the course of our examination. Psalm lxvii. 30 runs: "From thy temple in Jerusalem kings shall offer presents to thee," which proves the composition of this hymn to have taken place *before* the captivity of Babylon, and it may have been written after David had received the assurance that his son Solomon would erect the Temple to the Most High.

According to tradition, the hymns composed by David himself finish with Psalm lxxi. In Psalm lxxix. we may notice how the sacred poet expresses himself when he speaks in the name of the people, when he describes the evils of his oppressed co-religionists, and distinguish this collective lamentation from those which David himself utters when he is pursued, by Saul or Absalom for example. In fact here, as in all hymns of the same kind, all the terms are used in the plural; it is no more "I, me," which point out the oppressed one, the persecuted, who has recourse to God; but the poet speaks in the name of all: "Convert *us*, O God, and show *us* thy face, and *we* shall be saved. How long wilt thou feed *us* with the bread of tears," &c. Psalm lxxxii. is certainly anterior to the Captivity; the poet sees Assyria begin-

ning to attack his people, and begs of God to treat them as He treated the people of Canaan who were vanquished by the Israelites under the command of the Judges. Psalms xc. and xcix. sing the praises of the Lord God of Israel. Psalm xcvi., entitled "A Psalm for David," has this special feature, that, enumerating the priests who were pleasing in God's sight, it mentions only Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. Without doubt this is not what the priests, the sovereign chiefs of the people, would have done after their return from exile.

Those which follow sing the praises of the Divine mercy without having any mark by which their origin can be traced. At the same time, in Psalm cxviii. 46 we read this phrase: "I spoke of thy commandments before kings, and I was not ashamed," which would be difficult to explain if it were not supposed to have been pronounced at the time which followed the return of the Jewish people to their own country.

Amongst the second class of psalms, or those which bear witness to a high degree of power and prosperity, we will name as specimens Psalms ii., viii., xviii., xxiii., xliii., xlv., xlv., xlvii., cix., and cxlix. Let us quote only a few words from them; our readers will easily be able to see the truth themselves. Here is the opening of Psalm xlvii.:

Great is the Lord, and exceedingly to be praised, in the city of our God (Jehovah), in his holy mountain. With the joy of the whole earth is Mount Sion founded, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king. . . . For behold the kings of the earth assembled themselves: they gathered together. So they saw and they wondered, they were troubled, they were moved: trembling took hold of them.

Can any such language be imagined to have been used in the Jerusalem of Esdras or of the Machabees? Certainly not. To believe such a thing all idea of criticism must be put aside. If these Psalms of which we have spoken up to now carry in themselves the proofs of their Davidic or royal origin, at the very least there are some others whose text, if taken literally, relates to the time of the Captivity itself, or to the return of the Jews into Palestine. Among these comes in the first place the "Super Flumina Babylonis," that admirable hymn of sorrow and of imprecation of the exiles of Juda; besides, Psalms xliii. and lii. have undoubtedly the same origin. Psalms lxv., lxxxiv., cxi., cxxv., and cxlvi. come from captives who have returned to their country. The Exile is spoken of in them as an event which was but of recent date:

Lord, thou hast blessed thy land: thou hast turned away the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people: thou hast covered all their sins (Ps. lxxxiv.). When the Lord

brought back the captivity of Sion, we became like men comforted. Then was our mouth filled with gladness : and our tongue with joy. Then shall they say among the Gentiles, The Lord hath done great things for them (Ps. cxxv.) Praise the Lord because the Lord buildeth up Jerusalem, and gathers together the dispersed of Israel (Ps. cxlvi.).

This last psalm may equally well have been composed during the Exile.

There are, lastly, a certain number of these sacred hymns which have for sole subject some general idea, some high religious principle applicable to all times and all places. As regards these, historical criticism is powerless to determine, even hypothetically, any date whatever. If there be any exterior index which could authorise an hypothesis, it points rather to an ancient origin than otherwise. These indications are merely a tradition, which does not show any signs of genuine authenticity, and the growing presumption of this fact, that the greater part of the Psalms are certainly of antique origin. This is but little ; still it is something. The post-Exilian theory has no foundation.

If we would push the spirit of criticism to its farthest limits, we might, for example, maintain that Psalms xlix. and xl. could not possibly have the priest-sovereigns of post-Exilian times for authors, because these would probably not have endeavoured to inculcate upon their hearers the belief that sacrifice and holocausts are of little worth in the sight of God, that the only essential way to please Him is by contrition of heart. But we will not make use of proofs of this kind.

The tradition which relates to the subject and authorship of the Psalms does not really possess a character of such authority as would justify us in placing entire confidence in it. The exegetes of every school agree in admitting the risky character of its assertions. One thing, however, speaks in its favour—viz., its sincerity. It is easily seen that it tells what it believes and does not try to impose, or to raise the value of the object of its work. Thus at the end of Psalm lxxi. it tells us that this is the last composition of David ; it gives us the names of authors without trying to create an aureola for whoever they might be. It is, at the very least, the echo of an oral teaching or of studies of a serious nature.

One of the objections urged against attributing any Psalms at all to the penitent king is, that nowhere do we find him represented as the author of sacred hymns. But this is not quite exact. In the first place, the Book of Kings shows many odes or elegies composed by David.

Besides which, 2 Paralipomenon vii. 6, when relating the feasts celebrated on the occasion of the inauguration of the Temple

by Solomon, says : " And the priests stood in their offices : and the Levites with the instruments of music of the Lord, which King David made to praise the Lord."

It is true that nothing in all this is an apodictic proof ; but while on the one side there are admissible indications, and on the other there is nothing, the most ordinary prudence forbids us to reject these indications in order to obstinately cling to belief in castles in the air. To my mind the choice cannot be doubtful for a single moment.

The expedient which sets down the entire Bible as a production of the fourth and third centuries is so heroic an act that it cannot be received or discussed seriously. Esdras and his successors consecrating their whole lives and all their talent to glorify, by a whole series of falsehoods, Samuel, David, and the Davidic dynasty, is so extraordinary an hypothesis that it is only equalled by the easy faith of him who believes it. And what is more astonishing still is the complete success which this imposture has enjoyed. But we have said more than is necessary. We might doubtless have pushed our investigations beyond these limits, and looked more closely into details, and carried this essay much further. But we have said quite sufficient to allow us to conclude that a great many of the Psalms, the greater number in fact, certainly date from the time of David, or of the flourishing royalty of Juda—that some of them, only, were certainly composed during the Captivity, or shortly after. For the rest the date is absolutely uncertain, but there is no presumption, based upon any ground whatever, which allows us to transport them later than the time of Esdras, though some of them may have been composed at this epoch.

It will be seen, moreover, from the result of our examination, that external proofs are not always indispensable to allow us to determine the date of an ancient monument, that it may carry its date in itself, in such a manner as to provide a sufficient certainty for critical research.

CH. DE HARLEZ.



ART. VI.—CATHOLIC THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND.

IN venturing to call attention to the work of English theologians, it may be well at the outset to disclaim all sympathy with what is known as "Nationalism" in matters of religion. One of our foremost teachers has raised his warning voice against the dangerous spirit which bears that name. And the facts of history speak still more eloquently against it. We can see its workings in the movement which first severed England and other countries from Catholic unity; and, in a lesser degree, in the Gallicanism which once brought France to the verge of Schism. And if, in many cases, it was the original source of separation, it is everywhere one of the chief barriers against a return to the fold. "Nationalism" is the common characteristic of Churches which are else very far apart, and seems as surely a "note" of false religions as Catholicity is of the true. It is, indeed, only natural that this should be so. Heresy is essentially subjective, and rests on the private judgment, or opinion, of individuals; hence it may well be local or "national." But a Church whose principle is a certain faith in real objective truth, which must needs be one for all, cannot be thus bounded. Faith which is merely subjective and personal is not faith, but opinion; and a Church which is really "national" is no Church at all.*

We have surely good reason to be on our guard against this spirit of "Nationalism" in religion. And it is no wonder we have been so often warned against it. There is, however, a danger on the other side, which has received less attention, and is for that very reason the more to be feared. It often happens that in shrinking from one evil we fall into another; or, it may be, we find ourselves illustrating that proverbial meeting of extremes which Hegel seems to have felt so deeply. Such is only too likely to be the case here. If our dread of religious "Nationalism" is not tempered by discretion, it will lead us to cherish foreign habits of devotion to the neglect of all that is English. It will make us unmindful of our glorious past, and heedless of the lessons our fathers have left us. And what is the result? Catholic teaching or devotion is made to appear as something foreign—something, it may be, Roman, or Italian, or French—anyhow not English. In other words, religion is after all narrowed and localised.

* "Wer da sagt, 'Dies ist eben mein Glaube,' hat keinen Glauben. Glauben, Einheit des Glaubens, Universalität des Glaubens, sind Ein und Dasselbe, sind nur verschiedene Ausdrücke desselben Begriffs" (Möhler: "Symbolik," § 39).

Now, it is hardly necessary to insist that whatever is Catholic, so far as it is Catholic, is common to all nations, and what is common to all can be foreign to none. The Church triumphs over the narrowing isolating spirit of "nationalism," not because she is of no nation, but because she is of all. Her theology, her art, her literature, are never foreign; for she is everywhere at home. They are the common heritage of all her children in every age and in every land, all of them, indeed, with their own needs and their own special gifts, yet all having a share in the labours of others as well as in their own.

"*Humani nihil a me alienum puto*," says the Roman poet: how much more can we say that nothing Catholic is alien to us, for whom a higher touch than that of nature has made the whole world kin. Hence the history of Catholic literature, or art, or theology, in any age or country, no matter how distant, has its interest for us; for all are ours. At the same time that of our own land has surely some special claims on our attention, the more so that it has been so long neglected. Here, as in many other cases, we may well take a practical lesson from our Breviaries. In the feasts that come upon us day by day throughout the year we honour saints from well-nigh every land under heaven, and are thus made to feel our fellowship with the whole Catholic Church. But besides the saints of many nations whose feasts are in the general calendar, we have to keep a number of special feasts in honour of the saints of our own land. We are reminded of their glorious deeds and bidden to seek their prayers and pay them honour, while their memory is not being thus kept by others who are not their countrymen. The principle of this special devotion to our English saints surely seems to sanction a special interest in English theology, or, indeed, in the labours of our Catholic forefathers in other fields.

Catholic theology is one in all ages and in all lands. It is the common heritage of all, and men of every nation may cultivate it and help in its development. Let us, then, ask ourselves what part our fathers bore in this great work, and if so be profit by their example. It is likely that few among us are aware how much has really been done by Englishmen in the field of theology. The fact that early theologians all wrote in Latin tends to obscure the nationality of the writers. From this, and from other causes, it comes that the great body of Catholic theology in which our countrymen laboured, to say the least, as much as any others, is now accounted "foreign"; and "English theology" is identified with the fragmentary work of the famous Anglican divines. Hence, it will probably be thought that we are undertaking a hopeless task, where

we must needs gather together a few obscure writers, and seek to magnify their merits unduly.

This is very far from being the case. If there is any difficulty in our way, it certainly does not arise from lack of materials. It is rather an *embarras de richesses*. Were we really content to take all the names that come, without discrimination, the mere list would soon exhaust our space. On the other hand, if we attempt to do justice to the work of our theologians, and give some account of their writings, each one would furnish ample matter for a whole article. Our best plan will probably be to take a few of the more important writers in each successive period, and briefly point out the place they hold in the history of Catholic theology.

The age of the Fathers was already drawing to its close when the first English converts were gathered into the fold. Yet even in this first period of theology we have, at least, one great name to show. There is surely no need to dwell here on the merits of St. Bede, or to urge his claim to rank with the other Fathers of the West. His venerable name is written too large in the offices of Holy Church to be soon forgotten either in England or elsewhere. There are, indeed, very few Fathers whose words are more frequently read in the Divine office than those of our English saint. These homilies are mainly noticeable for their plain and homely character. There are, however, other portions of St. Bede's writings which show us that he could follow and appreciate the most profound speculations of the Greek and Latin Fathers. Let us instance his account of the Augustinian theory of simultaneous creation, and his comment on the words, "*Quod factum est, in Ipso vita erat.*" While we thus associate St. Bede with the earlier Fathers, with whom he has a true fellowship, we must not forget that in his own age he was almost alone. Standing, so to say, "between two worlds," the old Roman world dying or dead, the other happily not "powerless to be born," he hands on the treasures of the past to those who follow him. Is it national pride or prejudice that leads us to ascribe so much to the English Father? Let us answer this by referring our readers to the impartial testimony of a distinguished German writer, Carl Werner.*

One English writer of a somewhat later age may be mentioned here; for in character, if not in time, he belongs to the Fathers. This is St. Aelred of Rievaulx, the author of some spiritual works of singular sweetness and beauty. From the great likeness of

* See his monograph, "*Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit*," Wien, 1875. Werner has another similar work on Alcuin, "*Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*," Paderborn, 1876; while in his works on the schoolmen, Englishmen take up a great part.

his writings to those of his greater contemporary, the Abbot of Clairvaux, he may well be called the English St. Bernard.*

In approaching the scholastic period, it may be well to look back and see what part our countrymen had in laying the foundations of its distinctive system. The theology of the mediæval schoolmen is built upon the writings of the Fathers, St. Bede among the rest. The doctrines are all drawn from these pure sources; but whence do they get the scientific form and luminous analysis which are the main features of this new period? Many causes might be mentioned as contributing to this result; but we may content ourselves with two of the most important: firstly, the schools themselves; and secondly, the great philosophical movement of which they were the scene. Now, if we trace the mediæval schools and universities back to their source, we are brought to the schools established by the Emperor Charles the Great. And it is hardly necessary to allude to the important part played in that foundation by the English Alcuin, that true disciple of St. Bede.

The philosophical movement was partly the natural and spontaneous outcome of free discussion in the schools, and partly due to the influence of Arabian and Greek philosophy, which were now first finding their way into the West. Among those who helped to bring in or translate the Eastern writings, we meet with more than one English name—for instance, the Platonist Adelard, of Bath, and somewhat later Robert Grosstête, of Lincoln. Our chief informant on the first great conflict concerning the "universals" is another Englishman, John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres. The elegance of his style, and his quaint and graphic description of the manners and customs, the fashions and follies of his day, lend additional charm to his writings. But their main value lies in the service they render to the history of philosophy. And, it should be added, he is no mere chronicler of the opinions of others: he gives us his own view on this crucial question. Here let us appeal once more to the impartial testimony of a German writer. Professor Stöckl makes good use of John of Salisbury in his account of the early scholastic struggle, and when he comes to speak of the English Bishop's own view of the matter he describes it as the right mean between the two extremes of Nominalism and Realism. The time was come, he adds, when, out of the strife, the true view could be formed.†

* A paper on St. Aelred and his writings appeared in the *Ave Maria* of March in the present year.

† "Man kann nicht verkennen, dass diese Ansicht von J. v. Salisbury von den Universalien ganz in jene Bahn einschlägt welche wir früher als die rechte Mitte zu den beiden Gegensätzen des Nominalismus und des excessiven

It is not easy to fix exactly the beginning of Scholastic Theology. In one way it may be said to open with the great name of St. Anselm, who we may observe in passing, though not an Englishman, was at least an English bishop. Others may look to the Abbey of St. Victor for the first schoolmen; but if Hugh and Richard have much in common with St. Thomas, their writings are none the less something *sui generis*, midway between the Fathers and the Schools. Genuine scholastic theology may, perhaps, be said to open with the "Books of Sentences." And here an Englishman was first in the field. The more famous work of Peter Lombard, so long the common text-book, was anticipated by the "Three Books of Sentences" written by Robert Pullen. As a happy omen of the union of theological eminence with the Roman purple which we have seen in our own days, it is interesting to note the fact that Pullen was, it would seem, the first English Cardinal. If his book marked an epoch in the history of theology, his active work in restoring and promoting studies at Oxford had, it is likely, still greater influence for good. Dom Mathoud, the Benedictine editor of the Cardinal's "Sentences," cherished the hope that some more of his writings may haply survive in English libraries. And he expressed a wish that his own edition might arouse the attention of Pullen's countrymen, so that one who is so worthy of being honoured by all might no longer be forgotten in his own land.*

Another English theologian of the days of Pullen and Peter Lombard was Robert of Melun, who succeeded Gilbert Foliot in the See of Hereford. He was one of the first to receive episcopal consecration at the hands of St. Thomas of Canterbury. A "Sum of Theology" from this English pen still lies in MSS. at Paris. Dom Mathoud gives us an extract in his notes to Pullen's "Sentences," and expresses a wish that the whole work might be published, a wish which his readers will readily share. Here it may be well to enter a word of warning against a very natural mistake. An unprinted work of a late writer, say Petavius or Suarez, can have little or no influence on those who follow, whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the book itself. It is far otherwise with writings of the twelfth century; when there was no printing at all MSS. were really published editions which may have had a wide circle of readers. To judge by his fame as a teacher, as well as by Dom Mathoud's account of his

Realismus bezeichnet haben. Die Zeit war gekommen, wo aus dem Streite der Gegensätze die wahre Anschauung der Sache nach Inhalt und Form zugleich sich herausbilden sollte" (Stöckl, "Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters," bd. i. s. 425).

* See the Preface to his edition of Pullus, which has been reissued in Migne's Patrol. Lat. t. clxxxvi.

extant work, Robert of Melun must have been an important factor in the development of mediæval theology.

The "Books of Sentences" were speedily followed by the "Summa," a title already adopted by Robert of Melun. Here also we find an Englishman first in the field. As Pullen anticipated Peter Lombard, so his countryman, Alexander of Hales, was the forerunner of St. Thomas. Alexander's "Sum of Theology" is sometimes spoken of as a commentary on the "Sentences," and not a few writers have fancied from this that he wrote two distinct works, a "Summa," and a comment on the "Sentences." No doubt the English Franciscan in his turn gave lectures on the text of Peter Lombard, but it does not appear that any of these remain. His one extant book, though keeping to the order of the "Sentences," is by no means a mere commentary. In language and structure it comes much nearer to the "Summa" of St. Thomas than any previous work, and may be said to mark a new epoch in scholasticism. Here again we may refer to a German critic. Father Kleutgen points out that there is an important difference between the master of the "Sentences" and the later schoolmen. And he adds that it was Alexander of Hales who completed the scholastic method, inasmuch as it received its proper form at his hands.*

While Alexander of Hales was doing this service to scholastic theology, another English Franciscan was working with great success in a different field, anticipating the accuracy and critical science of later days. His fame as a magician, and the legends that cluster round his name, have saved Friar Roger Bacon from the oblivion which has fallen on so many of his fellows. Still, his true merits, and his importance in the history of theology, of science, and of criticism, are very far from being generally known. Those who are led to look into the portion of his "Opus Majus," published by Dr. Todd, or still more the "Opera Minora," so ably edited by Professor J. S. Brewer, may well be filled with amazement.† Other writers of his day have an excellence of their own, and only the victims of prejudice can feel surprised at meeting with great thoughts and noble words in their long-forgotten pages. But Roger Bacon has something which is often considered the peculiar boast of modern scholarship. The most thoroughgoing admirer of mediæval philosophy may well be startled on first opening the "Opus Minus," or the "Opus Tertium." In connection with Bacon's scientific research we

* "Die Theologie der Vorzeit," vol. iv. p. 14. A somewhat sarcastic passage in Roger Bacon seems to imply that the "Sum" was not entirely Alexander's work. Considering its magnitude, this may well have been the case.

† Bacon's natural philosophy is the subject of another of Werner's monographs, "Die Kosmologie u. allgemeine Naturlehre des Roger Baco."

may mention another worker in that direction, Alexander Neckam, the English Augustinian.* His Biblical criticism, again, recalls the honoured name of yet another Englishman, Cardinal Stephen Langton.

In the presence of the two great Italian teachers, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, their English contemporaries are more or less in the shade. Yet, when we come to the next generation of theologians, we find an Englishman, Richard Middleton, in the front rank. He has been called by the imposing title of Doctor Solidus; but the frequency with which he is quoted by later writers, such as Suarez, is perhaps a surer token of his worth. Probably not many English readers recognise a countryman in the Richardus of Suarez or Vasquez. Sixtus Senensis, it is true, calls this Richard a Scotchman, possibly from some confusion with his greater namesake, Richard of St. Victor.

It may be well to say in passing that we are confining our attention to Englishmen alone. Scotch, and still more Irish, theologians would furnish ample matter for separate papers. And, as we are anxious to avoid international controversy, we will not include Duns Scotus in our list. Not, indeed, that we abandon all claim to him. There is something to be said for all sides in this triangular duel. With this admission we may perhaps be allowed to treat the nationality of the "Doctor Quodlibetarius" after his own fashion, and leave it an open question.

From Scotus we naturally pass to his most famous English scholar, William of Occam. If this remarkable man had only followed his master in loyalty and good use of his gifts as closely as he approached him in keenness of intellect, his place in theology would have been very different. He might have been the greatest glory of his country and of his Order; but he chose to follow, instead, an erratic course. His revival of Nominalism was fraught with danger to theology, and his speculative errors were unhappily accompanied by an active opposition to the Pope of his day. It is some comfort to learn that he repented before his death. This did not, however, avail to save him from such doubtful honours as Luther's affection and Melancthon's praise. Nevertheless, Occam's writings are not without their value; and later theologians, like Vasquez, who know how to separate the good from the evil, have made good use of the English Nominalist.

While Occam's Nominalism was disturbing the current of mediæval theology, the old scholastic Realism found a fresh champion in another English Franciscan, like Occam himself, a

* His quaint work, "*De Natura Rerum*," has already appeared in the Rolls series.

disciple of Duns Scotus. This was Walter Burleigh, who has won what is perhaps the most honourable title given to any schoolman, "Doctor planus et perspicuus." To judge by such of his writings as have come down to us, it was worthily earned.

Another English schoolman, who was a contemporary of Occam and Burleigh, had an influence which lasted long after his own day. John Bacon the Carmelite was adopted as the great authority of his Order. For a time at least the Carmelites were Baconists, just as the Dominicans were Thomists, the Franciscans, Scotists, and the Augustinians formed the *Schola Ægidiana*.^{*} The distinctive feature of Bacon's teaching is his devotion to Averrhoes. In fact, he endeavoured to do for the famous Arab what others had done for Plato and Aristotle, and make him a Christian philosopher. Thus, as St. Thomas is continually referring to the philosopher, so in Bacon's writings we meet with the "Commentator" at every turn. Although the Carmelite Doctor avoided the more serious errors of his chosen master, and strove to put an orthodox meaning on his words, his Averrhoism was, to say the least, unfortunate, and lessens the value of his writings. Yet the discriminating reader can find much excellent matter in Bacon's theology which helps to fill up what is wanting in some of the other schoolmen. It will be enough to mention here his defence of the doctrine that the Episcopate is an Order, in the Sacramental sense, and his adoption of St. Augustine's teaching on creation in germ. Baconism, as a distinct school, lasted well into the eighteenth century, and for all we know may still linger in some parts.†

The scholastic period was followed by the age of controversy and positive theology. We come from St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure to Bellarmine and his great compeers. The change may, no doubt, be described in many different ways, and may be ascribed to various causes. Still, it will be allowed on all hands that the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation makes a new epoch in the history of theology. And here, once more, an Englishman led the way. Much has been done of late years to explain the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. The struggle has been traced back to its source, and we have learnt to look at Wycliff rather than Luther as the father of Protestant theology. But if the German Reformers were thus forestalled by an English heretic, the work of their opponents was in like manner anticipated by an English champion of the faith, the Carmelite, Thomas Netter of Walden. As we set the

^{*} See the Milan edition of "John Bacon's Theology," published in 1510; also Berti, "De Theologicis Disciplinis."

† See, for instance, Ventimiglia's "Enchiridion Theologicum Scholasticodogmaticum, juxta mentem J. de Baccione," 1764.

two names together we are forcibly reminded of the words of Antony—

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

All of us have heard of Wycliff: but how many are there who know anything of Thomas of Walden? Few have even heard of him; and fewer still have made any acquaintance with his writings. Readers of Suarez sometimes stumble at the name of Waldensis, and take it for an illusion to the heresy of the Waldenses. Yet each one of those frequent references to his name is a fresh token of the good use which later writers have made of the great English Carmelite. Maybe there is little need to read him nowadays. He has served his purpose, and is now overshadowed by the great fabric of controversial and positive theology which has arisen since his day. Still, the work which thus hides him from us is in great measure built upon his own. When Cardinal Bellarmine is beginning his treatise on the Church, he gives a list of the earlier writers on that fundamental question, or rather of such of them as he had read. And the first name after the early Fathers is that of Thomas Waldensis. This fact surely says more for the English theologian than any words of praise, even when they come from such great authorities as Thomassinus and Vega.*

Let us add one other fact that speaks for itself. When the Council of Sens had condemned the Lutheran errors, the zealous Archbishop of that See followed this up by bringing out a fresh edition of Walden's "*Doctrinale Fidei*," as a remedy against the new heresy. This work, which was specially approved of by Pope Martin V., is the only one of Thomas Netter's genuine writings yet given to the press. The smaller volume on Wycliff's errors published in the Rolls series is probably the work of another hand. His biographers give us a long list of works, many of which seem to have perished. In spite of these literary labours, which might seem to leave little room for other work, the active life of Walden is full of interest. He took part in the struggle of the Western Schism, and, according to one account, was present at the great Council which brought it to an end. High in the favour of the Pope and of his own Sovereign, he was sent on an important mission to Lithuania, then recently united to the Polish crown. While engaged in this embassy he strove to spread the faith among the heathens of the North, and seems to have established some houses of his own Order in those parts. From this some writers have been led to call him the Apostle of

* See Thomassinus, "*Consensus Scholæ de Gratia*," and Vega in his work on the Council of Trent.

Lithuania. A fine edition of his chief work was brought out at Venice as late as 1757. If his name is now almost forgotten, it was once held in high esteem by foreigners as well as by Englishmen, and even in the camp of the enemy. Thus André Thevet includes the Carmelite theologian in his "*Histoires des Hommes Illustres*," and honest old Fuller gives him a place among the "Worthies of England." The latter, we need hardly add, has scanty sympathy with Thomas Netter's zeal against heretics.

When we come to the great controversies of the Reformation period, we find many more of our countrymen treading in the footsteps of Thomas of Walden. Some of these are more famous for their deeds than they are for their writings. The names of More and Fisher and Campion would still live in our memories, even if they had left no books behind them. And it is likely that even those among us who hold them most in honour know little or nothing of their literary work. Yet the service they rendered to the cause of theology is second only to the faith and loyalty that won them the martyr's crown. There is, indeed, scarcely any period of our history so rich in sound theological work as is this time of persecution; and its literature is as varied as it is deep and full: each one of its writers has some special merit of his own. Some will prefer the learning of Fisher; others the classic style of Pole, or his lucid exposition of the great dogmatic texts. Others, again, will feel the charm of More's native wit,

Than the bare axe more luminous and keen,

or that tender love of country (*carissima patria Anglia*) which lends a touch of sweetness to the light of Campion's reasoning.*

If, however, we turn from these accidental graces of style or personal character, and look solely at the theological worth of their writings, there is another English writer of this period who must be allowed to bear away the palm. We may, indeed, claim for Thomas Stapleton the first place, not merely among his own countrymen, but among all the Catholic champions of the age. Some will be surprised to find him thus ranked before Bellarmine himself, and will probably set this down to a pardonable pride in the work of an English writer. Let us, then, hasten to add that we are merely repeating the judgment of some of the most competent foreign critics. Cardinal Du Perron, the great French controversialist, gave the first place to Stapleton; and more recently this judgment has been echoed in Germany. Döllinger says expressly that he was the best champion against the new

* While B. Edmund Campion was thus thinking chiefly of his own land, his work "*Decem Rationes*" had none the less a much wider scope. It was soon rendered into many other tongues, French, German, Polish, &c.

teaching the Church has had ; and Father Hurter quotes these words without protest, in his notice of the English theologian.* The main features of Stapleton's work are simplicity and thoroughness. Instead of spending his force on side issues and matters of detail, he goes to the root of the matter ; and, seizing the fundamental principles of the controversy, fights the battle on this ground alone. Among his minor works we may mention the "*Tres Thomæ*," which is, perhaps, more widely known than any other of his writings, and his translation of Bede's "*Ecclesiastical History*." It is interesting to note this link between the early English Father and the greatest of our later theologians.

While Stapleton and his fellows were thus bearing their part in the great struggle with heresy, others of their countrymen were doing good work in the last period of scholastic theology. Among these were Father Compton Carleton, S.J., the author of a full course of scholastic philosophy and theology ; Father Kellison, of Douai, who wrote one of the latest commentaries on St. Thomas ; and Father Henry Holden, whose "*Analysis Fidei Divinæ*," despite some bold speculations, is still a theological classic.

It would be easy to add many more names to the above list of English writers, whether in the scholastic or in the later controversial period. If some are likely to be surprised when they find so many great names in English theology, others more familiar with mediæval literature will probably take us to task for omitting such men as Holkot, and Thomas Bradwardine, whom Chaucer links with St. Augustine, the Dominicans, Thomas of Sutton and John Hayton, and many more.† Our answer is very simple. We are not writing a history of English theology. To do this with anything like completeness we should have to fill not one article but many volumes. The object of the present paper is of a much humbler nature—viz., to draw attention to the fact that Englishmen have done great work in the field of Catholic theology, a fact which is perhaps in some danger of

* "*Nomenclator Literarius*," t. i. p. 125. Hurter, it may be added, makes good use of Stapleton in the earlier portion of his own *Compendium*.

† Bradwardine's great work, "*De Causa Dei*," was published in 1618 by Sir Henry Saville, a man who did not shrink from honouring the schoolmen at a time when their names were a byword of reproach : see his Latin speech before Queen Elizabeth, given in an early edition of Ascham's "*Schoolmaster*." Thomas Sutton, who has been claimed as a Scotchman, wrote "*Comments on Aristotle*," and other works. The "*Compendium of Theology*" found among St. Bonaventura's writings has been ascribed to him by some : see *De Rubeis Dissert. præv.* in tom. 19 opp. St. Thomas. John Hacon (or Hayton) was a vehement opponent of the Paris theologians who set Church or Council above the Pope. He called the Paris University the "*Devil's Daughter*" (*Cf. Hergenröther, "Kirchengesch."* ii. 658).

being forgotten. For this the above selection, imperfect as it needs must be, may well be enough.

It only remains to ask whether these labours of our forefathers have not a lesson for ourselves at the present day. Perhaps it may be said that the work is already done for us, and we have only to rest and be thankful. Is the development of Catholic theology finished? Surely not. It is no Council of the early Church, it is the Vatican Council of our own day that has taken up and made its own the noble words of St. Vincent of Lerins : "Crescat et proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius Ecclesiæ Intelligentia, Scientia, Sapientia." This work of unfolding and elucidating and systematising the sacred science is clearly in progress. The book is still open. There is much yet to be done, and what has already been achieved must be set forth in a manner suited to our present needs, and meeting the errors of the age in which we live. In all this it should be our privilege to labour as our fathers have done before us.

There is, indeed, a special reason why we should take our share in the work, and not leave it all to Germans or Frenchmen, or Catholics in other lands. Shall we say it? Theology must be written in our mother tongue. Let us not be misunderstood. By all means let Latin still be used in the text-books of our seminaries and other manuals for the clergy. No amount of theology in the vernacular can ever supersede the common language of the Western Church; and any attempt to do this would endanger the living unity and the growth of the sacred science. But theology is not a mere professional science for the clergy alone; it is open to all. And Christian culture is never complete without it. It is strange that there should be any need of insisting on this obvious truth. Other sciences are not thus "cabined, cribbed, confined" in the narrow ranks of a class or a profession, however eminent. In some cases, indeed, they are more necessary, and they must be more deeply studied by some men than by others; but beyond this circle they exercise a great and ever-growing influence. Many, whose professional duties have little or nothing to do with science of any kind, are led to cultivate some branch of these studies. And specialists in one science have often a wide acquaintance with most of the others. This general extension of the natural sciences is one of the main characteristics of the present day. Yet, at the same time, the divine science of theology is dealt with in a very different way. It is separated from the rest, and left to those who must needs have some knowledge of it. In spite of the sublime nature of its matter, its symmetrical structure, its consistent development, and its rich and varied literature, it is seldom

studied for its own sake. This neglect of theology is surely a serious danger both to science and religion. In saying this, we may shelter ourselves under the authority of Père Didon. There are few more striking passages to be found in those fascinating pages which give us his impressions of Germany, than his protest against this isolation of theology. He shows the wisdom of the Germans, who still maintain the theological faculty in their universities, and the folly of those others who have done away with it. Without this divine science, the circle of knowledge, the *Universitas Scientiarum*, is narrowed; and the loss is widely felt. Both religion and culture suffer by it.*

These words of the eloquent Dominican have a wider application, and go beyond that university system of which he was speaking. The old seats of learning still remain, but who can say that they have the monopoly that once was theirs? Now that the discoveries of science and the words of our great thinkers are scattered broadcast through the land in a hundred different forms that all who will may read them, intellectual culture can no longer be localised as of old. Our ancient universities are still the chief centres of learning, and their light now radiates through a wider area. But in the literature of our country there is a greater university, and it is here that we must raise a chair of theology. The Germans have already done this. Their national literature, like Tübingen and Breslau, has its faculty of Catholic theology. In the pages of Möhler and Kleutgen and Scheeben, and many more, the teaching of the Fathers and schoolmen has been set forth with new life and freshness, and as vigorously defended. They have given their countrymen a rich literature of Catholic divinity in their own mother tongue. If we would do something to follow in the steps of our great English theologians, these Germans show us both what to do and how to do it.

It may be well to remember that when the great schoolmen wrote in Latin, they were using the common language of all literature and science; and the same was true long after the Middle Ages. Thus their use of Latin should warrant us in using English. If theology is to hold its true place in the circle of the sciences instead of being isolated and "shut up in the sacristy," it must surely speak the same tongue as the rest. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons which have led so many of the great German divines to clothe the sacred science in their mother tongue. It is, at any rate, significant that two of them, Kleutgen and

* "L'Etat y perd car tout est profit pour lui à avoir un clergé plus intelligent et en communion plus étroite avec la vie nationale; la religion y perd, car rien ne l'honore plus à la face du monde moderne, après la vertu, que la science vraie; la culture générale y perd, car elle compte un rameau de moins dans l'arbre de la science universelle" (Didon, "Les Allemands," p. 179).

Scheeben, dwell on the connection of Revealed teaching with Philosophy and the other sciences.* For them, as for the schoolmen of old, Philosophy is the handmaiden of Theology, and gains new light and perfection from the services she renders to the queen of sciences. And in like manner all the other branches of knowledge have each their own due place as parts of one great whole, and besides their own native worth can minister, at least indirectly, to the higher science.

If the work so worthily begun is followed up in England and elsewhere, it can hardly fail to bear fruit in many different ways. The highly scientific character of the true religion, to borrow a phrase of Père Didon, may well have its attraction for the men of this age of science, if only it is brought before them in this light. Some, indeed, will turn away from it, and refuse to see its truth and beauty. But it will find out its own. And, at the same time, the presence of Catholic Theology must needs have a healthful influence on the surrounding regions of science and literature. It will leaven the great mass when once it is fairly in the midst of it.

Is it too much to hope for this? Looking, as too many of us do, at the dark side of modern thought, its hopeless Agnosticism, or its Materialism, or Pessimism, we may perhaps say so. Yet when we do this, we are unconsciously falling away from the true philosophy of the Church: we are infected by the pessimism of the day. Nothing is altogether evil; and pure, genuine, undiluted falsehood is nowhere to be found. The "great solvent" does but separate the parts of the system on which it acts: it cannot wholly destroy them. And if we look more deeply into the various false systems of the day we shall find them sown with the scattered elements of the truth

asking to be combined, dim fragments meant
To be united in some wondrous whole.

The true Theology is "Catholic," not only because it is the teaching of the Church of the "whole" world, but because it gives the "whole" of the revealed truth; while false systems keep some stray fragments and reject the rest. And the Philosophy of the Church is "Catholic" in the same sense of the word.

There is, indeed, much in the character of modern philosophy to raise our hopes. The same deep problems which marked the dawning of the scholastic period are still troubling the minds of men. Adopting, *mutatis mutandis*, some well-known words, we may say that, in this at least, "the shadow of the twelfth century is on the nineteenth." We turn from the old Nominalists

* Kleutgen, "Theologie der Vorzeit" vol. v. *circa finem*; Scheeben, "Mysterien des Christenthums."

and Realists to the leaders of modern thought; and we find Schopenhauer saying that the relation of the ideal to the real is the chief point of all philosophy, and Eduard von Hartmann still discussing the great question which busied St. Thomas and the other masters of the mediæval school.* May we not hope that some at least of our modern thinkers will welcome the old solution of those problems, if only it is fairly brought before them? And they can scarcely take in the philosophic truths without being at the same time prepared for the reception of the higher science with which they are so closely linked. The one leads on to the other. If supernatural theology makes use of the preliminary philosophic teaching, it throws in turn new light on the field of natural knowledge, crowning and completing the work of reason. As Scheeben truly says, it supplies the real "transcendental science" for which the proud reason of this age is striving so eagerly.†

Some excellent work has already been done in this direction. Möhler's "Symbolism" was rendered into English many years ago, and it has been followed, though after a long interval, by versions of other German writings.‡ The most important of recent works is the "Manual of Dogmatic Theology," based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik." We may well be thankful for these volumes, though our gratitude will perhaps come under the definition of "a lively sense of favours yet to come." They are a good beginning, likely to lead on to many more, and this is, after all, their main service to Catholic theology. Translations and adaptations from foreign sources have often proved the origin of a rich native literature. And this is what we really want here. We must never be content with one or two books, whatever may be their intrinsic worth. There is need of a whole literature, such as that which the Catholics of Germany already possess, with many and various expositions of the whole body of theology suited to the different characters and inclinations of those who read them, and a host of special works on each one of the more important dogmas.

Such is the task that lies before the English theologians of the present and the future, on whom the mantle of the great schoolmen has fallen. To fulfil it worthily they must surely ask for a double portion of their fathers' spirit.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

* "(Der) Hauptpunkt aller Philosophie, nämlich das Verhältniss des Idealen zum Realen" (letter of Schopenhauer to Rosenkranz, quoted in Kehrbach's edition of the "Kritik der Reinen Vernunft," p. vi.).

† "Natur und Gnade," p. 25.

‡ It is much to be regretted that this great work is so little read amongst us. Perhaps the price of the English version helps to limit its sale. The late American edition is eight times the cost of the German.

ART. VII.—THE INTERNUNCIO AT PARIS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Mémoires inédits de l'internonce à Paris pendant la Révolution, 1790-1801. Avant-propos, Introduction, Notes et Pièces justificatives par l'Abbé BRIDIER. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890.

WHEN the clergy of the *ancien régime* are spoken of, we picture to ourselves two extreme types. First we have the perfumed and powdered abbé with his rustling silks and laces, dallying at the toilette of the reigning favourite, the life of some gay salon, a welcome guest at the suppers of the *philosophes*—whose presence, faintly suggestive of what was sacred, lent a fresh charm to vice, and from whose lips the *double entendre* and scoffing jest came with a special relish. But we know well that these ecclesiastics, though the most prominent, were by no means the majority of their order. The French Church could boast of men of saintly lives, devoted to their everyday duties, who had no history as long as times were peaceful, but when the hour of trial came proved themselves to be of the same stamp as the martyrs of old. Christophe de Beaumont, the French Athanasius, as he has been deservedly styled, and his successor, De Juigné, who went into debt for 400,000 livres for the benefit of the poor during the terrible winter of 1788-9, were just as real characters as Cardinal de Rohan, the dupe of the necklace scandal; as Loménie de Brienne, the archbishop who hardly believed in God; and as Talleyrand, who gained a benefice from Madame du Barri by an indecent joke. An intermediate class of clerics should not, however, be overlooked. Where the Church is wealthy and powerful she always possesses a number of honourable and lucrative posts, open only to ecclesiastics, and yet involving few ecclesiastical duties. These offices will naturally attract men who have nothing of the ecclesiastical spirit, who look upon the Church merely as a career, and are willing to put up with the restraints imposed by their sacred character in return for dignity and ample emoluments. Such men usually lead decent lives, and even become strenuous supporters of the Church whose officials they are. There must have been many of this class in England before the Reformation. Many there certainly were in France during the eighteenth century, and among them we must reckon Mgr. de Salamon, the Internuncio at Paris during the Revolution.

Louis Sifferin de Salamon was born at Carpentras in Avignon, in the year 1759. As he was fond of relating, he was by birth

a subject of the Popes, and his father held the important office of First Consul under their government. After a course of early studies under the Oratorians at Lyons, he repaired to the renowned university of Avignon to study law, and to pick up as much theology as would qualify him for orders. Pius VI., a friend of the family, appointed him auditor of the Rota at the unusually early age of twenty, and subsequently allowed him to be nominated dean, and to be ordained when only twenty-two. But the tiny papal city did not offer sufficient scope for the ambition of the youthful ecclesiastic. There was at this time a strong current from Avignon towards Paris, and accordingly we are not surprised to learn that he took the first opportunity to purchase a place in the Parliament of the capital. The Calvet museum possesses a portrait representing him as he was in his twenty-fifth year, and clad in his robes of magistrate.* According to the description of it given by his editor, his features were regular, his eyes bright and full of intelligence, his mouth firm and yet mobile, betokening a combination of manly vigour and feminine sensibility. Such, indeed, is what might be gathered from his own account of his person and character. With the charming self-consciousness and effusiveness of the sex to which he half belonged, he assures us of his power of fascinating those whom he met; he is careful to dwell on the details of his toilet and dress, even at times of extreme danger; and one feels that he was more at home in the company of ladies and of his faithful *bonne*, Blanchet, than in his dealings with men. Still, that he was not wanting in masculine qualities will be often seen in the course of his story.

The Abbé de Salamon's career as magistrate was short. The Parliament was one of the first institutions to be swept away by the Assembly; but, in order that justice might be administered pending the creation of the new courts, *chambres de vacances*, consisting of the members of the old parliaments, continued to sit. The position of the members was peculiarly humiliating; they belonged to a body already under sentence of death; their discussions were interrupted, and their decisions set at defiance. Our young abbé was indignant with what he styles the cowardice of his colleagues. The president, M. de Rosambo, often consulted him in moments of peril. When Manuel, the celebrated proctor of the Commune, used to attempt to dictate to the members,

* It is much to be regretted that the publishers have not given us a *facsimile* of this portrait. Their series of memoirs are usually adorned with admirable photogravures. I must here take the opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the Abbé Bridier. His introduction and notes are excellent; their only defect is the writer's modest estimate of his labours. The worthy Internuncio would surely pardon him for giving these Memoirs in such fashion to the world.

Salamon always persuaded his chief to take no notice of his orders. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, invited them to the procession on the feast of the Assumption in order to inflict a public insult on them by assigning them an inferior position. The older members saw no way out of the snare, but Salamon's ingenuity was more than a match for the mayor's astuteness. It was Salamon again who urged the Parliament to refuse to congratulate the Assembly on its labours; and it was he who alone confronted the mob in an attack on the magistrates assembled at dinner. He was, in short, a downright aristocrat, entirely devoted to the old order, and imbued with a thorough contempt for the *canaille*. His conduct at this time was afterwards remembered, and was near costing him his life.

Meantime, though absorbed in secular pursuits, the former auditor of the Rota had not forgotten his patron, Pius VI. His correspondence with Cardinal Zelada kept the Pontiff well informed as to the course of events in France. Consequently it was but natural that when the nuncio, Mgr. Dugnani, fled from Paris at the end of 1790, Salamon should be nominated as the Papal representative.* He at first refused the dangerous honour, but a touching letter, six pages in length, entirely written by Pius himself, overcame all his objections. "I kissed respectfully," he says, "the letter of the great Pontiff, and devoted myself without reserve to his service, determined to die rather than abandon him." These brave words were no empty boast. In March 1791 the Pope condemned the civil constitution of the clergy. At the risk of his head the internuncio translated, printed, and circulated the Papal briefs. Again, in 1792 he did the same for the condemnation of the constitutional clergy. He stayed at his post even after the downfall of the monarchy, and was at length arrested August 27, 1792.

After a short examination at the Hotel de Ville he was consigned to the *dépôt* of the Mairie, where many clergy of rank were already detained. Salamon recovered his spirits when he found himself in such company. His good old servant brought him his chocolate and peaches and a decanter of lemonade, just as at home. He took care to have his dressing-case fetched, and went through the usual elaborate toilet. A *recherche* dinner also found its way in, which, we are glad to note, was shared with a poor priest who had no friends and no money. The loft in which the prisoners were confined was so low that a tall man could not stand upright in it; the floor was covered

* The diplomatic agents of the Pope are of three classes: nuncios, internuncios, and apostolic delegates. The second class consists of those who hold a temporary (*interim*) appointment, or are accredited to places where there is no supreme ruler.

with filthy straw, and the stench was so overpowering that a fine young man was on the point of being suffocated. Among the imprisoned priests was one veritable hero, of whom we shall hear much. The Abbé Royer, curé of the parish in which the Hotel de Ville was situated, towered over his comrades in stature as well as in character. His gigantic frame was bent, not by the weight of his eighty years, but by reason of the lowness of the roof of their miserable abode. At night he kept his fellow-prisoners in roars of laughter by his amusing stories, so that at last they were compelled to beg him to stop. But the wit was a saint too. Long before the others thought of rising he was on his knees praying for God's mercy on them all.

On Saturday, September 1, a member of the Commune entered, and gave orders for the removal of most of the prisoners to the Abbaye. The venerable Abbé Simon, who had simply called to see his brother, was marched off with the rest. "Now that you're with them," the jailer said, "you may as well stay."* Salamon notes with complacency how well he himself looked in comparison with his fellow-prisoners. A clean shave, well-powdered hair, and fresh linen were no doubt very rare under such circumstances. When he reached the Abbaye he was, however, in such a high fever that he was taken apart and allowed the luxury of sharing the mattress of a black soldier. Next morning early he rejoined his companions in a large hall, which had long been disused. It contained no furniture but a long bench, on which they took turns to sit. Salamon characteristically suggested that they should try to get rid of the dirt. A couple of brooms were accordingly bought from the warder, and thus some approach to cleanliness was obtained. It did not strike anybody that it was Sunday until the good Abbé Royer reminded them. "We cannot say Mass, or hear it," he observed, "but let us go down on our knees for the time that it would last, and let us lift up our hearts to God." The prisoners, sixty-three in number, men of all sorts and conditions, did as he bade them. Then they walked up and down, discussing the situation. Our friend the Internuncio began to think of dinner. He arranged with a restaurateur, introduced by the jailer, to provide for the company at forty sous a head, and generously undertook to pay for all who had no money. At two o'clock a comfortable meal was spread out on tables which had been brought for the purpose. The guests sat down in excellent spirits, and began to eat heartily. Salamon himself sat apart, for Madame Blanchet had tracked him again, and had managed to convey to him some of his favourite dishes, which he describes. Again he shared his

* He was afterwards massacred; the brother escaped.

luxuries with his poor friend of the Mairie. All were enjoying themselves, when suddenly the jailer drew the bolts with a crash, and said: "Be quick! the mob is coming; they're massacring the prisoners."

Half-past two on that Sunday afternoon, September 2, how well the Internuncio remembered it long years afterwards! No more eating and drinking. They listen, they stretch up to the windows to see what is going on outside. Up and down they march, poor victims. "Good God, what will become of us? Must we die?" "Keep quiet, or they will hear us." Salamon goes about advising each one what to say in case of examination. Two young Minims especially excite his compassion: "How sad for you to be here." "Say not so," replies the younger of the two; "my only fear is that they will let me off, because I am only a subdeacon." Fear not, brave youth, you shall have your heart's desire. The roar of the multitude grows louder. Once more the jailer enters. "They've killed all the people in the outer courts."

Five o'clock! Get ye ready for death. The Abbé Royer will not give a general absolution. No, he says, they have time to do all that the Church requires. Little groups are formed round each of the priests. Salamon is not one of the confessors. He is sitting, his face covered with his hands—he begins to doze! But now he remembers that he ought to go to confession like the rest. He is just beginning his accusation when the terrible jailer comes in again. "It is getting worse," he says, "more than two thousand of the mob have broken into the Abbaye. All the priests at the Carmes have been massacred." All now fall on their knees round the venerable father confessor. The sun has set. It is getting dark. The tall figure is dimly seen as the man of God calls upon all to recite the *Confiteor*, and the acts of faith, hope and charity. With great devotion, he gives them absolution *in articulo mortis*. Then, turning to the Internuncio, he says: "I myself am a great sinner: it was not for me to absolve you, the minister of the Vicar of Christ. Give me, I pray you, absolution with as much simplicity as I gave it to you." Poor Salamon is not accustomed to hearing confessions: he cannot remember the words! But now the saintly curé speaks again: "We can consider ourselves as being in our agony, but inasmuch as we still have our reason and full consciousness, we must not neglect anything that can obtain for us the mercy of God." He begins the litanies: they answer most fervently. When he comes to the recommendation of the dying, "Go forth, Christian souls," loud sobs break from all. Salamon still has a presentiment that he will escape. A young hairdresser thinks so, too, for he

entrusts him with a most touching letter to one who will soon be his widow. The hours pass wearily.

Ten o'clock comes, and the jailer brings in wine and lights—and hope, too, for he says that the mayor is at hand with the national guard to protect them. Our friend does not believe it, whereat the Abbé Godard and he have words. The roar outside grows louder and nearer. "Keep perfectly quiet," says Salamon; "this is not a regular prison. The mob may not know that we are here." They huddle together in silence, but not for long. Knock! knock! knock! Ah! what is that? Where is the Abbé Godard? He has climbed through a window without telling his companions. Some follow, and find themselves in a little courtyard. The doors are dashed in: "Where are they?—they have escaped." "No, here they are." And now the victims and mob are face to face. A loud voice calls: "Abbé Godard!" No one stirs. "You had better go," says Salamon coolly, "or else they will kill us all. Your great height may impress them." The Abbé steps forth. He is seized by a huge fellow, who keeps yelling out: "Villain, brigand," and is carried off—to death? No. This violence is make-believe; the Abbé is saved by a strange friend.* It is now the Internuncio's turn. He boldly faces the mob: "Here I am; I am not guilty." Pikes and swords are levelled at him, but are pushed aside by one who says, "Follow me, and if you are not guilty, no one shall hurt you." The mob opens a way for them, and they go, by the light of flickering torches and the rays of the bright moon, through the courtyard and garden into one of the halls of the abbey.

Yes, the aristocrats shall have a fair trial. The patriot judges sit at a green table, but more bent on quarrelling than on judging. The captives are dragged in. Salamon takes care to choose a good place farthest from the door. He is no coward though; he denies that they tried to escape—they only wanted not to be massacred. But the president intervenes: "Bring up the first prisoner." He is nearest the door. It is the saintly Abbé Royer. "Hast thou taken the oath?" "No." Down comes a sabre on his head; another and another; he falls and is dragged out. "Vive la Nation!" Next comes the Abbé Bouzet, vicar-general of Rheims. He has not taken the oath. "Out with him." He is pushed into the garden, and blows are showered on him till he dies. "Vive la Nation" again. It is a layman's turn now; he loses his wits, and accuses himself of having har-

* Manuel, the Procurator of the Commune, had a mistress, who was devoted to the King's service. She knew the Abbé Godard, and it was her intercession that saved him.

boured priests. "Death, death!" is the cry. He is soon gone. One after the other they are butchered: secretaries, presidents, vicars-general, simple priests. The Internuncio's turn will come presently. A mortal terror seizes him; his head is all burning with fever; he tears his hair, and alas! it begins to come off. He repeats his prayers mechanically, but he cannot prepare for death. He looks up now. The Minims are being questioned. A judge, touched with compassion, breaks in: "These are not priests: they need not take any oath." "But they are fanatics," others say. Moderate murderer and extreme murderer struggle for the mastery. The subdeacon favours the latter. Extreme wins, and two more martyrs have gained their crown. The old Abbé Simon, who only came to see his brother and was made to stay, is next massacred.

It must now be past three in the morning. When will they stop? Will none escape? Here comes a deputation from the Marseillais, who marched to Paris for the overthrow of the monarchy. They are received with the honours due to such distinguished patriots. Wonderful to relate, they ask pardon for two prisoners in another part of the Abbaye. Again moderate and extreme are at variance. Salamon thinks that when murderers fall out there is some chance for their captives. He notes that the Marseillais are getting the best of it. Once more he takes a bold line. "What, Mr. President, is there a man here who would dare oppose the request of the brave Marseillais? I propose that the two prisoners be brought in and set free." "Bravo! bravo!" The motion is carried. They are saved, but the blood goes on flowing. The Abbé Simon's brother is now questioned. He produces the oath of Liberty and Equality: he has taken that. "But this won't do—it isn't the priest's oath." "It will do all the same." Again a struggle, but the abbé is released—the first of Salamon's companions. A new president takes the chair. "Let us finish them off," he says. Two soldiers of the constitutional guard are massacred without being asked any questions. But now a servant of the Duc de Penthièvre is examined. He answers word for word as he had been advised—and he escapes. Two saved! It must now be quite seven o'clock in the morning, but the shutters are still closed, and the hall is dimly lighted by the flickering, unsnuffed candles. The judges and executioners are tired out. No one seems to notice that there is yet one prisoner untried. The poor fellow, taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, is quietly stealing away, when a vile-looking hunchback calls out, "Here's another one." It is Mgr. de Salamon, the Papal Internuncio! He goes straight up to the president: "Citizen, I ask permission to speak." "Who are you?" "I belonged to the Parlia-

ment of Paris, and I am a lawyer." "What brings you here?" "My section ordered us all to be indoors by ten o'clock. Not knowing this, I was going home at eleven and was arrested. I was taken from committee to committee, from the Mairie here to the Abbaye, without having once being examined. Pétion was going to release me just as these trials began." The president looks round: "You see how badly they manage matters in the other sections. We should have examined the prisoner at once, and have set him free. I propose that he be put back, so that inquiry may be made about him." Salamon does not wait for the decision; he goes off quietly under escort. For the present, then, he is safe. How does he feel? What are his thoughts?

"I sat down," he says, "and tried to get some rest. I thought that I should faint; I was worn out with fatigue. I was in a high state of fever; my pulse was beating fast; my hands were on fire. I did not feel glad at my escape; on the contrary, a deep sadness came over me, and I felt exceedingly prostrate. Since Saturday, at two o'clock, I had taken no solid food, and for more than twelve hours I had been face to face with death. As a rule, I had not the gift of tears, but now my miserable situation made me weep bitterly."

Monday and Tuesday passed away, and still there seemed no prospect of release. Meanwhile, however, the good old Blanchet was not idle. She had taken her master's letters to Hérault, the president of the Convention, and he had interceded for the prisoner. Early on Wednesday morning she met Torné, a constitutional bishop, who had been under great obligation to Salamon for gaining him a case at Rome before the Revolution. She seized him by the collar and said, "You must come and save your old friend this instant." To avoid a scene he at once agreed. On their way they encountered a deputy well known to Torné; Blanchet insisted that he too should go with them. All three proceeded to the Abbaye and were admitted. After a little parleying, the captive was set at liberty, the two patriots signing a declaration that they took upon themselves all responsibility for what was done. The bishop took him home and concealed him carefully until the massacres were over.

Here ends the first book of Salamon's Memoirs. Well might he say to Madame de Villeneuve, at whose request he wrote them: *Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem*. The filthy hall, the improvised dinner, the ill-timed gaiety of the guests, the sudden interruption, the prayers for the dying, the absolution, the long suspense, the breaking open of the doors, the rush of the mob, the mock trials, the massacres—how plainly they all stand out! What a vivid picture they give us of the bloody days of September! What an insight into the depths and heights of

human character ! We are not surprised that Madame de Villeneuve asked the Internuncio to go on with the story of his adventures.

Faithful to the trust imposed on him by Pius VI. he continued at his post, secretly communicating with Rome and carrying out the Holy Father's instructions. His life was tranquil ; he took his turn at mounting guard and passed everywhere for a good citizen. Unhappily, his connection with the reactionary part played by Parliament in 1789 and 1790 now came under notice. Before being dissolved, that body had drawn up a protest, signed by all the members, to be presented to the king and carefully kept secret. M. de Rosambo, the president, was imprudent enough to place it in his desk in the presence of his valet who had been for forty years in the service of his family. This man became a fiery revolutionist, and consequently denounced his master to the leaders of his section. The Hôtel de Rosambo was searched, the paper was discovered and with it the names of all who had sided with the king against the popular party. Orders were at once given for their arrest. Salamon was dining with a lady when suddenly Blanchet came to inform him that a friend had called secretly to advise him to keep away for some days. What was he to do ? His hostess was a "*dame poltronne*," he could not stay in her house. But he bethought himself of a rich widow, with an excellent heart, and greatly attached to him. It happened to be her night for receiving. Some of the guests were still in her salon. When he entered, Madame Dellebart—this was the widow's name*—saw that something was wrong, yet with her woman's tact she carefully controlled her feelings and conversed in the usual way until the company was gone. As soon as they were alone Salamon told her all. With tears in her eyes she begged him to stay with her ; she would not let him speak of the risk which she ran. Next day he went round among his old colleagues to warn them of the measures for their arrest. It was past six o'clock when he returned to his brave hostess. She was again in tears, wondering what had become of him. The evening was spent in a long *tête-à-tête* ; it was nearly two when she showed him to the tastefully furnished room which she herself had prepared for him. In the morning some excellent coffee and cream on a silver service were brought up to him. The widow did not get up till late, but she sent her daughter, who was a nun, to entertain him. Blanchet came too at about ten, to say that the commissaries of the section had visited his house to arrest him. It is needless to say that the good creature put

* The reader should bear in mind that these Memoirs were written for a lady. Hence Salamon describes at length the motherly care of Madame Dellebart for him, instead of giving an account of his ecclesiastical functions.

them on a very false track. Several days passed in the same way : breakfast with Mdle. Dellebart, a walk in the city, Blanchet's visit, and then a long evening with Madame. The younger lady usually retired at about nine, leaving the two talking together over the exciting times in which they lived and the many famous people whom they had met.

This sort of life could not last long. Baulked of their prey, the commissaries seized poor old Blanchet and dragged her off to prison. They asked her where her master was. "I know very well," she replied, "but I won't tell you. He'll live to get the lot of you hanged." Her only surviving son, fourteen years old, died a few days afterwards, calling out for his mother and his master. These sad tidings threw a fresh gloom over the little party. Just then, however, two letters came from Rome, one containing a cheque for 300 Roman crowns, the other full of consoling messages from the Pope. It is interesting to note that the correspondence was kept up by means of pseudonyms and pretended sympathy with the revolution. Salamon was "Citizen Blanchet," while the Cardinal was "Guissepe Evangelisti." The letters were interlarded with the usual Republican phrases, "scélerats d'Autrichiens," "nos braves patriotes," &c. Pius himself used to call his envoy his "little Jacobin."

After a month's stay at his new abode, Mdle. Dellebart one day confided to him that he was being watched, and that strangers had called to make inquiries about him. In spite of his hostess's entreaties he made up his mind to seek some other refuge. While wandering about Paris he came across a face that seemed familiar, and went up and claimed acquaintance. "Are you not the Abbé Audin?" "Don't call me that," was the reply. "I am professor of medicine." The man, indeed, was an apostate, who was on the point of being married to the daughter of another medical man. He had a good heart for all that, and readily gave Salamon food and shelter, even at the risk of being guillotined. The fugitive, however, could not rest here. He returned to Madame Dellebart to tell her that he must henceforth be a wanderer on the earth without a resting-place for his head. The worthy widow was overcome with grief. "Why not stay here," she said. . . . "We have got used to each other. . . . No harm will come to you. I assure you that since you have left I have felt a great void in my house." He remained that evening, but at daybreak went out to make inquiries about his faithful servant. Having found means of communicating with her, he set out for the Bois de Boulogne, which he intended thenceforth to make his headquarters. Sometimes he slept in the open ; sometimes he found shelter in sheds, archways and booths. Often he had nothing to eat but potatoes. He soon discovered other

ecclesiastics who had been compelled to lead a similar life. Little gatherings were held in which men dressed like labourers, but not so well fed or lodged, and yet withal men of noble birth and high ecclesiastical position—discussed the affairs of the Church in unhappy France. The Internuncio, now Vicar Apostolic, was able to communicate the latest intelligence from Rome, and to give all the dispensations required. This miserable state of existence lasted three months. There was, however, an occasional return to civilised life. Every Wednesday he spent the day with Madame Dellebart. He used to arrive early, take a good rest, breakfast with the daughter, and then a long talk with his devoted friend. But the decree against the nobles (April 16, 1794) deprived him of this consolation. With great difficulty he secured a wretched garret at Passy. The master of the house was always out, engaged at the Commune or in debauchery. He asked no questions about the lodgers provided they paid an exorbitant rent. In fact, the sum demanded was a sort of premium of insurance which the ruffian would lose if any harm befell them. The wife and daughter became interested in Salamon, and saved him from many awkward inquiries. One day he was in a café drinking beer when suddenly a citizen burst in shouting with joy: "To-day it is the turn of the Parliament. They are all in the dock, except that villain Salamon!" It was but too true. That very day they were tried and guillotined—the Internuncio himself being condemned to a like fate for not answering when called on!

Robespierre's death (July 28, 1794) brought a gleam of hope to all who were proscribed. Salamon had not forgotten his good Blanchet during his wanderings. He now wrote to the Committee of General Security to ask for her release. The letter was couched in most pathetic terms, describing her sufferings, and especially referring to the cruel treatment inflicted upon her son. Collet, the president, took charge of the letter, and was soon able to return a favourable answer. The long-separated master and servant met at last in the Bois. They dared not show their emotion for fear of exciting the attention of the bystanders. Blanchet's first care was to hand over three hundred francs which she had earned in prison by working. The ladies retained their love of finery even there, and, as she was an excellent laundress, her services were often in requisition. It should be mentioned, too, that she nursed the venerable Mme. de la Rochefoucauld, who had been deserted by her maid.

Some time afterwards he determined to get the seals taken off his apartments. Bourdon de l'Oise, formerly proctor of the Parliament, but now all-powerful in the section where they were situated, had been under great obligation to Salamon. The two

met, and a characteristic dialogue took place in which the parts of good-hearted blackguard and subtle schemer were well sustained. A decree was issued in Salamon's favour. The seals were removed and he was at liberty to come and go for a time. The second act of his adventures was over.

Two characters have doubtless aroused the admiration and interest of the reader: the faithful servant and the devoted widow. Mgr. de Salamon long survived them both, and had the melancholy gratification of attending them at death. Madame Dellebart fell ill in 1795, soon after the events just described. She had never been religious, and the thought of the future terrified her. Her friend now rendered her a worthy return for all that she had done for him. He spoke of the consolation which he had received from religion in the midst of his own sufferings and dangers; he dwelt much upon the goodness of God; he skilfully alluded to her many good natural qualities, and gradually led up to the subject of confession. "Only say the word," he added, "and I will get you a confessor."

She remained silent for a moment, and then, putting out her hand to me—a hand emaciated indeed, but still beautiful, for Madame Dellebart had been a great beauty—"Thank you, my friend. . . . God has preserved you to do me this service. . . . Do not go for any one. . . . A good man like you must be a compassionate confessor. . . . And I sadly need an indulgent one." "Very well," I replied, "go to sleep now, for it is one o'clock in the morning. . . . To-morrow I will come to you." I did not say a word about this to Mdlle. Dellebart, for she would have plagued her mother about making a good preparation. . . . Next morning Mme. Dellebart sent, as usual, my little *déjeuner* to my room, with a message to go to her at ten. As I entered she said: "I have had a good night, thanks to you. . . . Now do your work." After hearing her confession, I went out to the parish of Bonne-Nouvelle and brought her Holy Communion. . . . Next day I came back and found her very weak. . . . When I asked her whether I should recite the prayers, adding that it was better to do so too soon than too late, she murmured, "Yes, I should be very glad." . . . As I ended them she asked if I would accept a souvenir of her affection. "Willingly," I answered; "and I will treasure it all my life." Then she gave me a ring set with diamonds. . . . "I used to be fond," she added, "of reading the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. Do you want them?" "Yes," I replied; "indeed it is a sacrifice which you should make because those two philosophers have done much harm to religion." . . . At length she died piously after shedding many tears. . . . I said the prayers and performed the funeral service in the house. I followed her remains to the cemetery. I have never ceased to mourn this excellent and charitable friend.

A month after the massacres Mme. Blanchet had received a letter from Rome containing a present of 3000 francs from the Pope as a reward for her faithfulness to his envoy. She lived through the Revolution, and had the happiness of seeing the Catholic religion and worship restored. At length, in 1805, a cruel malady forced her to take to her bed. Salamon nursed her with the greatest tenderness, watching up three nights a week, and performing for her all the services required by the sick.* She showed no fear of death. Her only anxiety was the sorrow which her master would feel at her departure. One little scene, just in her dying moments, must be given in his own words :

She kept her eyes fixed on me without saying a word, and yet I could see that she wanted to speak. Then I said to her, "What do you want, dear Blanchet? I will do anything that you wish." "I want to embrace you," she whispered. "Very well, my dear, embrace me. Why did you not tell me at once?" Seeing her in her agony, I recited the recommendation of the soul. She expired in the morning, calmly, just as though she were going to sleep. I gave her a suitable funeral. A solemn requiem was sung, and then, with her friends whom I had invited, I accompanied her to her last resting-place.

But we have been anticipating. There is yet a third part of the Memoirs, giving an account of the trial of the Internuncio under the Directory. It is not of the same interest as the other two, and, besides, many of the statements contained in it are, to say the least, not borne out by other evidence. According to Salamon, measures were being taken for a concordat between the Holy See and the Directory, much on the same lines as that afterwards concluded by Bonaparte. Pius VI. was on the point of accepting it, but negotiations were broken off because the Directors imposed a fresh oath on the clergy. Meantime the Republican army was making rapid progress through Italy. The Pope strove to induce the King of Naples to resist. A secret alliance was entered into whereby the king undertook to send troops for the defence of Rome. But the marvellous success of the youthful French general struck him with fear; he made peace with the Republic, and abandoned the Pope to his fate. Salamon accidentally found out what had taken place. He hastened to convey the news to Rome, so that Pius might come to terms in good time. Unfortunately the courier was stopped, his despatches were seized, and the Internuncio was once more thrown into prison. It was not until the eleventh day of his detention that he was brought up for the preliminary examination. His enemies hoped that the post would bring some letters which would still further

* "Même les plus bas."

incriminate him, but happily their designs were thwarted by the merest chance. Nothing was intercepted but one letter which was so worded that it told much in his favour. He was, however, transferred to a regular prison, where after a time he received somewhat better treatment, thanks to one of the visiting officials, who was an old acquaintance. A fellow-prisoner, too, who had amassed a goodly sum of money in the service of an English lord, supplied him with an excellent dinner every day, and with rare delicacy refused to share it with him, but insisted on waiting on him. Another examination took place, resulting in his being removed to the Conciergerie, where so many illustrious victims had been confined. His new jailer, Richard, was a kind-hearted man, who had himself been imprisoned for his generous treatment of Marie Antoinette, and whose first wife had been cut down by a criminal whom she was trying to console. Salamon was allowed to see his friends every evening. Sometimes the jailer and prisoner dined together, particular care being taken to provide the dishes which the latter had a fancy for. When the cell was opened in the mornings a little pug dog used to run in and jump upon the bed. It had belonged to the unhappy queen, and had been accustomed to do this when she had dwelt there.

Five more weeks passed before the Internuncio was put on trial. A tremendous indictment was read against him. The Commissary of the Directory objected that, lengthy though it was, it did not indicate the gist of the accusation. A fierce wrangle ensued, resulting in the indictment being quashed, and the prisoner remanded for a month. This time the weariness of his life was beguiled by the frequent visits of the jailer's granddaughter, whom he calls "an angel of sweetness." Another five weeks passed away before the second trial began. The result was the same; another wrangle, and another remand for a month. It should be mentioned that the list of the jury selected was sent to each of the accused a day or two before trial, in order that he might choose whether he would be tried by them or not. Salamon had made no objection on the first two occasions; but when the third list came, his good friend M. Richard pointed out that they were a villanous set, who would surely condemn him. What was to be done? The jailer was intimate with Marchand, the official who had charge of the lists. Salamon suggested that he should be invited to a good dinner, with plenty of excellent wine, and that a hint should be given that he would be well paid. The banquet duly took place. Not a word was said about business until the dessert. Filling out a bumper of Malaga for the guest, Richard took up the jury list, and began to object to this one and that one. Marchand was not long in seizing the point. "Draw up a list of your own," he

said, "and I will take care that they alone are called." Twelve names likely to be favourable to the prisoner were accordingly selected, and all except one actually took part in the trial!

At length on March 3, 1797, the third and last examination took place. M. de Salamon was up and dressed with his usual care some time before the hour fixed for his appearance. A lady called to see him to explain why she could not be present at his trial; she had a civil case of her own going on, which she felt sure of losing. The Internuncio asked whether she would have the courage to plead her cause if he composed a speech for her. Certainly, she replied. Thereupon he made her acquaint him with the facts, and wrote out a defence eight quarto pages in length, with a most touching peroration. In truth he relied, as he says, on the effect of an appeal by a young and beautiful woman in behalf of her children of tender age. His fair client marvelled at his working so eagerly for her at the moment when his own life was at stake. "It was only gratitude for her kindness," he said; but he turned away for fear of being too much affected (*"je craignais de me laisser attendrir"*). Her case came on at once. She obtained permission to speak. Her tears, her voice, and the charm of her manner heightened the effect of Salamon's composition. The judges were moved; the day was won.

But now his own turn came. This time the indictment was short and much milder than before. He was no longer accused of being the leader of a conspiracy; the sole charge against him was that he had corresponded with the Pope's minister. An attempt to further postpone the case was overruled. The commissary then endeavoured to have the case referred to a military tribunal on the ground that the accused was a spy. Salamon replied with a burst of eloquence. A spy?—he was no more a spy than any other accredited envoy of a foreign power. Were such men put in prison and tried by court-martial? His advocate ably argued the legal points of the contention. Finally it was decided, amidst the applause of those present, to go on with the case. No witnesses were called by the prosecution; but one of the prisoner's letters seized on his courier was put in as evidence against him. He protested against the admission of such a document; he reminded the judge that it had long been recognised in the courts that no man could be his own accuser. A tedious discussion followed, ending in a proposal to refer the case to the consideration of the Corps Legislatif. This course would have meant a further weary delay. Accordingly, the prisoner elected to stand or fall on the merits of the contents of the letter. It would take too much of our space to give the dialogue which, as usual in French procedure, took place between the presiding judge and the accused. Salamon

acknowledged that he had corresponded with the Pope; but indignantly denied that the Holy Father was an enemy of France. As a matter of fact, his letter warned the Pope against the King of Naples, and distinctly counselled him to come to terms with the Republic. It was true that he had taken no oath of fidelity to the laws, but he had not broken any of them; if he had done so let them bring a specific charge against him. These various replies to the judge's questions were received with loud applause. But the poor prisoner was worn out with hunger and excitement. He had had nothing but a cup of chocolate since morning, and the trial lasted till eleven at night. Seeing that he was fainting, the president adjourned the trial till the following morning. Richard had a good dinner waiting for him, and assured him that every one was talking of his acquittal; such an able defence had never been heard in the courts. Next morning at nine the trial was resumed. Again the accused defended himself with skill and coolness. At length the jury retired. Many of them had been impressed with the word "spy," which had been used by the commissary. Happily, one of their number, a married deacon, who knew Italian well, explained to his colleagues that the correspondence clearly showed that the prisoner was an intimate *friend* of the Pope's, and therefore could not be in the position of a spy. After deliberating for two hours, the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," which was received with enthusiastic applause.

This was the last of the Internuncio's appearances before a tribunal. His Memoirs end here, but with the help of the Abbé Bridier and some scattered remarks of his own we are able to trace his subsequent career. He continued to exercise his functions of Vicar-Apostolic rather than of Internuncio until 1801. On the arrival of Mgr. Caprara as legate *a latere*, he was appointed administrator-general of the dioceses of Normandy. Doubtless he would gladly have accepted one of the appointments under the Concordat; but his name, if mentioned, was passed over. In 1804, however, he was consecrated Bishop of Orthozia *in partibus infidelium*. For the next sixteen years his career was not dignified. It would seem that he felt keenly that his great services to the Church had been overlooked, and that others who had not stood by her in her days of sorrow had been preferred before him. It was not until 1820 that we find him nominated to the diocese of Saint-Flour, in Auvergne. Although now sixty-two years of age, he set vigorously to work. To this day, says the Abbé Bridier, it is impossible to take a step in the little cathedral city without lighting upon some memorial of his eventful episcopate. One alone can be mentioned here. After the Revolution the numbers and the education of the clergy showed

a lamentable decline. The new bishop, brought up in the old days of culture and refinement, was surprised at the ignorance of his priests. At once he took steps to remedy this abuse. A Petit Séminaire was founded and endowed; the course of studies was enlarged, mathematics and physics being included; special stress was laid on literature, in which the bishop himself was the examiner. Some time afterwards a Grand Séminaire followed. Here again he insisted on other studies over and above those which were merely professional. "It is in vain," he wrote, "that a priest is well instructed in theology and ecclesiastical lore. The people do not admire him for knowing subjects of which they know nothing. They should look upon him as belonging to the cultured class." Both these works were blessed by God. In his last pastoral (Lent, 1828) he reviewed the progress of the diocese, dwelling especially upon the hundred and fifty students of his Grand Séminaire, "the joy and crown of his episcopate." He went to his reward June 11, 1829. His funeral was that of a pauper, his body was laid in the common grave—such was his express wish. Most of his wealth was bequeathed to his seminaries; the rest to the poor to provide for them after his death, as he had done in life, food, clothing, and fuel.

The fire of persecution and the frost of neglect had purified his soul. We have seen him in his early days, thinking only of worldly preferment; we have been with him during his agony in the Abbaye; we have tracked him in his wanderings in the woods; we have admired his courage and eloquence in the law courts; we have had a glimpse of him in his life of retirement; but we like best to gaze upon the closing scenes—to look at him with his young seminarists around him, or distributing to the poor those necessities of life, the lack of which none knew so well as he. Such a career may best be summed up in the words of the prophet of old *:—His early life had been neither day nor night; then had come a time when there was no light, but cold and frost; but in the evening time there was light.

T. B. SCANNELL.

* Zach. xiv.

ART. VIII.—INDEPENDENT NATIONAL CHURCHES.

The Throne of the Fisherman. By T. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G.
London: Burns & Oates.

WE have seen that until the Nicene Council, and in the history of that Council, there is no trace of the Anglican theory of independent Churches. We propose to continue our inquiries, and to show that the next fifty years witnessed something akin to the Anglican position, but in connection with heresy, and that it was repudiated by orthodox Christianity.

The Fathers of the Council separated, and the Church enjoyed a moment's triumph. But a new era begins—the era of Episcopal, and particularly of Eastern, rebellion against the Nicene faith. With this fresh trouble, the time also came for the authority of the head to develop the resources at its disposal. On all this part of the Church's history, Mr. Allies is particularly powerful, and although we shall traverse the same ground, and occasionally make use of his statements, his volume needs to be read as a whole to understand why Cardinal Newman thought so highly of it.

As, then, the Church emerged upon its new course of alliance with the State, the Eastern Bishops more and more discovered a fatal weakness incident to their proximity to the new centre of secular power on the shores of the Bosphorus. Meanwhile, the guidance and government, and inherent strength and majesty, of the Holy See became more and more pronounced. Circumstances drew them forth. "We must ever keep in view [says Cardinal Hergenröther, quoting Walter on Canon Law], that the Primacy was never, like a ready-made system, traced out for the constitution of the ancient Church, but was deposited in it like a fructifying germ, which developed with the life of the Church. Hence we ought not to represent the circumstances of the case as if the Roman See had clearly foreseen all for which it was destined, and only, as it were, watched the opportunity of bringing it to a consummation. Its task was rather prescribed to it by the circumstances and by the demands of the Church; and hence with the growth of the Church, the Primacy came out with more distinct outlines."* At the same time, it is not the principle itself which is held to be in a state of germination, as Canon Bright, in his preface to his recent work on the "Lives of Three Great Fathers" imagines; but the manifestation of the

* Anti-Janus, ch. vii.

principle, which becomes clearer, its full issues appearing in the historical evolution of the Church's life. The principle was always there. But it is surely evident that the full meaning of the Nicene Canons *could* only gradually make itself felt; and the same is true of the guardian of those Canons—viz., the Apostolic See. The principle of its action, or rather, the main occasion of its action, during the eventful years immediately succeeding the Council of Nicæa, is given by St. Gregory the Great in words which amount to an inspiration in the way of orientating ecclesiastical history. He says of the Bishop of Constantinople: "As to what he says, that he is subject to the Apostolic See, I know not what Bishop is not subject to it, if any fault be found in Bishops. But when no fault requires it, all are equal, according to the estimation of humility." * When "fault is found with Bishops," then the Primacy develops its hidden stores of wisdom and authority to correct the fault. This is precisely what happened in the post-Nicene period. Until then Bishops had not learnt, as Mr. Allies points out, to struggle one with one another for place and power, and the need of a head was not so keenly felt. But when ambition came to curse the East, then came out to view the moderating power of the Sovereign Pontiff. This is the salient feature of the next fifty years after Nicæa. The Court Bishop in the East was the new factor in the Church's life, and the source of inexpressible trouble. Court and Bishop together did their best to ruin the Church. They must have succeeded but for the unbending firmness of the Holy See. For a Council could not guard its own Canons. The See of Rome had so far guarded the traditions of the Apostles, and the position immediately occupied by that See, when the Fathers of Nicæa had dispersed to their various homes, was precisely that of guardian of the Nicene faith against refractory Bishops. The government of the Church was, in fact, not merely Episcopal but Apostolical; Episcopacy was unequal to the strain that ensued, but the holy Apostolic See gave strength to the Episcopal brotherhood.

St. Sylvester was succeeded, after the short reign of St. Mark, by St. Julius; and a letter of St. Julius contains the most ample evidence of the Church's tradition as to her normal government in case of an accusation against a Bishop. This letter contains the reply of St. Julius to certain Bishops who were engaged in destroying the Church's faith concerning her Divine Head, and, as we shall presently see, in violating the discipline of the Church. They had condemned the great Bishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius. But "why," says St. Julius, "was nothing said to us

* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 59.

about the Church of Alexandria in particular? Are you ignorant that this is customary, for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place? If, then, any suspicion rested upon the Bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the Church of this place [*i.e.*, Rome]; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding on their own authority as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions. . . . Not so have the directions of the Fathers prescribed. This is another form of procedure, a novel practice. . . . What we received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you."

It was, then, according to St. Julius, a novel practice in the middle of the fourth century for a Council of Bishops to proceed to censure the second Petrine See, that of Alexandria, on their own authority, *instead of obtaining a just sentence from Rome*. And the authority thus to decide was derived to Rome from "that which we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter."

Mr. Gore, speaking of Sozomen's account of what St. Julius did on behalf of St. Athanasius and the other orthodox Bishops who had been deposed—viz., "since, because of the dignity of his See, the care of all belonged to him, he restored each to his own Church"—says that "it represents Julius's view of his authority."* And he quotes from the letter which St. Julius received from the Eusebian Bishops in the East to show there was another side to the matter. Even so, we may remark in passing, it leaves to St. Leo (whom Mr. Gore, in common with Dr. Littledale, considers in some sense the father of the modern view of the Papacy) little to originate in the way of authoritative *claim*. And this was under the very shadow of the Nicene Council.

But is it true that this account of Sozomen's represents only "Julius's view of his authority," and not the view of the orthodox Bishops of the Church at that time? Socrates tells us, indeed, that the Bishops opposed to Athanasius protested against St. Julius's action, saying that "it was not his province to interfere." And Mr. Gore appears to think that this, their protest, ought to be mentioned as a counterbalancing fact in weighing the consent of the Church to Julius's view.

And we know from St. Hilary that the Eusebians definitely adopted the programme that things settled by a Council in the East should be simply accepted by the West, and *vice versâ*. The position is certainly a near approach to the Anglican theory, only there was no idea of any province settling anything for itself, and by itself, *without any communication* with the rest, not even if the whole East were to be called one province. Still,

* "R. C. Claims," p. 101.

something like the Anglican programme has at last emerged in germ within the first three centuries, and it therefore behoves us to consider it most carefully.

It was the utterance of a Synod. And there seems a tendency amongst some Anglican controversialists to attribute quite an extravagant weight to anything said by a Synod of Bishops. This tendency is not unnatural in people who look upon the possession of the Apostolical succession—the mere mechanical succession—as everything that is needed. And, especially, do they attribute a preposterous value to an Eastern Synod, as, indeed, this Synod made a preposterous claim on behalf of a previous Council. It claimed for the Council of Tyre the rank of an assembly whose judgment was irreformable. Yet it was a Council of heretics, presided over by the Arian Emperor, and determined to oust St. Athanasius from the See of Alexandria. Such was the patronage under which this principle entered the Church. And on what ground did St. Julius refuse to the Council of Tyre the position claimed for it? On the same ground as he condemned the subsequent larger Council at Antioch. Socrates writes of that—"Julius, Bishop of old Rome, was not there, nor did he indeed send a representative, although the Ecclesiastical Canon expressly commands that the Churches shall not make ordinance contrary to the judgment of the Bishop of Rome" (ii. 8).

And Sozomen (iii. 10): "Julius wrote that they had acted against the Canons, because they had not called him to the Council, the Ecclesiastical Canon commanding that the Churches ought not to make Canons beside the will of the Bishop of the Romans."

They had chosen to have their own Council, under the Emperor, in isolation, although as Theodoret says: * "Pope Julius, adhering to the law of the Church, both commanded them to repair to Rome, and summoned Athanasius to trial." "Both they and we were summoned," says St. Athanasius himself.†

And so these Bishops pleaded that the decision of the Council of Tyre should not be subject to appeal. It will be well, then, to resume briefly the whole position.

After the Council of Nicæa it seemed as if the Church had entered upon an era of triumph. But one catastrophe changed the whole face of things. An Arian gained the ear of Constantine, and henceforth the whole weight of Imperial influence was brought to bear upon the establishment of heresy. St. Athanasius, seizing the bridle of the Emperor's horse, and insisting upon his abating his opposition to the Catholic Faith,

* H. E. ii. 4.

† Apol. c. Arian, n. 1.

was but a flash of light in the heavy cloud that now settled down upon the Church in the East. Constantine was persuaded that he was enforcing the Nicene Faith; and Eusebius was victorious all along the line, in both mounting himself, from throne to throne, in the teeth of Nicene regulations, and in deposing the orthodox Bishops. And the weapon that he victoriously opposed to the Council of Nice was a Synod convoked by the Emperor.* It was a line of action to be repeated in the history of the Church—viz., a Synod of Bishops, under the influence of the Crown, deciding as to the government of the Christian Church. And it entered upon the platform of Church history under the patronage of the deadliest foe that the Church has ever known. It was the darling project of an Arianising Emperor, under the influence of an Arian Bishop. In this case, however, the Bishop was the foe, the Emperor the instrument. It was not yet the theory of the independence of National Churches, but it was akin to it, and its natural parent. The supremacy of the Crown was ousting the supremacy of the Holy See. Imprisoned or exiled Bishops in communion with the See of St. Peter were the immediate result of the alliance between Church and State which sprung up through the wily machinations of Eusebius, Bishop first of Berytus, then of Nicomedia (when the Court was there), and lastly (on the Court's removal), Bishop of Constantinople. In concert with the Emperor, the whole constitution of the Church was soon further assailed by the attempt of Eusebius' successors to base the jurisdiction of Patriarchs, not on their connection with Apostolic origin, but on the secular position of their city. It was the world against the Apostle; Cæsar usurping the prerogatives of Peter. Constantinople, but a few years ago, was a spot all but unknown, whose Bishop was suffragan to the Bishop of Heraclea. Now it was new Rome, and its Bishop aspired to be a second Pope. The Pope was the successor of St. Peter, and therein his strength lay; but the Apostle had selected the centre of the world for the base of his operations, and as the centre had shifted, why might not the new Imperial city be also the centre of a new Patriarchal jurisdiction? The answer was, that Peter, not Cæsar, is the governor of the Christian Church.

It was in the beginning of this struggle for precedency, doubtless without an idea of the issues in store, but simply with the desire to compel unity in the now distracted Church, that Constantius, listening to the falsehoods, by means of which the Eusebians had already deposed Eustathius from Antioch, and

* See this expanded in the "Throne of the Fisherman, &c.," ch. vi.

were now deposing Athanasius from Alexandria, and Paul from Constantinople, proceeded to assemble a Council at Antioch, and this Council passed a Canon, which ran thus: "A Bishop who has been deposed by a Council may not resume his office, nor be restored by any subsequent Council, if, after his deposition, he has dared to execute ecclesiastical functions." St. Athanasius had been "deposed" at Tyre, and after his return from banishment had zealously resumed his work as Bishop. They claimed, as St. Julius states, in answer to the preliminary Synod, that the first judgment should not be considered open to revision. It was on this point that the Pontiff at once joined issue in his celebrated letter preserved by St. Athanasius.

On what ground did he oppose their claim to be subject to no appeal? First, on the ground of novelty; secondly, on the ground of a Nicene Canon, establishing the novelty of their plea. Where, then, is this Canon to be found? St. Athanasius, who produced the letter of Julius in his own behalf, must have known of it; St. Julius knows of no question as to its existence and genuineness. It is to be found in the *Commonitorium* of St. Zosimus, which he addressed to the African Bishops, when he sent his Legate Faustinus to settle the affair of Apiarius. It occurs in some of the old manuscripts of the Nicene Canons; it is quoted by Boniface, by St. Jerome, and Innocent I. But it afterwards received, with those in the midst of which it occurs, the name of Sardican. It is, in a word, one of the *so-called* Sardican Canons.

Baronius and others felt that some Nicene Canon, or Canons, were missing, to which St. Julius here refers. But Vincenzi has shown that he referred to those which, for some reason or other, came, some centuries after, to be called (by mistake) the Sardican Canons. He produces overwhelming evidence to show that no Canons were drawn up at Sardica. St. Athanasius, who was present at Sardica, and who professes to give an account of everything that happened there, says not a word about any Canons; neither do Socrates or Sozomen, though professing to enumerate the acts of the Council. No Pontiff, no one of the Fathers, of that century or the next, mention any Canons of Sardica; whilst St. Ambrose cites Nicene regulations about appeals, but says not a word of Sardican Canons. Damasus and Siricius answer questions, of which the summary is included in the *so-called* Sardican Canons, yet preserve absolute silence as to their being Sardican. Innocent, speaking of abuses connected with ordinations, says they are in contempt of the Nicene Canons, and cites what is called a Sardican Canon, but he calls it Nicene. St. Augustine and the African Bishops never heard of any Canons of Sardica. Neither Zosimus, nor Boniface, nor

Celestine, fell back on the authority of Sardica, which they surely would have done in meeting the difficulty of the African Bishops, had any Sardican Canons existed. For the authority of Canons passed at Sardica would have been sufficient for the said Bishops, seeing that the Council was universally received, and was not numbered amongst the Ecumenical, only because it did not deal with any new matter of faith. St. Leo, the defender *par excellence* of the Church's Canons, never alludes to any Canons as passed at Sardica, but quotes them as Nicene. Dionysius Exiguus, in his collection of Canons (about 540) expresses his surprise that there are no Greek originals, as there must have been, if they were really Sardican, the Council of Sardica having been convened especially for the Greeks. It is certain that there was no Greek copy sent to the various absent Bishops, as there was of the Rescript, which is simply inexplicable, on the supposition that any Canons on so important a matter as that of appeals, were then passed. The formula, moreover, used in the so-called Sardican Canons, as we now have them, is unusual, and only found in Africa: "Hosius says," &c.

And the introduction of the name of the Pope (in some copies it is "Sylvester") is altogether unprecedented.

On all these, and some other grounds, Vincenzi comes to the conclusion that these Canons cannot rightly be called Sardican.

And yet, whatever they were, they have been universally received, being even incorporated eventually into the African Code. John of Antioch incorporated them into the Code of his Church in the reign of Justinian; and the Constantinopolitan Council in Trullo, assembled to supply Canons omitted in the fifth and sixth General Councils, inserted them in the Oriental Code. Photius himself did the same before his schism. So that they can boast of Ecumenical reception.

They are not therefore forgeries, as Mr. Foulkes and Dr. Littledale assert. Neither are these writers correct in stating that Vincenzi holds them to be such. Dr. Littledale betrays entire ignorance of Vincenzi's treatise. He misstates his thesis, and shows that he cannot even have read the headings of the chapters ("Petrine Claims," p. 96). Mr. Foulkes refers to a particular copy of this writer's work, "*De Sacra Monarchiâ Hebræorum et Christianorum*," in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and says that therein Vincenzi maintains that the so-called Sardican Canons were forged in Africa.* This he calls an "amusing" theory. But whether such a theory could be called amusing or not, it is certainly not amusing that Mr. Foulkes should be guilty of such a gross misrepresentation of

* "Dict. of Chr. Biog." (Smith & Wace), art. "Julius," p. 530, *note*.

the learned author. We have read the particular copy to which Mr. Foulkes refers. And Vincenzi's thesis is that these Canons are what they were called in the old Arabic manuscripts and by the Popes—viz., Nicene; and that the copy of them which we have, and which was later on thought to be of Sardican origin, is merely a *later commentary on the Nicene Canons by orthodox African Bishops*, the original Greek copies of the Nicene Canons having been mutilated by the Arians. This is a theory which satisfactorily accounts for all the facts of the case. As Vincenzi says, although we are brought by the facts to deny any Canons having been published by the Council of Sardica, still we must stand to the witness of the universal Church, which is to the effect that the Nicene Fathers sanctioned certain Canons for the safety of ecclesiastical discipline, and particularly concerning the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff which have been subtracted or mutilated by treachery. St. Julius speaks of appeals to the Holy See, in case of difference arising amongst Bishops, as a "custom," and we must press the point that he who would base his "historical Christianity" on the supposition that St. Julius, the friend and supporter of Athanasius, in a letter preserved and produced by the latter, was either in absolute ignorance of the immediate past, or that he, in plain words, told a lie, must stand convicted of refusing to bow to facts. St. Julius's plain statement, recorded by St. Athanasius in his defence of himself, is more trustworthy than a thousand interpretations proceeding from the assumption that the prerogatives of the Holy See were not so developed within the first three centuries. But, further, what St. Julius calls a "custom" here, he had previously called a Canon of the Church, and this Canon he called the embodiment of an ancient custom by "the great Synod," thus plainly indicating that it was on the sixth Canon, which begins, "Let the ancient customs prevail," that his appeal to ecclesiastical rule was based. That Canon had for its heading either "The Roman Church always held the Primacy," or "Let the Roman Church always—i.e., continue to—hold the Primacy." In its present condition it hardly bears out St. Julius's reference. But as expanded in the so-called Sardican Canons, it fully justifies the reference. St. Julius wrote before Sardica met; he therefore presupposes a Canon already in existence of precisely the same nature as the so-called Sardican Canon on the subject. What could it be but Nicene?

It must be remembered, too, that on Julius telling the Eusebians that they ought to come to Rome to have their cause tried there, on the ground that the Nicene Council sanctions the acts of one Council being revised by another, they did not at once protest against the claim. On the contrary, they prac-

tically admitted it, as they excused themselves on the ground of peculiar present difficulties, and the length of the journey. They had indeed, themselves, in the first instance, appealed to Rome, showing how deeply the principle of appeal to Rome was already rooted in the mind of Christendom. They had no idea of Eastern, much less of national, independence. This was an after-thought, a mode of defending their impiety, as St. Athanasius calls it, the only way of bolstering up their Arian position.

It will be apparent from the words that we have quoted from St. Julius, that Canon Bright's explanation* of the matter does not satisfy the facts of the case. St. Julius (says the writer, the italics are our own) "when he wrote to the Eusebians that the Nicene Fathers decreed that one Council's resolutions might be reviewed by another [*'Athanas. Apol.,' c. Ari. 22*] means only that *they acted on this principle* by considering the Arian question *de novo* after it had been determined by the Synod of Alexandria." But St. Julius does not quote the example of the Nicene Fathers, but alludes to their ruling in a Canon; and he emphasises the case of the Bishop of Alexandria, the second Petrine See, being subject to "the Church in this place"—*i.e.*, Rome, and to that only, which introduces the principle of hierarchical order, culminating in Rome, and based on the Nicene Canons. It suggests, in fact, the sixth Nicene Canon, only in its fuller form, as quoted by his successors, and as preserved, in some shape, in the so-called Sardican Canons.

But, in reality, this settlement at Nicæa of the question of appeals to Rome, is a thought which runs through the action and letters of the Pontiffs and of the Fathers of the last half of the fourth century. Of course there are writers so dead to all sympathy with the saints who ruled the Church during this period, that they can bring themselves to suppose that Pontiff after Pontiff acted in such culpable ignorance of the Canons which, according to their own reiterated statement, they were set to guard, that they could perpetually quote in their own behalf, for their own supposed ambitious purposes, Canons of lower authority, as though possessed of higher, and under the feigned name of the higher. It would be well indeed if they stopped there. Dr. Littledale, for instance, in the book to which we have alluded above as having high sanction in the Church of England, in order to prove his absurd theory about the Papal succession, blackens the character of St. Damasus. He has against his theory Valentinian's sentence against Ursinus, the Council at Rome, the Council at Aquileia, the eulogia of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, Rufinus, Socrates, and other historians. He has on

* "Notes on the Canons of the first four General Councils." Oxford. 1882.

his side the schismatics Marcellinus and Faustinus. These two schismatics, and these alone, he quotes as his authority ("Petrine Claims," p. 310). This is a fair sample of Dr. Littledale's "history." We have already alluded to his gross misrepresentation of Vincenzi's treatise. And Dr. Littledale's writings are one of the pillars and columns on which the actual Church of England rests at this moment. There are numbers of persons at this moment in the Church of England, and persons of no small account, in whose minds Dr. Littledale's lucubrations represent "historical Christianity." But amongst writers of an altogether different and higher stamp, stands the present Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. If, as a matter of fact, the bulk of those who lay claim to "historical Christianity" adopted Canon Bright's platform instead of Dr. Littledale's, it is hardly likely that they would long remain where they are. There are so many admissions, due to pure scholarship and betraying a mind in sympathy with much that is Catholic, that no great number would rest satisfied without going on to their logical issue. Still we have fair subject for complaint against such a passage as the following in the "Notes on the First Four General Councils" (p. 78) *: "Just as the Roman series of Canons in the fifth century confounded Sardican Canons with Nicene, and led the Roman Bishops, first in ignorance, as in the case of Zosimus and Boniface, and afterwards, *in spite of authentic information* (as in the case of Leo Ep. 43), to quote as Nicene what was really Sardican, just as Gregory of Tours long afterwards called a Canon of Gangra Nicene."

We will not stay to point out what a chasm there is between the circumstances of Gregory of Tours and those of the Roman Pontiffs to which we are referring. But we may well ask for some deeper reverence for the name of saint; we may well ask that those who have in their hands the education of youth in our universities, should not be at such pains to unweave the crown which the Church has placed on the head of the "great" representative of religion in the fifth century, and whom probably Canon Bright would dignify with the name of St. Leo the Great. St. Leo the Great a simple liar! Would it not be well to confess a mystery, and to suppose that St. Leo had good reasons for deeming that the "information" was not "authentic?"

We could not really have better witnesses to the Canons than the Popes in the latter half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth.† There is literally no evidence that they were

* The italics are our own.

† Mr. Gore goes still greater lengths as to St. Leo in his account of the Saint, published by the S.P.C.K., and Canon Bright more than once refers to the book in his most recent work.

influenced by carnal ambition. They were engaged in a death-struggle with Arianism, Macedonianism, and Pelagianism, in the years succeeding the Nicene Council. They defended the faith to the death. They bear a high character for sanctity, and the world's future hung on their veracity and zeal. Their uniform characteristic was their perpetual reference to the rules of the Church, and their sense of responsibility as the guardians of the same. Orthodox Christendom was with them in their estimate of their divinely appointed rôle as guardians of the Church's faith and discipline. Their witness, therefore, is really unimpeachable. They were acting under the gaze of Christendom, and they perpetually acted, not autocratically or imperiously, but using Councils as their organs, and pleadings as their instrument. There is, indeed, always a royal tone about their ways and words, as "to the manner born"; but there is ever at the same time the generosity of the great who can afford to treat with equanimity the cavillings of the dissatisfied.

Now there is one thing of which their conscience seems specially to have acquitted them, and that is, of acting against the Canons of the Church. They lived in them, treasured them, produced them, and professed to act upon them; they were guardians of them, or they were nothing. When, therefore, Pontiff after Pontiff quotes a Canon as Nicene, and quotes it after it has been questioned, it is as good historical evidence as can well be obtained, that the Canon in question was properly called Nicene, whether as an accepted appendix added at Sardica, or as actually Nicene, but preserved at Rome only. It is beyond our subject to enter into the fifth century; but, after considering the various allusions in the letters of Innocent, Boniface, and Celestine in the fifth, and St. Ambrose in the fourth, not to speak of Gelasius's letter to Faustus later on (493), there does seem to us plain evidence that there was some Nicene Canon dealing with the question of appeals at Rome more fully than the Sixth Canon in its present condition, and exactly equivalent to the so-called Sardican Canons—probably the original form of the said Sixth Canon of Nice. And what can be more easy to imagine than that the Arians, when in possession of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, mutilated the Nicene Canons? This is to impute to them less evil than all orthodox Anglican writers admit they actually did in other respects. Canon Bright himself would admit their unscrupulousness, and their general impiety. At Rome, alone of the great Sees, the chain of conscientious, high-minded occupants was, in the providence of God, uninterrupted. We should, therefore, from a Christian point of view, trust the evidence of the Bishops of Rome, on such a matter as these Canons, beyond

the silence of the Constantinopolitan or other records, knowing, as we do, that it was a favourite practice of the Arians to mutilate and forge documents. It is unphilosophical to the last degree to speak, as some Anglicans do, of the admitted sway which Rome exercised over Christendom as due to her moral majesty and her loyalty to the Apostolic Faith, and in the same breath to write her down as cheating in the game of ambition, and quoting Canons as Nicene which she knew were not, and that too, in her great representative, whose tome Canon Bright speaks of as "one of the most precious documents in Christian literature." When St. Leo—for it is he of whom we speak—sent his Legates to the Council of Chalcedon, he says that he will thus preside through them, so that the Bishops may know what he teaches as the ancient tradition, and in his letter (quoted in our last number) to Alexandria, he strikes the great key-note of his action—loyalty to the rules laid down for the guidance of the Church by the Apostles, of which, as the successor of St. Peter, he is the selected, and, in his own judgment, the unworthy guardian. St. Agatho, later on, in commending his Legates to the sixth General Council, speaks of them as men not versed in subtleties of interpretation, but as possessed of something better—viz., accurate knowledge of the traditions of the Faith as preserved by the Apostolical See. This was exactly the virtue of the Roman Pontiffs, and in them it was, for the interests of Christendom, the virtue of virtues.

One thing, then, we may say is quite certain—viz., that the so-called Sardican Canons, at any rate, express the mind of the Nicene Fathers, and embody the ancient customs of which they speak. For our own part, we are persuaded that they are not Sardican, but Nicene; and it is at least beyond dispute that they eventually obtained universal acceptance. The Anglican claim necessarily involves the contention either that they were forgeries, or that they were not generally received. Against the former theory the evidence is of extraordinary weight, sufficient to decide any historical question. Against the latter, there are only two supposed letters from Africa, one of which cannot, in all fairness, be considered beyond question as to its authenticity. It is the letter from which Dr. Pusey was so fond of quoting, and Dr. Littledale makes it one of his greatest points. It is always mentioned in connection with the name of St. Augustine, whereas that honoured name is conspicuous by its absence, whilst it has the name of that young Bishop who had so misbehaved himself, and whose case was referred to Rome by the Primate of Carthage, *whither St. Augustine followed it*, and at the moment, when according to this impossible letter, the African Church was protesting against appeals. St. Augustine, in his letter to the Pope

about Bishop Antony, accepts *to the full* the principle of appeal in the case of Bishops! Against the letter of the African Bishops, which it seems most difficult to consider genuine, considering the signatures, there is the continuous and contemporaneous action of St. Augustine and the African Bishops, all of them taking appeals to Rome for granted, without a protest, and St. Augustine's perpetual declarations about the "Apostolic See" and the reverence due to it as such. Is it safe, then, is it "historical perception," to rest a case of such magnitude as the Anglican position on so frail a reed? Where is the adequate evidence to rebut the assertion of St. Julius that it was in his time a novelty for Bishops to deal with the case of a Bishop of Alexandria by themselves, instead of repairing to Rome to obtain a just sentence there? And St. Julius wrote thus only seventeen years after the Council of Nicæa.

But let us (waiving the question as to whether these Canons are literally Nicene, or Nicene in the sense of being a genuine appendix to the Nicene Canons) consider the question, What is their witness?

Three are of special importance as bearing on the subject before us. Canon Three decides against Bishops passing from Province to Province, "lest we should seem to close the door of charity." If this were Sardican, it may have had special regard to Eusebius, who had passed from Berytus to Constantinople; if Nicene, as we contend, it may have been concerned with his passage from Berytus to Nicomedia, where he was Bishop when the Council of Nicæa sat. The Canon further provided that in the event of a Bishop having a "case" against another Bishop, the Metropolitan should convene a Provincial Synod. If the accused lost his case, he was not to be allowed simply of himself to appeal to some neighbouring Bishops, as was the tendency, but if he wished it, an appeal was to be arranged for him, and in the same region. There is no question here of appeal to Rome in the full technical sense. But "Julius, the Bishop of Rome" (if that be the true reading—for some copies have "Sylvester") was to be asked to settle the judges that should form the new Synod, if it was thought well for the case to be reheard. In deciding this, which was, as we have said, asking Rome to select the judges, the unusual formula adds as a reason, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter." Supposing this to be Sardican, it would contain a judgment upon the Council of Antioch. The irregularity of that Council consisted in the fact that not only did the Emperor call a Council without consulting the Holy See, but the Emperor was allowed to select the judges. The Greek historian, Socrates, writing of this Council, says: "Julius, Bishop of old Rome, was not there, nor did he indeed send a represen-

tative, although the ecclesiastical rule expressly commands that the Church shall not make Canons without the consent of the Bishop of Rome" (ii. 8). It is difficult to suppose that Socrates refers to anything here but the Nicene Canons. But be that as it may, the device of the Eusebians was a radical innovation on the constitution of the Church. Had such a course been permitted, Arianism, which was so successful in attracting to itself first Constantine, and then, still more decisively, his son Constantius, would have gained the day. Had it been allowed to the Emperor to convoke Councils for cases of appeal, without reference to the Holy See, as Constantine had done in the case of Tyre, and Constantius in the case of Antioch; had it, moreover, been permitted to the Crown to appoint the judges, as at Tyre, the most fundamental feature of the polity of the Church would have been destroyed. It would have ceased to be Apostolical in its government; and when the Empire was separated into various nations, each tribe would have had its own independent national Church. The Anglican theory would have become a fact, the unity of the Church would have disappeared, and the guardianship of the holy faith been rendered impossible. No wonder then that the Sardican Fathers, if the Canon was theirs, determined still to honour the memory of the Apostle Peter; or that the Nicene Fathers, whose Canon we suppose it to be, in view of fundamental principles necessary in the immediate future, rather than of such bitter experience as the Sardican Fathers would have had, said amongst themselves, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter," in the future as in the past; and that the African Fathers in their later commentary recorded these utterances of Nicene Fathers used in the discussion about the Canon.

Canon Four deals with appeals to Rome. What was to happen in the case of Bishops who, having lost their cause in the second Court, have thence appealed to Rome? Their See must not be occupied by another. This was a matter which the Nicene Fathers could easily foresee would be likely to happen in the future, or if the Canon be Sardican, this had already arisen; and here it is no longer the informal utterances of members of the Council, and the particular occupant of the Holy See is no longer mentioned. It is now simply "the Bishop of Rome."

Canon Seven, again, deals with the case of a Bishop who, having been condemned in the court of first instance—viz., the Synod of his Province—appeals, without recourse had to a second Synod, straight to Rome. It will then, according to the Canon, belong to "the Bishop of Rome" to say whether he thinks it is a case for revision; and if he decides in the affirmative, it will rest with him either to remit the case to the Bishops of the Province adjoining that in which the condemned Bishop lives, or to send

a Legate *a latere*, who can undertake the case, either by himself, or in conjunction with the Bishops of the neighbouring Province.

Now these Canons obtained reception in East and West. Even if we believe the two protesting letters from Africa to be genuine, which is, from various causes, extremely unlikely, the African Bishops would have been in a small minority; and in the second letter St. Augustine's name does not appear, nor that of any of the Bishops who were his special friends; whilst, as we have said, the young scamp, whom he incautiously ordained, does appear; and further, these said letters do not represent the mature thought of the African Province, for the Canons were eventually adopted by them. They must, then, be admitted to represent the mind of the Church in those early ages. Constantinople and Alexandria, although their (probably) corrupted copies of the sixth Nicene Canon did not contain these said provisions, do not say a word, so far as history tells us, against their justice; whilst they certainly incorporated them eventually into their Code.

But these Canons presuppose a mode of unity which is an emphatic condemnation of the Anglican theory of Church government. They barred the possibility of independent National Churches. They nipped that natural tendency in the bud. They condition appeals to Rome. But they assume their necessity; they do not inaugurate them. In neither of these Canons is the question dealt with as to whether there ought to be appeals at all. They suppose that there will. The third Canon does not deal with appeals to Rome at all—in the strict sense of the word. It only provides for requests to Rome for the selection of judges in a fresh local court of appeal. Hence, all that has been said about the words, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter," inaugurating a new system of appeal to Rome, falls to the ground. Although, even if this Canon could be proved to deal with appeals to Rome, it would be fair to argue that the memory of the Apostle Peter may be just as much honoured by adhering to an old custom as by a new arrangement. That is to say, the words themselves do not indicate novelty. And the defence which has been set up by Anglicans, as, for instance, by Dr. Pusey, to the effect that the Canon specially mentions Julius by name, and that therefore the arrangement applied to him alone in his lifetime, fails to account for the previous words, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter." It is as successor of Peter that Sylvester or Julius is to be asked to appoint judges; and Julius's successor was, equally with himself, the successor of the Apostle Peter.

But the fourth and seventh Canons do deal with the subject of

appeals to Rome, and in them, anyhow, the name is dropped, and the general term for the office is used.

Whether, then, Nicene or Sardican, these Canons bear out the statement of Julius to the Eusebians that they were guilty of disorder in not recognising that, in case of ordinary Bishops, the appeal lay from East to West, and that in the case of the Bishop of Alexandria the appeal lay straight to Rome.

So far, then, it is evident that the only religious body in England at this moment which represents historical Christianity, as we find it in the first three centuries after the death of the Apostles, is that which is often called the "Roman Catholic Church," and which has alone the right to be called simply the "Catholic Church."

Had the Anglican theory of Church Government been in vogue at that time, the Church must have sunk under the Erastianism of Imperial Christianity. Constantius, the most dangerous foe that the Church has had, could deal with the fickle, quarrelsome, over-subtle Eastern mind. With the West, and its distinct adherence to the Nicene settlement, and its consciousness of strength in the possession of the Apostolic traditions, he could do nothing. His success against Athanasius was at one time terrible. It was only checked by one thing. He could not gain the occupant of the Holy See to his side. The heathen historian tells us how this one exception meant everything, and how he could not be satisfied whilst he left one stone unturned to win Liberius. Liberius had succeeded Julius; and Liberius, like Julius, stood on the rock of Apostolic tradition. He could say, to use his own words, "Never was it my own statutes, but those of the Apostles which I guarded and carried out." Constantius, therefore, set to work to win Liberius, which would, as St. Athanasius says, have been equivalent to winning the whole Church to his side. But neither threats nor bribes availed to move the aged Pontiff. Firm as a rock, he went into exile, "the admiration of all," says St. Athanasius, in direct contradiction to St. Jerome's inaccurate account, which makes him sign an heretical formula before he set out. What he did at the end of his two years' exile and ill-treatment we shall never know. We know from Sozomen that the atmosphere was charged with Arian calumnies, and that these calumnies did not spare the Pontiffs. In this case it would seem that calumny, which loves to shoot its arrows in the dark, availed itself of a period in the life of Liberius, of which we have no authentic information, to suggest that his return from exile was owing to his having signed against Athanasius. The formula he signed has never been produced, nor can any one say what it was. Forgery has been busy about it; for all accurate writers now admit, as Canon Bright himself does, that the so-called

Fragments of St. Hilary on the subject are spurious. The passage in St. Athanasius's *Apology*, to which Mr. Gore refers, does not speak of a fall, but merely of Liberius not having completed his term of exile. The passage in the history of the Arians was written before the supposed fall took place.* This is admitted by all; and if it were genuine, it denies that the incident in Berea counted for anything. And there are these crushing facts, that neither Socrates nor Theodoret allude to this passage, although they had St. Athanasius's work before them; that Nicephorus Callixtus, whilst following Sozomen in his account of matters up to this, drops him here; and that Rufinus, "with his bark full of malice," as St. Jerome describes him, was unable to find a reason in St. Athanasius's works for the return of Liberius, which negatives the idea that the said passage was then to be found in St. Athanasius.

Those who take their stand on St. Jerome's witness are obliged to correct his account, since it is manifestly untrue as it stands, whilst they invariably refuse to accept his witness against Meletius. The fact is that St. Jerome is to be revered for his knowledge of Holy Scripture, and his eminent sanctity, and as a witness to the Church's teaching; but in matters of history he is constantly at fault. Sulpicius Severus, Socrates, Theodoret, are more to be relied on when they agree; and they agree in knowing nothing of the supposed fall of Liberius. Indeed, the manuscript of St. Jerome, which the Queen of Sweden gave to the Vatican, and which seems to belong to the sixth or seventh century, does not contain the passage.

There is, however, another point which needs to be emphasised. There was in the time of Liberius an active correspondence carried on by the Bishops all round; they speak of the Councils held, the professions of faith adopted, the zeal of some Bishops, the defection of others. There is mutual encouragement and sympathy in the distresses of the times; but there is no mention, no distant allusion, to any idea of Liberius, the Pope, having subscribed a suspicious formula, or condemned Athanasius. And yet the principal events of the time were known to these numerous Bishops. There is correspondence between Athanasius and Liberius, but no consciousness of injury in the past, nor demand for renewed affection in the present.

No. What Liberius did sign for certain was in support of Athanasius; what he did sign, as undoubted matter of history, was the condemnation of the heretical Councils of Tyre, Arles, Milan, Rimini; he did sign the confirmation of the Catholic

* Bottalla has completely demolished the idea that St. Athanasius added it afterwards, cf. "*Autorité du Pape*," vol. i. pp. 239-41. 1877.

Synods of Rome and Alexandria. The authentic acts of his Pontificate include a definition of the Divinity of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, the reconciliation of the Macedonians, the mission of Eusebius of Vercellæ, and of Lucifer of Cagliari to the East, the nomination of Elpidius as Legate to Sclavonia, a letter of congratulation and encouragement to the Bishops exiled for the faith, general decrees touching the attitude to be maintained towards the penitent signatories of Rimini, and the project of erecting, in obedience to a miraculous intimation, the great church of St. Maria Maggiore outside the walls of Rome. Thus Liberius stood at the centre of the Church's life, and acted upon its whole circumference. But there is no indication whatever of ambitious encroachment; the exercise of his Primacy is drawn out of him by the irregularities, and weaknesses, and apostasies of bishops; in a word, he practically said, with St. Gregory the Great: "Where fault is to be found, I know not what bishop is not subject to this See." His maxim is the same as his predecessors. "Never," his words are, "was it my own statutes, but those of the Apostles which I guarded and carried out." "As long as the family lives in peace and quiet, the father's authority is hardly observed," says Möhler (Kg. i. 589); but in Liberius's time the peace of the Church was disturbed, and his authority made itself felt. Yet no one, that we have heard of, accuses Liberius of the sin of ambition. He was, according to St. Basil, "the most blessed Bishop Liberius"; according to St. Epiphanius, "the Pontiff of blessed memory"; according to Cassiodorus, "the great Liberius, the most holy Liberius," "in all things most renowned"; in the words of St. Ambrose he was the "thrice holy Bishop"; in the words of Theodoret, "the illustrious athlete for the faith." He is in the menology of the Greeks a saint distinguished as "the blessed Liberius, defender of the truth," "whose zeal for the orthodox faith caused him to undertake the defence of the great Athanasius." His exile is there related, and his return, but not a whisper of any defection, the account ending with saying that "he died at Rome, after having governed his flock well."

There is a sentence in Sozomen's history concerning Liberius which it is difficult to explain, except upon the supposition that the historian has anticipated what happened in the reign of Damasus. Speaking of the followers of Macedonius, the semi-Arian Bishop of Constantinople, whose teaching was then spreading, he says (H. E. vi. 22): "The Bishop of Rome, finding that this question was being agitated with much animosity, and the dispute become more bitter every day, wrote to the Churches of the East, imposing on them the doctrine of the clergy of the West—viz., that the Three Persons of the Trinity have one sub-

stance and equal dignity." According to Socrates, this decision had a quieting effect, at least for the time being. The dispute having been "decided once for all (*ἄπαξ*) by the Church of the Romans, they each had rest."

Whether this refers to Damasus rather than to Liberius, as Coustant thinks, or to a decision from Liberius of which we have no other record, as Bottalla considers, one thing is certain—viz., that the legates of the Synod of Lampsacum addressed Liberius and the Westerns, and offered, if there was any accusation against them, to submit their case to any Bishop whom Liberius might appoint, another witness to the general reception of the Nicene, or Sardican, regulations to which we have seen St. Julius referring. So far, then, the Anglican theory of the independence of National Churches can only find its sponsors amongst those who denied the divinity of our Lord, and sought to maintain a place for themselves in the Church by reliance on the Imperial Crown instead of the See of St. Peter. There is one more reign within the three first centuries (the period nowadays selected by Anglicans as their impregnable stronghold) with which we shall close this account of primitive "historical Christianity."

Liberius having attained to his reward, the great Damasus sat on the Fisherman's Throne. Ozanam, in his graphic description of the Church in the following century, says that until the accession of St. Leo, the See of St. Peter had been occupied by saints and martyrs rather than by what we should call men of genius. In St. Leo the Church salutes the first genius in a Pope. There is some truth in this. The foundations of the Church's order were certainly laid by the hands of saints in the first three centuries, and, as we have seen, their normal end was the martyr's death. But in Damasus we have a combination of ascetic piety and learning, or, as we should now call it, scholarship, just as in St. Dionysius, in the previous century, we recognise the characteristics of the theologian proper. The Pope was the infallible guardian of divine tradition, and there was, if we may so say, a certain fitness in their being conscientious, even to sanctity, rather than subtle or learned, in the world's judgment. Zeal for the faith—that divine love of truth which will not brook or comprehend in the Church's net the teacher of false doctrine—is what we should most expect in the early occupants of that See, which was set for the preservation of the deposit of divine truth. And such, as matter of fact, was the characteristic feature of the early Popes. St. Damasus was not behind his predecessors in this necessary attribute of a Pope; but he shone in other qualities besides. His compositions are elegant and scholarly; his love of Holy Scripture, as evidenced in his letters to St. Jerome,

witnesses to his piety ; his personal asceticism was not affected by his large hospitality, which was the butt of contemporary heathen calumnies. But, besides all this, his letters are pitched in the same key as those of the Popes of the two first centuries. Like St. Clement, he exhibits the consciousness of possessing a tradition which it was peculiarly his to hand on from St. Peter, as the representative of the Apostles. He was, on the one hand, the first to call himself by that title which has ever since been adopted by the Popes, "servant of the servants of God"; on the other hand, he was, according to the sixth General Council, with a play on his name, "the adamant of the faith." It was during his occupancy of the Holy See that the second General Council was held.

That Council was not held under his presidency, as was the case with other General Councils. And a Canon, which goes by the name of a Canon of that Council, affords to Anglicans (together with its complement in the shape of a so-called twenty-eighth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon) their strongest bulwark within the first four centuries.

It is necessary, therefore, that we should examine the course and issue of this Council.

The first Council of Constantinople was not Ecumenical in its origin, but only *in exitu*. It was summoned as an Eastern Council only; and a mere Eastern Council is not the *ecclesia congregata* on any principle, either Anglican or Catholic. It is not such on Catholic principles; for a body without its head is not a body, but a corpse. It is not the *ecclesia congregata* on Anglican principles, as those principles are generally held, for it does not consist of East and West, and its general acceptance, on which they lay so much stress, has not yet taken place. The Council of Constantinople was Eastern, and to heal an Eastern disease, and settle a disputed succession in the East. Arianism, as Mr. Allies remarks,* was an Eastern malady. It had well-nigh ruined the Empire, whose powers it had used for its own establishment. Constantius, the weaker edition of his father Constantine, had espoused it, and under him Catholics had suffered as severely as under some heathen persecutions. Valens, on succeeding to the Empire, followed in his footsteps, and was guilty of one of the most cold-blooded murders that history records. Eighty orthodox ecclesiastics were burnt at sea by his order for the mere crime of having asked for an orthodox bishop. The West had suffered a while under Constantius's single rule, but had enjoyed peace from Imperial persecution, indeed Imperial favour, under Valentinian. But Imperial favour had

* "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 241.

never set its foot within the sanctuary of the Church's government, as at Constantinople. A non-Catholic historian,* relates how, as the prestige of Rome, from a civil point of view, decayed, her spiritual supremacy grew upon men's minds. The ordinary Anglican idea of the supremacy of the See of Rome being due to the imperial majesty of the city of Rome, is as untenable during the period between the Nicene Council and the first Council of Constantinople, as we saw it to be in regard to the previous age of persecution. A decaying city does not impart her pristine glory to anything that belongs to her. Had the See of Rome depended upon the secular position of Rome, it must have waned in power with the waning prestige of the city. The "widowed empress of the world" could impart nothing in the way of majesty to the occupant of the See within her, save a widow's weeds. Nothing, that is, in the way of imperial power. Tender recollections, indeed, and certain awe-inspiring thoughts, sad and enervating, are the natural inheritance of departed glory, but not practical power. As the city of the Cæsars died away into a mere municipal town, something more than a past history was needed to make her the centre, in another sphere of action, of a world-wide power. True "the faith of the Romans" had never failed, and men marked it well. But even this will not account for men's trust in her for the future. For they felt not merely that her faith had not failed, but that it could not fail; as St. Cyprian said, "perfidy cannot gain access to them." A divine promise, and the recognition of this in Christendom, will adequately account for the phenomenon of her rule; but this is an explanation which the Anglican is bound to deny. He will admit, as Mr. Gore does, the action of Divine Providence preserving her from failing in the delivery of her deposit, except on certain imaginary occasions; but he cannot admit her to be the heir of the promise, "I am with you all days to the consummation of the ages." We, too, love to dwell on the special Providence that protected Rome; but we regard this Providence as the result of a promise, and we join with it the name of Peter, and our thoughts ascend to Cæsarea Philippi, and we listen to the creative words of our Divine Lord, "Thou art Peter: and on this rock I will build My Church." We see the finger of God in the special provision, whereby the See of Peter was alone in her majesty, without the rival encumbrance of an Imperial Court, and the temptations of Imperial favour. But the final withdrawal of the Court from Rome, on the city showing herself heathen in its general sympathies as Constantine presented himself there for the last time on the side of the Christian faith,

* Gregorovius.

left Rome politically a comparative nonentity ; and a comparative nonentity could not compass a world-wide supremacy. In point of fact, the civil decay of Rome served to discover the force which she had borne within her since the Apostles Peter and Paul "poured into her" (to use Tertullian's expression) "all their doctrine"—a force which had power to counteract the decaying prestige of a city reft of its Court splendour, and to convert such material advantage as remained into the instrument of its beneficent universal sway. That power was the name of Peter ; a name which now began to tower over the world, as the one supreme representative of the Name which is above every name, in which alone is the salvation of the world. Gregorovius, writing not as a Catholic, has the following important remark : "That the Roman Church was already an organisation which nothing could shake, when the ancient kingdom fell, is one of the greatest facts of history in general ; for the collective life of Europe was founded anew upon this firm foundation-stone of the Church." *

But in the East all was different ; the proximity of the Court had proved fatal to the guardianship of the faith. Antioch had never recovered the deposition of its orthodox Bishop, Eustathius, but was suffering from the substitution of a succession of heretics ; whilst heresy had enthroned itself in the See of Constantinople for the last forty years. The one ambition of Emperor after Emperor had been to make Constantinople what Rome had been, a living centre of Imperial rule ; and each succeeding Emperor (save Julian for less than two years) had looked to the Church's unity as the saviour of the Empire ; only one after another had adopted the Arian perversity, and trusted to make the Church one by making her wholly Arian. But the staff on which they leaned had proved a broken reed. The Eastern Church, as it became the home of heresy, proved also a nest of discord. Councils of Bishops had become the horror of saints in the East. "Never saw I Synod brought to a happy issue, and remedying and not rather aggravating evils," says St. Gregory of Nazianzum to Procopius. In the East the love of precedence, of rank, the ambition of Patriarchates—*πατριαρχίας κληροῦσθε*—this, says the same Saint, is "the cyclone that whirls us all about."

At this crisis it was that the Emperor Gratian called one from retirement to share his imperial rule, who was destined to exert a new influence on the Church, and to give the death-blow to Arianism. Theodosius, soon after he was clothed with the purple, wore the white robe of the neophyte, and became the first Catholic Emperor in the East. As he surveyed his new

* Greg. i. 13, quoted by Allies, "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 249.

responsibilities he saw the great Byzantine capital torn by religious dissension ; the Episcopal throne was occupied by an Arian ; the Nicene faith was set at nought, and a new heresy was gaining ground which denied the substantial Divinity of the Third Person in the Eternal Trinity. Theodosius determined to save the Empire by the saving faith of Nicæa. Rome had already spoken, and defined the faith as to the Third Person as having been contained in the Nicene Creed, and in a Council under Damasus had promulgated its anathema on the rising heresy. And on the 28th of February, A.D. 380, the three Emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, issued the following law :—" It is our will that all the peoples who are governed by our clemency hold the religion which is proved to have been *delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, since it has been maintained there from his time to our own.*" After mentioning the *Pontiff* Damasus and the *Bishop* Peter of Alexandria, then an exile at Rome, and after giving the definition of the Holy Trinity, held in Rome and Alexandria, they say :—" Those who follow this law we order to take the name of Catholic Christians."

Here is history in its most rigid form ; an Imperial law for the East and West. It recognises the faith of Rome as the norm of all Christian faith ; it recognises its tradition there, as an heirloom from the Apostolic times ; it recognises its connection with the Apostle Peter. A whole world of theology is contained in this one sentence of the Imperial law, which witnesses to the universality of the teaching concerning the See of St. Peter and the fidelity of Rome to her divine commission.

Closely following upon this law was the determination to convoke a Council of Eastern Bishops to tie them down to the faith of Nicæa, to enthrone an orthodox Bishop at Constantinople, and to effect their adherence to the teaching already issued from Rome, and held at Alexandria, concerning the divinity of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. A Council, we say, of Eastern Bishops—for there was no idea of an Ecumenical Council. There was nothing really fresh to be defined. The Pope had decided that the dogma of the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost was part of the Nicene faith, and the Christian world had accepted the decision, excepting Macedonius and certain other bishops who were being led away by him. The Council, therefore, did not meet to consider, nor to confirm, much less to revise, the Pope's decision, but to enforce it in the East. Mgr. Maret, by whose book Dr. Pusey was so misled, is entirely at fault in his history in this matter.* He can produce no Greek historian,

* Some of our readers would be surprised if they knew the extent to which some Anglicans have been misled by Mgr. Maret's book. Yet the author is said

nor any ancient document to prove his assertions. Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret are unanimous in their witness to the fact that the Council of Constantinople was assembled to confirm the faith of Nicæa, and to elect a Bishop for Constantinople. The French Bishops, in their letter to Pope Innocent X., admit that the anathemas of Damasus against the Macedonians were irrevocable before the Council of Constantinople.

The Council, then, was convoked by Theodosius, not, if Damasus's letter to Ascholius about Maximus is genuine, without the Pope's cordial approval, but certainly without his taking any active part in it. The disease being Eastern, and substantially the same as that which led to the Council of Nicæa, all that was needed was an assembly of Bishops to signify their adherence to the teaching of Nicæa, as explained by Pope Damasus and other orthodox Bishops. It was necessary for the East to be impregnated with "the religion," as the Emperors described it, "which is proved to have been delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter." In that expression of the edict, an authority is indicated, before which, as a Christian, albeit an Emperor, Theodosius had learnt to bow. The See of Constantinople had become the seat of another heresy, already condemned implicitly by the Nicene Creed, and Theodosius could trust to the remaining "salt," in the person of such Bishops as met in the Byzantine capital, to correct the corrupting element. The expression of the Sixth Council (Act. 18), that "Theodosius and Damasus withstood Macedonius by the second Synod, as Sylvester and Constantine withstood Arius by the Nicene Council," would be satisfied by the fact that Damasus afterwards confirmed what was done in the early sessions of this Synod, as Photius expressly asserts to have been the case (*Lib. de 7 Synodis*). All that is necessary in regard to the convocation of a General Council, that is really representative of the Church universal, is that the authority of the Pope should be exercised by his expressly convoking it, or by tacit consent given to its convocation, or by eventual approbation of such acts of the Council as he deems worthy of approval, by which means he is considered to throw his approval over its assemblage. We are speaking not of what he may do as a matter of right, but of what is necessary for the Council to be styled Ecumenical.

In the early part of this Council Meletius presided, another fact on which great emphasis has been laid by Anglicans, on the ground that he was not in communion with Rome. This latter

to have burnt his book and signed the Vatican Decree. His book completely demolishes the Anglican theory, and on its objectionable side has been answered, chapter by chapter, by F. Bottalla, in his "*Autorité du Pape dans l'Eglise*." 2 vols. 1877.

assertion has arisen partly from a mistake as to facts, and partly from a misunderstanding as to what constitutes communion with Rome in its lowest power, so to speak.

There are few passages in history which exhibit the genius of government in so favourable a light as the attitude of Rome towards the troubles in Antioch during the Meletian schism. The Pope's Legate, acting beyond the bounds of his commission, had complicated matters by ordaining Paulinus in the most precipitate haste; and the orthodox party for the most part clung to him as their Bishop. Damasus, whilst he probably did not approve of Lucifer's action, would not disavow it. When Vitalis, for instance, was cited as a heretic before Damasus, and went to Rome to defend himself, Damasus delegated his case to the cognisance of Paulinus. But Meletius, on whose ordination there was the stain of Arian complicity, had proved himself, contrary to all expectation, a champion of the faith. Whilst, therefore, Rome, in concert with St. Athanasius, recognised Paulinus as *the* Bishop of Antioch, she did not refuse a place in her communion to Meletius. He had done his best to efface his fault. But for Lucifer of Cagliari's precipitate action, all might have been settled. It was not Meletius's fault that he was not by this time in peaceful relations with all the orthodox. His character was too grand, and his influence too good, for Rome to jeopardise the Christianity of Antioch by giving him a bill of dismissal. He was, therefore, able to claim, as we learn from St. Jerome, communion with Rome, a claim which he would not have falsely made. His name is subscribed as "Bishop of Antioch" to the celebrated epistle of the Roman Synod two years previously to the Council of Constantinople, and the epistle with his signature was inserted in the Roman archives, and he was, beyond dispute, in *mediate* communion with Rome throughout. If St. Athanasius had gone to Antioch we know he would have communicated with Paulinus. St. Basil would have communicated with Meletius. Both were in communion with Rome. St. Jerome, writing from the scene of trouble, endeavours to force the hand of Damasus. He says that he only wishes to know which Bishop is in communion with the See of St. Peter, and he will, as a matter of course, communicate with him. We do not know what Damasus replied, but we know that there is no iota of proof to show that Damasus repudiated Meletius from the roll of Christian Bishops, whilst there is the indirect proof of his communion with Rome just mentioned. And it is in the highest degree improbable that Theodosius, after the Imperial law which made the faith of Rome the norm of the faith, would suffer any one who was excommunicated by the See of St. Peter to preside at a Council which was meant to bring the East into union with the West.

Dr. Littledale, as usual, settles the whole matter in a single sentence, and makes Meletius "repudiated and excommunicated" by Rome, and the S.P.C.K. diligently distributes his lucubrations. Historians are much divided as to who did preside over the Council. Some consider that Meletius presided until the arrival of Timotheus of Alexandria, and that then the latter took his place. Others, holding that Timotheus was in disgrace at Rome, suppose that, Meletius having presided until his death, St. Gregory of Nazianzum immediately took his place, and that after St. Gregory's retirement Nectarius succeeded to the presidency. What seems certain is that the matter of faith was settled before Nectarius was made Bishop at all. And the acts of the Council under Nectarius lacked validity, and cannot be reckoned as part of the Ecumenical Council. So that the acts on which Anglicans lay the greatest stress,* the passing of the celebrated Third Canon, placing Constantinople above Alexandria, are not really those of the Ecumenical Council at all. It is true that Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, told St. Leo in the next century that the said Canon was passed by the 150 Fathers of the Ecumenical Council. But that letter of Anatolius's is a good instance of how thoroughly unreliable a Bishop of Constantinople could be in regard to what passed in previous times in his own city. For are we to believe that Nectarius, Timotheus, Meletius, Helladius, and Cyril all presided and signed it? The list of signatures which has come down to us cannot be correct as it stands. It begins with Nectarius, immediately after the Creed of Constantinople. Now Nectarius was not a Bishop at all when the Constantinopolitan formula was drawn up and sent to Rome. Lower down in the same list comes the signature of Meletius, as though he were present when Nectarius presided, whereas he died before Nectarius was ordained. The Fathers, whoever they were, that signed the Canon were certainly not the 150 Fathers who drew up the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Confession of Faith. The saints are conspicuous by their absence from the assembly which drew up the Canon that exalted Constantinople above Alexandria. St. Gregory of Nazianzum had retired and left them, as he tells us, to their work of pride. Many, he says, fled at the same time—*i.e.*, after the Confession of Faith had been formulated, in accordance, as we know, with Western teaching. Baronius conjectures, with much show of reason, that these "many" of the original 150 Fathers included St. Gregory's friends, such as St. Gregory of Nyssa, Helladius of

* Cf. Gore's "R. C. Claims," p. 102, *note*, in which, whilst resting a great deal on the so-called Twenty-eighth Canon of Chalcedon, he speaks of its referring back its authority to this Canon of Constantinople.

Cæsarea, and the rest of the Bishops from Cappadocia, and Amphilocheus of Iconium. Flavian's name appears in the list of those who signed the Canon, but he was certainly not at the Council when it drew up the Confession of Faith. The names of Diodorus of Tarsus and Acacius of Beroëa also appear, who were excommunicated by Rome for consecrating Flavian. Ascholius of Thessalonica, Vicar-Apostolic in the Illyrian Provinces, also appears—a most unlikely person to have had anything to do with the Canon, or to have been present at all, seeing that the Bishops enumerate him amongst those to whom they write their letter addressed to St. Ambrose and the rest assembled in the city of Rome. There must have been an interval between the Confession of Faith and the making of the Canons, for Maximus had been consecrated and had held ordinations which were proclaimed invalid, and had then been driven out, and Nectarius had been consecrated Bishop. By whomsoever, therefore, these Canons were passed, it was not by the same Fathers who signed the Constantinopolitan Creed. It must have been at a session held at some interval of time; it was under different presidency, composed of different Bishops, and with a different aim.*

Accordingly, St. Leo, who seems to have been better informed about Constantinople than Anatolius himself, calls this assemblage that of "certain Bishops," in reply to Anatolius's plea that the 150 Fathers of Constantinople passed the Canon.

This assemblage of "certain Bishops," who claimed to be in succession to the 150, and themselves gave to their meeting the name of an Ecumenical Council, which does not say much for their modesty, wrote a letter to Damasus and his Italian Council, in which they lay suspicious emphasis on the legitimacy and canonicity of what they have done, and hope that it will meet with favour at Rome. They only enumerate what took place at the later session, which shows the complete separateness between this and the meeting of the 150 Fathers. It seems that Theodosius wrote to Rome also, requesting the confirmation of Nectarius's ordination in the shape of letters of communion "from the Roman See," "to make his episcopal position sure."† But in the reply of the Italian Bishops, nearly every statement of importance made by these Bishops from Constantinople is traversed. The Italians speak as having information which led them to doubt the accuracy of the Eastern Synodal letter as to matters which happened on the spot. It is, therefore, inconceivable that they regarded the sessions under Nectarius as a continuation of the Ecumenical Council. Under all these circumstances we are

* Cf. Vincenzi, "De Sacr. Mon. Hebr. et Christ."

† "Quæ ejus Sacerdotium roboraret," Sacerdotium is, of course, used for Episcopate, as so often.

driven to the conclusion that the gathering of Bishops, which passed the Third Canon, as it is generally called, differed altogether from the assembly which drew up the Confession of Faith. The latter received the stamp of Ecumenical reception; the Canons were, at the most, an abortive attempt to change the government of the Church.* The Third Canon was revived at Chalcedon, but not in the Council; a remnant of the Bishops, after the Ecumenical Council, repeated the endeavour of these Bishops at Constantinople, but without success. St. Leo trod them under foot in the name of the Apostle Peter. As guardian of the Nicene regulations, in virtue of his successorship to the Prince of the Apostles, he ruled them out of court. For they were, as he pointed out, in distinct violation of the Nicene settlement. What those "certain Bishops" wanted at Constantinople was to rid themselves of the superior jurisdiction of Alexandria. Peter of Alexandria, and after him Timothy, Peter's successor, had intervened in the affairs of Constantinople, and had supported Maximus, in virtue of the superiority of jurisdiction which belonged to Alexandria. The pride of Constantinople was hurt, and their dislike of Maximus was enlisted against Alexandria's interposition. Being, therefore, the new Rome, why not assume a position in regard to Patriarchal jurisdiction similar to that of old Rome? They expressed their pride and their lack of regard for the order of the Church in their Canon. If we were to believe the signatures in the collection of Labbe, which we have seen grounds for supposing to be spurious, if not fraudulent, we should have to suppose that Timotheus signed his own degradation—an idea which a moment's thought will suffice to dispel. As a matter of fact, Alexandria never accepted the arrangement. Her Bishop proceeded, after and in spite of the Canon, to place St. Chrysostom in the See of Constantinople.

But we have said enough to show that the history of the Council of Constantinople affords no argument to the Anglican in defence of his theory of the independent jurisdiction of National Churches; that, on the contrary, the history of the fifty years immediately succeeding the Nicene Council exhibits the Church as one body, bound together by letters of communion and provincial intercommunication, all gathering round one centre, the See of Peter, and that attempts at autonomy came from those who denied our Lord's divinity, and leant upon the power of this world to establish their heretical doctrine. Orthodoxy reigned, and orthodoxy fled for shelter, in Rome. Rome was not omnipotent, nor omniscient; so that St. Basil could complain of her

* Though it was doubtless of honour, rather than of jurisdiction, that they spoke in the Canon. But jurisdiction was obviously their aim.

not sufficiently coming to the aid of the East. But he did not doubt her right to intervene. He appealed to Damasus, pleading the good that Dionysius of Corinth had done in temporal matters; told him that the matters of which he now spoke were more serious, relating, as they did, to the slavery of the soul, and the loss, not of material fabrics, but of provinces of the Church, and that, therefore, he trusted that Damasus would "visit" the East, in person or by his Legates. St. Ambrose and the Italian Bishops entreat Theodosius to afford what aid he can in relieving Damasus of his difficulties through the opposition of Ursinus, and speak of the Church of Rome as the head of the whole Roman world, "whence the rights of venerable communion flow to all." An instance of the difference in the East, when they looked to Rome and when they trusted to themselves, is to be found in the life of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. He was expelled from his See by the intrigues of the Arian Bishop, Euzoius, and cast into prison; but he succeeded in escaping from his prison, and appealed to Damasus. The Pope confirmed his ordination, and sent him back to Alexandria with Pontifical letters. And the people of Alexandria, in union with the clergy, forthwith drove out the intruder, Lucius, whom the Emperor Valens had put in the place of Peter. And through all this period we look in vain for proof that Rome was seeking to stretch her prerogative; whilst we have positive proof that the Byzantine See, Arian and Erastian Constantinople, sought to raise itself above Alexandria and Antioch, and, but for Rome's interposition, must have succeeded.

We conclude, then, that the Anglican theory of the independence of National Churches is a subversion of the practical teaching of the Church during the first three centuries; but, that the form of unity impressed on the Church by her Divine Head, when he "selected one to cut off the occasion of schism" (to use St. Jerome's words) proved the salvation of the Christian faith.

LUKE RIVINGTON.



ART. IX.—LEO XIII. ON "THE CONDITION OF LABOUR."

SINCE the divine words, "I have compassion on the multitude," were spoken in the wilderness, no voice has been heard throughout the world pleading for the people with such profound and loving sympathy for those that toil and suffer as the voice of Leo XIII. This is no rhetorical exaggeration, but strict truth. None but the Vicar of our Divine Lord could so speak to mankind. No Pontiff has ever so spoken. No Pontiff has ever had such an opportunity so to speak, for never till now has the world of labour been so consciously united, so dependent upon the will of the rich, so exposed to the fluctuations of adversity and to the vicissitudes of trade. Leo XIII., looking out of the watch-tower of the Christian world, as St. Leo the Great used to say, has before him what no Pontiff yet has ever seen. He sees all the kingdoms of the world and the sufferings of them.

The moan of discontent, of toil, of sorrow goes up before him. The modern world by every agency of knowledge, and by every bond of interest and of intellect has become confluent. It has one intelligence, one conscience, one will, for it is under one law: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread"; and for millions that bread is scant. Its sufferings are the same, and its needs and demands are the same. The interchange of knowledge is so rapid and complete, not only as of old by messengers and by letters, but by the electric wire and instantaneous transit, that the workers and toilers of all languages and of all lands are united by one living consciousness and by a continual participation in the various changes of labour and of trade. The world of to-day is a world of enormous wealth and endless labour. The Holy Father at the outset of the Encyclical recognises this character of the nineteenth century. He says that "the growth of industry and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals and the poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population," have created a new condition in the world full of elements of conflict; and this is rendered more menacing by "a general moral deterioration" that is in all classes and in all nations. It is upon such a world that he looks down; and his heart is with the poor, "I have compassion on the multitude"—on the poor, who, as he says, are "the majority of mankind."

"All agree," he says, "and there can be no question whatever

that some remedy must be found, and that quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workman's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organisation took their place. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which though more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form, but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men; and to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." This is no new pronouncement of Leo XIII. It is perhaps not known to many that the study of this question has long occupied his mind. During his Episcopate at Perugia he issued Pastorals even stronger and more explicit on the sufferings of the workers and the callousness of employers. By a happy providence what he then wrote in a Pastoral to an Umbrian flock, he now promulgates with Apostolic authority to the whole world.

Before we speak of the text of the Encyclical, we must make two preliminary remarks.

Some public critics have censured it for vagueness and generality. They are disappointed because they do not find detailed and particular solutions, remedies, and schemes of action. But they forget that the diversities of nations, in civilisation, in maturity, in climate, in character, in the diversities of natural and industrial products; also in mode of life, and in a multitude of other conditions and circumstances, make it as impossible to prescribe remedies for all nations as it would be to dispense a score of prescriptions for all the hospitals of Europe. It was of absolute necessity to lay down broad principles which serve as major premisses in all arguments of the social order.

The other remark is this: that the Holy Father has lifted "*Political Economy*" from the low level of selfishness in profit and loss, labour and wages, and replaced it on the high and true level of *Social Economy*. The very word *economy* is a protest against the narrowness of the last hundred years. *Economy* is the administration of a household. He is a bad householder who attends only to the weekly bills, and neglects the health, morals, and welfare of the household. There is nothing needed for the well-being and happiness of the family for which domestic economy does not vigilantly provide. The finances of the

household are necessary, but subordinate. They are one detail of administration. When we speak of "Political" economy we speak in metaphors. A State is metaphorically a family, a household; and metaphorically it has an administration which is to the commonwealth what economy is to the household. It includes every form of material and moral provision for the public health and welfare. In this, finance and commerce are an important but a subordinate part. The Holy Father has carefully defined this, and its bearing upon Socialism, both the thing and the term, as we shall see hereafter.

The Encyclical divides itself into four parts. The first treats of the origin and constitution of human society. The second shows the unnatural, abnormal, and subversive nature of what is called Socialism. The third treats of the intervention of the State in social questions. The fourth and last treats of the liberty, duties, and co-operation of workers, both men and women. We will follow this order in commenting upon it.

1. As to the origin of human society, it is much to be feared that many will read the Encyclical without weighing its deep and far-reaching enunciation of primary truths. Many also will call them truisms and fail to weigh them. For instance:

1. "Man is older than the State, and he holds the right of providing for the life of his body, prior to the formation of any State."

2. "To say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race is not to deny that there can be private property."

3. "When man spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates, that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the *impress of his personality*."

4. "As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labour should belong to him who has laboured."

5. "With reason therefore the common opinion of mankind . . . has found, in the study of nature and in the law of nature herself, the foundations of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership."

6. "That we have the family: the society of a man's own household: a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true 'society,' anterior to every State or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth."

7. "It is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has

begotten. . . . A man's children carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality."

8. "The family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation, and to its just liberty."

9. "We say at least equal rights, for since the domestic household is anterior, both in idea and in fact, to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter, and which rest more immediately on nature."

10. "The idea, then, that the Civil Government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household is a great and pernicious mistake."

11. "Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State nor absolved, for it has the same source as human life itself."

12. "The child . . . is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality."

13. "To speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society, not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family . . . before it attains the use of freewill, it is in the power and care of its parents."

We have thought it best to extract these passages, and to place them in an orderly series, because, embedded in a context full of manifold and various interest, their full force may be easily lost. They are like the axioms of mathematics, the immovable foundations of all reasoning. They are the basis and the constructive lines of human society, which is a Divine creation in the order of nature.

2. The Encyclical then proceeds to describe Socialism by the doctrines of its first teachers and chief writers. The essence of Socialism, according to this statement, consists in the denial of the natural right of property or of private ownership, and in the assertion that it is lawful to reform and constitute human society on the basis of the universal equality of man, and the community of goods.

The Encyclical goes on to show the false and destructive character of Socialism.

The law of property or of private ownership, both in land and in the product of his own labour, is founded in nature, and cannot be abolished by any human authority without a violation of the Divine order of natural society. Neither land nor wages can be nationalised. Property existed before the nation; and rests immediately on nature itself. This does not deny the lawfulness of taxing all property by the State for the safety or welfare of the commonwealth. It denies only the lawfulness of uprooting

the right of property which is in its origin founded on nature itself. There are many kinds of nominal Socialism, which we need not deal with now ; but of the original Socialism there are two sections : the one that holds the lawfulness of nationalising both land and the wages of labour ; the other that holds the lawfulness of nationalising the land only, but admits the right of private property in the wages and products of personal labour. The Encyclical denies both these claims. Socialism therefore affects to reconstitute human society upon a new foundation and by new laws, and this, whether accomplished by force or by fallacy, is destructive of the natural and normal society of man. For this cause the terms Socialistic and Socialism have an essentially ill signification. Socialism is to society what rationalism is to reasoning. It denotes an abuse, an excess, a de-ordination in human society, as rationalism denotes a misuse and an abuse of reason. All reasoning must be rational that is in conformity with the laws of reason, and all legislation for human society must be both human and social by the necessity and nature of mankind. Inhuman and anti-social law is not law, but tyranny or anarchy. It implies therefore a laxity of thought, or at least of terminology, to speak of Christian Socialism or of Catholic Socialism. The Holy Father is too keen in his apprehension and too exact in his reasoning to admit such confusion even in terms. This will be seen in the third part of the Encyclical, which treats of the intervention of the State in social questions.

Leo XIII. points out that the equality of all men is contradicted by every fact and condition of human life. Both the gifts of nature and the products of human freewill introduce, at every moment, inequalities, which are lawful, innocent, and fruitful of every kind of good. Society itself would not grow, nor would its prosperity and power be developed, if all men were equal. And as society unfolds its own perfections men at once become unequal. The inequalities even of age alone would daily multiply the inequalities of early and middle and mature life. If we were all equal to-day, inequalities would spring up to-morrow. And these very inequalities are the spirit and the means of growing perfection. "It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The Socialists may do their utmost, but are striving against nature in vain."

If the right of private ownership were violated no one would suffer so much as the poor working-man. It is his ambition and his prayer to possess the roof over his head and the patch of garden which pays his rent. In absorbing rich landlords, the poor cottager is also sacrificed. Property is more vital to those who have little than to those who have much. The rich may

make great losses, and yet have enough to live; but they who live always on the brink of want, are ruined by one privation.

Socialism properly so-called, by the equality of all and the community of goods invades also the domestic life and the rights of parents. "The Socialists therefore, in setting aside the parent, and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice*, and therefore the very existence of family life."

2. The Holy Father goes on to point out the remedy of these social evils. He says: "There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it is, and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles." It is certain that the world cannot heal itself; it is more certain that Socialism, which violates the primary laws of nature, cannot heal our social evils. Socialism is in itself the master evil in the society of men, being the destroyer of the first laws of the natural order. Therefore, to find a remedy we are bid to look away from the world, and to look "elsewhere." It is certain, therefore, that neither legislation, nor civilisation, nor any simply human influence or natural agency, can restore society which is sick with manifold diseases. The Holy Father tells us where to look. He says: "When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it, is to recall it to the purpose and principles from which it sprung." "So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease; to go back to it is recovery." "If society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life, and the Christian Institutions." Therefore, "no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of religion and of the Church." God created the Church and the Church created the Christian world. For three centuries the world has been in revolt against the Church, and has thrown off the first principles from which it sprung; they are: faith, indissoluble matrimony, Christian education, obedience to the Head of the Christian world. The consequence of this revolt is schism, divorce, schools without religion, and the weakening of all moral laws. The natural society of man fell from its normal state into manifold corruptions. The merely human civilisation in its most refined state in Greece, and in its loftiest attainment in the Roman world, perished by its own suicidal corruptions. "There cannot be the shadow of doubt . . . that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things; nay, that it was brought back from death to life." "Of this beneficent transformation Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose: as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred."

These sentences are full of meaning. They affirm:

1. That into the fallen and perverted society of men a new life and a new legislation entered which expelled the evils of human corruption and elevated society to a supernatural state; or, in other words, that the society and law of nature were not only restored to their first principles, but were elevated to a higher law and state. Human society was made perfect in the supernatural society that is in the Church. Separation therefore from the Church has deprived a great part of the Christian world of its supernatural perfection in life and constitution.

2. That the Christian law made perfect the natural law of justice and mercy, which may be enforced by human tribunals.

3. That it superadded the law of charity, the highest and most perfect law, which though it cannot be enforced by human tribunals has a Divine sanction to enforce it in the conscience of all men.

4. That without the teaching of Christianity the moral relations of human society become unsympathetic, hard, and selfish.

When, then, Leo XIII. says that the only remedy for the social evils of States is to be found in the Church, he means that "without God there is no society"; without a legislator human laws are powerless to restrain the selfish passions of men; and without charity all laws are cold, unpersuasive, and inefficacious. Justice alone without mercy is heartless, and mercy without charity is constrained and repulsive. Without the Church this higher moral law is not to be found. The condition of the labour world, or of the "labour market," as political economists have taught us to call it, is proof enough.

The Encyclical then points out two other explicit reasons why the action of the Church in its teaching, spirit, and sanction is of the highest moment to society, and especially to the millions of the world. The poor are the special charge of the Church. "God hath chosen the poor of this world." "Hearken, my beloved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him." Every living soul is in His immediate care, the rich as well as the poor; there is no distinction of class or privilege with Him. Every soul, whether refined or rude, is in His keeping. But with an especial care He watches over those who "eat bread in the sweat of their brow." They are under the habitual penance of Adam in privation, toil, poverty, often in want, living in hardness, and bearing many sufferings. They live perpetually on the brink of want, in the midst of the vicissitudes of human fortune. None need the Paraclete, the

Consoler, more than they; and none need the sympathy of the Church as they do. "The Church has guarded with religious care the inheritance of the poor." "At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, condemn the Church for this beautiful charity." We are told that it demoralises the people. "They would substitute in its place a system of State-organised relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity."

Another reason is this. The creative power of the Church has in all ages formed for itself organised bodies, incorporating and fulfilling its manifold works of charity. A religious Order springs from the bosom of the Church, and is sustained by it. And as religious Orders have sprung up within it, so also have guilds, confraternities, sodalities, unions, both sacred and beneficial. Association and co-operation are of the spirit of brotherhood; and the greatest brotherhood in the world is the Church itself. Therefore the Church blesses and encourages every form of lawful and Christian association. It condemns secret societies as such, because they walk in darkness; but it sanctions the open uniting of men for a lawful object, such as mutual protection against those who make the largest profits out of the lowest wages, or intolerable hours of work, and the like. In a word, the Church recognises the liberty of the human will in all its lawful actions, individual and collective; and it encourages men to use that liberty for their self-defence, and for the defence and help of others.

But, finally, the Church alone deals not only with the bodily, but also with the spiritual life of man; and no people can be peaceful or contented with a life of labour who do not know, and hope for, an eternal rest. And it thereby teaches men, the poorest and the humblest, their true dignity. "No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats with reverence; nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of heaven." It is certain that in the measure in which these truths pervade the mind of a people in that measure they are elevated, refined, and independent. In the measure in which they are lost a people becomes animal, gross and intractable, or, it may be, slavish. "To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right. He cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God." "Therefore no man can contract to work so many hours and so many days a week as to render it impossible for him to live a Christian and a human life." From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labour on Sundays and certain festivals. From this also it follows that to work sixteen or eighteen hours a day is contrary both to natural

and to Christian law. It springs either from the recklessness of the employed, or the covetousness of the employer. This is a just condemnation of the state of many of our industries, under which till now our people have suffered in silence. But they are now bid to make their burdens and sufferings known.

3. The Encyclical then treats of the intervention of the State in matters of political economy. If a century of narrow and commercial mistreatment had not contracted the range and fullness of political economy to the "dismal science" of supply and demand, wage-funds and labour markets, the very title would have affirmed the duty of the State to intervene whensoever the welfare of the commonwealth in any part is at stake. All political economy contains financial and commercial economy, but neither commerce nor finance are co-extensive with political economy. Political economy watches indeed over the whole commercial and financial economy, but it watches over the welfare of all classes. Classes revolve round their own interests. It is in reaction from this organised selfishness that some men have recoiled into Socialism. The Encyclical having carefully defined Socialism, both name and thing, goes on to show how the legislation of human society must be essentially social. "It is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and among the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; . . . for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good, and the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them." "The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State. Those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly rely upon the assistance of the State, and it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth." It is to be doubted whether in any country of the Christian world these truths are better realised than in our own. Ever since the abolition of slavery in 1834, our legislation has entered more and more minutely into the social needs and sufferings of our people. Our poor-law incorporates the primary laws of nature, that a man has a right to live, and a right to the food necessary to sustain life, either by gift or by wage. But nobody dreams of calling the laws of Elizabeth socialistic. The mining and factory legislation protects millions of men, women, and children; the abolition of Corn Laws impoverished a class for the welfare of the people; a dozen laws protect children from noxious trades and the like; but no man till now has been blind enough to accuse our Statute-

book of Socialism. The State education of France, America, and Belgium are denounced as infidel, immoral, godless ; but though they are the worst form of Socialism, nobody says or sees it. But if any man would protect the world of labour from the oppression of "free contracts," or "starvation wages," he is a Socialist. So obscure from want of thought, or so warped by interest, or so prejudiced by class feeling are the minds of men. Our legislation hitherto and the programme of the Berlin Conference are supremely conservative, social, and anti-socialistic.

4. The Encyclical comes lastly to the liberty, duties, and co-operation of workers. The treatment of this is paternal in its compassion, and minute in its detail. It shows both the heart and the head of the Good Shepherd. First, as to liberty. Work is the condition of bread. But in the choice of the kind of work, the master for whom, the wages for which a man shall work, all this rests with himself. The employer has the dead capital of gold and silver. The workman has the living capital of strength and skill. If strength and skill are unproductive without gold and silver, gold and silver are dead without strength and skill. A free and faithful contract between them is necessary for the productiveness of both. A man has a right and an absolute liberty to work for such wages as he thinks just ; to refuse to work for less. Men have both right and liberty to unite with others of the same trade or craft, and to demand a just wage for their labour. If this just wage is refused, he has both right and liberty to refuse to work—that is, to strike. Leo XIII. fully recognises this liberty. So long as the cause is just, the right to strike is undeniable. He "is free to work or not."

But next arises the question, What is a just wage ? The Encyclical has given a very explicit and definite answer. It is impossible to define the maximum. It is only necessary to define the minimum. The Encyclical says : "Let it be granted then, that, as a rule, workmen and employer should make free agreements, and in particular should freely agree as to wages ; nevertheless there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort." This is immediately further explained as "sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children."

We have here the measure of the minimum wage. It must be sufficient to maintain a man and his home. This does not mean a variable measure, or a sliding scale according to the number of children, but a fixed average sum. "If through necessity or fear of worse evil the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better,

he is the victim of force and injustice." The foundation of this judgment is in the law of nature. It is clear that the normal state of man in the natural order is that every man should have and should dwell in his own home, surrounded by the duties and charities of life. If the civil population of the country were debarred from marriage, like the standing army, the face of the country would be visited with all the evils of a garrison town. Homeless men are reckless. There would be but little patriotism in a country where no man cares to stand *pro aris et focis*. The hearth-money of our forefathers was the sure pledge of their loyalty. The policy of the law—that is, its aim and spirit—is that homeless men be few, and that the homes of the people be the broad and solid foundation on which the commonwealth, in all its social and political life, shall repose. We may therefore take the maintenance of a home as the minimum of a just wage.

It follows, therefore, that an employer who should take single men without homes at lower wages would commit a social injustice, full of immoral and dangerous consequences to society.

Beyond this it is impossible to go. Every kind of industry and of labour, skilled and unskilled, in all the diversities of toil or danger, will have its special claims; but the lowest line is the worker and his home.

It is well to bear in mind that the oldest free contract between landowner and labourer is the *métayer* system, by which the annual produce of the soil is halved between the landlord and the producer. This still exists abroad. It bears witness to a law of proportion which is just, and it is a source of contentment and goodwill. Where there is no proportion, or no known proportion, between enormous and increasing profits and scanty and stationary wages, to be contented is to be superhuman. Leo XIII., without naming any one, warmly commends the works of those in France and elsewhere who are giving to their workmen a share in the profits and prosperity of their commerce and industry.

On the liberty of strike, Leo XIII. is equally explicit. "When workpeople have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labour are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient." "Such paralysis of labour not only affects the masters or their workpeople, but is extremely injurious to trade and to the general interests of the public." A strike is like war. If for just cause a strike is a right inevitable, it is a healthful constraint imposed upon the despotism of capital. It is the only power in the hands of working men. We have been for years blinded or dazed by the phrases of "free contract," "the independence of adult labour," "free labour," and the like. The meaning is this: Let working

men maintain their independence of one another, and of all associations, and of all unions, and of all united action, and of all intervention of law in their behalf. The more perfectly they are isolated, the more independent of all defenders, the more dependent they are on capitalists. Starving men may be locked out with impunity. The hunger of their wives, the cries of their children, their own want of food, will compel them to come in. It is evident that between a capitalist and a working man there can be no true freedom of contract. The capitalist is invulnerable in his wealth. The working man without bread has no choice but either to agree, or to hunger in his hungry home. For this cause "freedom of contract" has been the gospel of employers. And they have resented hotly the intervention of any peacemaker. They have claimed that no one can come between them and their men; that their relation to them is a private, almost a domestic affair. They forget that when thousands of women and children suffer while they are refusing to grant a penny more in wages, or an hour less in work, there is a wide field of misery caused by their refusal, which prolongs a strike. It is then no private affair, but a public evil which excites the public condemnation. And more than this—a handful of miserable men harshly treated grows to a mob, and a mob soon grows to a multitude, and a multitude soon grows beyond its own control, and when batoned by police and angered by the ostentatious presence of soldiers, horse and foot, breaks into flight and scours the streets, wrecking, robbing, and looting, without aim or reason. Again, as more recently, for a month the streets of London were choked day by day with processions of tens of thousands. Disorder and horse-play, which at any moment may turn to collisions with the people or the police, were imminent; these were sharpened by disappointment, and irritated by refusal of an additional penny an hour. At any moment a drunkard, or a madman, or a fool might have set fire to the docks and warehouses. The commercial wealth of London and the merchandise of the world, the banks and wharves of the Thames might have been pillaged, and the conflagration might have spread for hours before order, at unimaginable loss, could be restored. And all this because a strike is "a matter between us and our men." They were reminded that there were two other parties interested besides masters and men, the multitude of suffering women and children, and the whole peaceful population of London. At a certain stage of such a conflict, either or both of these parties have a social, civil, and natural right to intervene to protect the public safety. Leo XIII. in such cases goes beyond the intervention of peacemakers in a voluntary effort to reconcile contending parties. He affirms that the State may intervene. "If," he says, "by a strike or other

combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace, or if circumstances were such that among the labouring population the ties of family life were relaxed" "finally, if health were endangered by excessive labour, or by work unsuited to sex or age, in these cases there can be no question that within certain limits it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law." So little does the Encyclical recognise the absolutism of employers, and so fully does it justify the action of Parliament in the Commission on Sweating, in the Committee on the Hours of Labour, and now in the Commission on Labour in all its relation to Capital. Leo XIII. gives to legislators a supreme counsel: "The laws should be *beforehand* and *prevent* these troubles from arising, they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which tend to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ."

This, as he especially urges, ought to be provided for by voluntary tribunals of arbitration, composed of employers and employed in their respective unions or associations; and when no such provisions of previous legislation exist, and Parliament is not assembled and danger is urgent, it is the right and the duty of every loyal man, who loves his country and his people, at any cost or danger to himself, to come between the parties in conflict, and to bring them, if he can, to peace.

The Encyclical, then, in few and sympathetic words treats of the employment of women and children. Of women it says: "They are not suited to certain trades: for a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty, and to promote the good bringing-up of children and the well-being of the family." As we read these words, the chainmakers of Cradley Heath, the Pit-brow women of the mines, and the mothers in our factories rise before us. Here is a moral case to be solved. A woman enters for life into a sacred contract with a man before God at the altar, to fulfil to him the duties of wife, mother, and head of his home. Is it lawful for her, even with his consent, to make afterwards a second contract for so many shillings a week with a millowner, whereby she becomes unable to provide her husband's food, train up her children, or do the duties of her home? It is no question of the lawfulness of gaining a few more shillings for the expenses of a family, but of the lawfulness of breaking a prior contract the most solemn between man and woman. No arguments of expediency can be admitted. It is an obligation of conscience to which all things must give way. The duties of home must first be done, then other questions may be entertained. Till then, nothing. Some people seem to think that our statute law is of

high perfection, because it forbids mothers to return to work for three weeks or a month after childbirth. By a higher law, the law of nature, the whole care and time of the mother is due to the child; a mother's instincts ought to prevail over all lower motives. There can be no home where a mother does not nurture her own infant: and where there is no home, there is no domestic life; and where the domestic life of a people is undermined, their social and political life rests on sand. To this it will be answered: that without the mother's earnings the children would not be fed. To this there are many answers. The minimum of wages would suffice, if the relations of capital and labour were even just; much more, if generous. Already men have complained that employers prefer the cheaper work of women, and women are finding that employers prefer the cheaper work of children. It is the old formula of modern political economy, "sell in the dearest market, and buy in the cheapest." What is cheaper than the work of women and half-timers? A normal state of wage-earning would put back every wife into her home in the midst of her children.

Finally, the Encyclical speaks in few but comprehensive words of the labour of children. "In regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young promise of a child's powers, and makes any real education impossible." There is a tenderness and a wisdom in these words which make all comment needless. Indeed, they exhaust the subject. The condition of child-labour fifty years ago cannot now be conceived by those who have only seen the half-timers of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Children hardly out of infancy were then overcrowded in rooms, ill ventilated, the air of which became poisonous. They were set to picking cotton and other like materials, of which the filaments and the fluff affected the organs of respiration. Our Legislature very tardily and after long contention made such child-labour unlawful. Names of political history are to be found resisting every advance of this humane legislation. They prophesied the ruin of our manufactures if the labour of infants were forbidden, as men are prophesying now the downfall of our commerce if we save the half-timers from the premature toil which mars their education, exhausts their health, and checks the normal development of body and of brain. All the chief Powers of Europe, and many of the lesser States, agreed at Berlin to raise the minimum age for child-labour to twelve years. Many have done it: some have raised it to thirteen. We voted, and therefore pledged

our honour and our humanity to raise the minimum age to twelve. We have not done it. Our rulers have refused to do it. With a niggard will we are raising it after a year's delay to eleven. The words of Leo XIII. will sear us till we raise it at least to twelve.

Such then in outline is the teaching of Leo XIII. We have, at the risk of breaking the continuity of our narrative, given the very words of the Encyclical, arranging them in the main order of the subject-matter as to human society and its morbid parasite of Socialism; as to the Church, the supernatural Society, and the salvation of the political order of the world; as to the State in its relation to the world of labour; and finally, as to the workers, their liberty and their homes.

The Voice of the Good Shepherd has been heard by the flock spread throughout the world with a loving, thankful, and joyous assent. It has been heard by Sovereigns and statesmen, and men of every calling and of every measure of culture, with a respectful attention never before given to any Pontifical utterance. It has been heard by the millions of the world of labour, and they have recognised the accents of a Father's love and sympathy. In truth, the Encyclical, both in matter and in manner of treatment, comes home to the intelligence and heart of this day with the simplicity of a household word. Who does not know what labour is? And who is not a sharer in its interests or sympathies or sufferings? Now, there is only one person who represents two things which men think irreconcilable—power and poverty. The Vicar of our Lord, "Who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor,"—he only knows both and can speak to both as a partaker in both.

For a century the civil Powers in almost all the Christian world have been separating themselves from the Church, claiming, and glorying in their separation. They have set up the State as a purely lay and secular society, and thrust the Church from them. And now of a sudden they find that the millions of the world sympathise with the Church, which has compassion on the multitude rather than with the State or the plutocracy which has weighed so heavily upon them.

HENRY EDWARD, CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE CONDITION OF LABOUR.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS
ET EPISCOPIS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS, GRATIAM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

RERUM novarum semel excitatâ cupidine, quae diu quidem commovet civitates, illud erat consecuturum ut commutationum studia a rationibus politicis in oeconomiarum cognatum genus aliquando defluerent.—Revera nova industriae incrementa novisque euntes itineribus artes: mutatae dominorum et mercenariorum rationes mutuae: divitiarum in exiguo numero affluentia, in multitudine inopia: opificum cum de se confidentia maior, tum inter se necessitudo coniunctor, praeterea versi in deteriora mores, effecere, ut certamen erumperet. In quo quanta rerum momenta vertantur, ex hoc apparet, quod animos habet acri expectatione suspensos: idemque ingenia exercet doctorum, concilia prudentum, conciones populi, legumlatorum iudicium, consilia principum, ut iam caussa nulla reperiatur tanta, quae teneat hominum studia vehementius.—Itaque, proposita Nobis Ecclesiae caussâ et salute communi, quod alias consuevimus, Venerabiles Fratres, datis ad vos Litteris de imperio politico, de libertate humana, de civitatum constitutione christiana, aliisque non dissimili genere, quae ad refutandas opinionum fallacias opportuna videbantur, idem nunc faciendum *de conditione opificum* iisdem de caussis duximus.—Genus hoc argumenti non semel iam per occasionem attigimus: in his tamen litteris totam data opera tractare quaestionem apostolici muneris conscientia monet, ut principia emineant, quorum ope, uti veritas atque aequitas postulant, dimicatio dirimatur. Caussa est ad expediendum difficilis, nec vacua periculo. Arduum siquidem metiri iura et officia, quibus locupletes et proletarios, eos qui rem, et eos qui operam conferant, inter se oportet contineri. Periculosa vero contentio, quippe quae ab hominibus turbulentis et callidis ad pervertendum iudicium veri concitandamque seditiose multitudinem passim detorquetur. Utcumque sit, plane videmus, quod consentiunt universi, infimae sortis hominibus celeriter esse atque opportune consulendum, cum pars maxima in misera calamitosaque fortuna indigne versentur. Nam veteribus artificum collegiis superiore saeculo deletis, nulloque in eorum locum suffecto praesidio, cum ipsa instituta legesque publicae avitam religionem exuissent, sensim factum est ut opifices inhumanitati dominorum effrenataeque competitorum cupiditati solitarios atque indefensos tempus tradiderit.—Malum auxit usura vorax, quae non

semel Ecclesiae iudicio damnata, tamen ab hominibus avidis et quaestuosus per aliam speciem exercetur eadem: huc accedunt et conductio operum et rerum omnium commercia fere in paucorum redacta potestatem, ita ut opulenti ac praedivites perpauci prope servile iugum infinitae proletariorum multitudini imposuerint.

Ad huius sanationem mali *Socialistae* quidem, sollicitatâ egentium in locupletes invidiâ, evertere privatas bonorum possessiones contendunt oportere, earumque loco communia universis singulorum bona facere, procurantibus viris qui aut municipio praesint, aut totam rempublicam gerant. Eiusmodi tralatione bonorum a privatis ad commune, mederi se posse praesenti malo arbitrantur, res et commoda inter cives aequaliter partiendo. Sed est adeo eorum ratio ad contentionem dirimendam inepta, ut ipsum opificum genus afficiat incommodo: eademque praeterea est valde iniusta, quia vim possessoribus legitimis affert, pervertit officia reipublicae, penitusque miscet civitates.

Sane, quod facile est pervidere, ipsius operae, quam suscipiunt qui in arte aliqua quaestuosa versantur, haec per se caussa est, atque hic finis quo proxime spectat artifex, rem sibi quaerere privatoque iure possidere uti suam ac propriam. Is enim si vires, si industriam suam alteri commodat, hanc ob causam commodat ut res adipiscatur ad victum cultumque necessarias: ideoque ex opera data ius verum perfectumque sibi quaerit non modo exigendae mercedis, sed et collocandae uti velit. Ergo si tenuitate sumptuum quicquam ipse comparsit, fructumque parsimoniae suae, quo tutior esse custodia possit, in praedio collocavit, profecto praedium istiusmodi nihil est aliud, quam merces ipsa aliam induta speciem: proptereaque coemptus sic opifici fundus tam est in eius potestate futurus, quam parta labore merces. Sed in hoc plane, ut facile intelligitur, rerum dominium vel moventium vel solidarum consistit. In eo igitur quod bona privatorum transferre *Socialistae* ad commune nituntur, omnium mercenariorum faciunt conditionem deteriore, quippe quos, collocandae mercedis libertate sublata, hoc ipso augendae rei familiaris utilitatumque sibi comparandarum spe et facultate despoliant.

Verum, quod maius est, remedium proponunt cum iustitia aperte pugnans, quia possidere res privatim ut suas, ius est homini a natura datum.—Revera hac etiam in re maxime inter hominem et genus interest animantium ceterarum. Non enim se ipsae regunt belluae, sed reguntur gubernanturque duplici naturae instinctu: qui tum custodiunt experrectam in eis facultatem agendi, viresque opportune evolvunt, tum etiam singulos earum motus exsuscitant iidem et determinant. Altero instinctu ad se vitamque tuendam, altero ad conservationem generis ducuntur sui. Utrumque vero commode assequuntur earum rerum usu quae adsunt, quaeque praesentes sunt: nec sane progredi longius possent, quia solo sensu moventur rebusque singularibus sensu perceptis. Longe alia hominis natura. Inest in eo tota simul ac perfecta vis naturae animantis, ideoque tributum ex hac parte homini est, certe non minus quam generi animantium omni, ut rerum corporearum fruatur bonis. Sed natura animans quantumvis cumulate possessa, tantum abest ut naturam circumscribat humanam,

ut multo sit humanâ naturâ inferior, et ad parendum huic obediendumque nata. Quod eminet atque excellit in nobis, quod homini tribuit ut homo sit, et a belluis differat genere toto, mens seu ratio est. Et ob hanc caussam quod solum hoc animal est rationis particeps, bona homini tribuere necesse est non utenda solum, quod est omnium animantium commune, sed stabili perpetuoque iure possidenda, neque ea duntaxat quae usu consumuntur, sed etiam quae, nobis utentibus, permanent.

Quod magis etiam apparet, si hominum in se natura altius spectetur.—Homo enim cum innumerabilia ratione comprehendat, rebusque praesentibus adiungat atque annectat futuras, cumque actionum suarum sit ipse dominus, propterea sub lege aeterna, sub potestate omnia providentissime gubernantis Dei, se ipse gubernat providentia consilii sui: quamobrem in eius est potestate res eligere quas ad consulendum sibi non modo in praesens, sed etiam in reliquum tempus, maxime iudicet idoneas. Ex quo consequitur, ut in homine esse non modo terrenorum fructuum, sed ipsius terrae dominatum oporteat, quia e terrae fetu sibi res suppeditari videt ad futurum tempus necessarias. Habent cuiusque hominis necessitates velut perpetuos redditus, ita ut hodie expletae, in crastinum nova imperent. Igitur rem quamdam debet homini natura dedisse stabilem perpetuoque mansuram, unde perennitas subsidii expectari posset. Atque istiusmodi perennitatem nulla res praestare, nisi cum ubertatibus suis terra, potest.

Neque est, cur providentia introducat reipublicae: est enim homo, quam respublica, senior: quocirca ius ille suum ad vitam corpusque tuendum habere naturâ ante debuit quam civitas ulla coisset.—Quod vero terram Deus universo generi hominum utendam, fruendam dederit, id quidem non potest ullo pacto privatis possessionibus obesse. Deus enim generi hominum donavisse terram in commune dicitur, non quod eius promiscuum apud omnes dominatum voluerit, sed quia partem nullam cuique assignavit possidendam, industriae hominum institutisque populorum permissâ privatarum possessionum descriptione.—Ceterum utcumque inter privatos distributa, inservire communi omnium utilitati terra non cessat, quoniam nemo est mortalium, quin alatur eo, quod agri efferunt. Qui re carent, suppleant operâ: ita ut vere affirmari possit, universam comparandi victus cultusque rationem in labore consistere, quem quis vel in fundo insumat suo, vel in arte aliqua operosa, cuius merces tandem non aliunde, quam a multiplici terrae fetu ducitur, cum eoque permutatur.

Qua ex re rursus efficitur, privatas possessiones plane esse secundum naturam. Res enim eas, quae ad conservandam vitam maximeque ad perficiendam requiruntur, terra quidem cum magna largitate fundit, sed fundere ex se sine hominum cultu et curatione non posset. Iamvero cum in parandis naturae bonis industriae mentis viresque corporis homo insumat, hoc ipso applicat ad sese eam naturae corporeae par em, quam ipse percoluit, in qua velut formam quamdam personae suae e impressam reliquit; ut omnino rectum esse oporteat, eam partem

ab eo possideri uti suam, nec ullo modo ius ipsius violare cuiquam licere.

Horum tam perspicua vis est argumentorum, ut mirabile videatur, dissentire quosdam exoletarum opinionum restitutores: qui usum quidem soli, variosque praediorum fructus homini privato concedunt: at possideri ab eo ut domino vel solum, in quo aedificavit, vel praedium quod excoluit, plane ius esse negant. Quod cum negant, fraudatum iri partis suo labore rebus hominem, non vident. Ager quippe cultoris manu atque arte subactus habitum longe mutat: e silvestri frugifer, ex infecundo ferax efficitur. Quibus autem rebus est melior factus, illae sic solo inhaerent miscenturque penitus, ut maximam partem nullo pacto sint separabiles a solo. Atqui id quemquam potiri illoque perfrui, in quo alius desudavit, utrumne iustitia patiatur? Quo modo effectae res caussam sequuntur a qua effectae sunt, sic operae fructum ad eos ipsos qui operam dederint, rectum est pertinere. Merito igitur universitas generis humani, dissidentibus paucorum opinionibus nihil admodum mota, studioseque naturam intuens, in ipsius lege naturae fundamentum reperit partitionis bonorum, possessionesque privatas, ut quae cum hominum natura pacatoque et tranquillo convictu maxime congruant, omnium saeculorum usu consecravimus.—Leges autem civiles, quae, cum iustae sunt, virtutem suam ab ipsa naturali lege ducunt, id ius, de quo loquimur, confirmant ac vi etiam adhibenda tuentur.—Idem divinarum legum sanxit auctoritas, quae vel appetere alienum gravissime vetant. *Non concupiscis uxorem proximi tui: non domum, non agrum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, et universa quae illius sunt.**

Iura vero istiusmodi, quae in hominibus insunt singulis, multo validiora intelliguntur esse si cum officiis hominum in convictu domestico apta et connexa spectentur.—In deligendo genere vitae non est dubium, quin in potestate sit arbitrioque singulorum alterutrum malle, aut Iesu Christi sectari de virginitate consilium, aut maritali se vincolo obligare. Ius coniugii naturale ac primigenum homini adimere, caussamve nuptiarum praecipuam, Dei auctoritate initio constitutam, quoquo modo circumscribere lex hominum nulla potest. *Crescite et multiplicamini.*† En igitur familia, seu societas domestica, perparva illa quidem, sed vera societas, eademque omni civitate antiquior; cui propterea sua quaedam iura officiaque esse necesse est, quae minime pendeant a republica. Quod igitur demonstravimus, ius domini personis singularibus natura tributum, id transferri in hominem, qua caput est familiae, oportet: immo tanto ius est illud validius, quanto persona humana in convictu domestico plura complectitur. Sanctissima naturae lex est, ut victu omnique cultu paterfamilias tueatur, quos ipse procrearit: idemque illuc a natura ipsa deducitur, ut velit liberis suis, quippe qui paternam referunt et quodam modo producunt personam, anquirere et parare, unde se honeste possint in ancipiti vitae cursu a misera fortuna defendere. Id vero efficere non alia ratione potest, nisi fructuosarum possessione rerum, quas ad liberos hereditate trans-

* Deut. v. 21.

† Gen. i. 28.

mittat.—Quemadmodum civitas, eodem modo familia, ut memoravimus, veri nominis societas est, qua potestate propria, hoc est paterna, regitur. Quamobrem, servatis utique finibus quos proxima eius caussa praescripserit, in deligendis adhibendisque rebus incolumitati ac iustae libertati suae necessariis, familia quidem paria saltem cum societate civili iura obtinet. Paria saltem diximus, quia cum convictus domesticus et cogitatione sit et re prior, quam civilis coniunctio, priora quoque esse magisque naturalia iura eius officiaque consequitur. Quod si cives, si familiae, convictus humani societatisque participes factae, pro adiumento offensionem, pro tutela diminutionem iuris sui in republica reperirent, fastidienda citius, quam optanda societas esset.

Velle igitur ut pervadat civile imperium arbitrato suo usque ad intima domorum, magnus ac perniciosus est error.—Certe si qua forte familia in summa rerum difficultate consiliiue inopia versetur, ut inde se ipsa expedire nullo pacto possit, rectum est subveniri publice rebus extremis: sunt enim familiae pari quaedam civitatis. Ac pari modo sicubi intra domesticos parietes gravis extiterit perturbatio iurium mutuorum, suum cuique ius potestas publica vindicato: neque enim hoc est ad se rapere iura civium, sed munire atque firmare iustâ debitâque tutelâ. Hic tamen consistant necesse est, qui praesint rebus publicis: hos excedere fines natura non patitur. Patria potestas est eiusmodi, ut nec extingui, neque absorberi a republica possit, quia idem et commune habet cum ipsa hominum vita principium. *Filii sunt aliquid patris*, et velut paternae amplificatio quaedam personae: proprieque loqui si volumus, non ipsi per se, sed per communitatem domesticam, in qua generati sunt, civilem inuent ac participant societatem. Atque hac ipsa de caussa, quod filii sunt *naturaliter aliquid patris antequam usum liberi arbitrii habeant, continentur sub parentum cura*.^{*} Quod igitur *Socialistae*, posthabît providentiâ parentum, introducunt providentiam reipublicae, faciunt *contra iustitiam naturalem*, ac domorum compagine dissolvunt.

Ac praeter iniustitiam, nimis etiam apparet qualis esset omnium ordinum commutatio perturbatioque, quam dura et odiosa servitus civium consecutura. Aditus ad invidentiam mutuam, ad obtrectationes et discordias patefieret: ademptis ingenio singulorum sollertiaeque stimulis, ipsi divitiarum fontes necessario exarescerent: eaque, quam fingunt cogitatione, aequabilitas, aliud revera non esset nisi omnium hominum aequae misera atque ignobilis, nullo discrimine, conditio.—Ex quibus omnibus perspicitur, illud *Socialismi* placitum de possessionibus in commune redigendis omnino repudiari oportere, quia iis ipsis, quibus est opitulandum, nocet; naturalibus singulorum iuribus repugnat, officia reipublicae tranquillitatemque communem perturbat. Maneat ergo, cum plebi sublevatio quaeritur, hoc in primis haberi fundamenti instar oportere, privatas possessiones inviolate servandas. Quo posito, remedium, quod exquiritur, unde petendum sit, explicabimus.

* S. Thom. II-II. Quaest. x. art. xii.

Confidenter ad argumentum aggredimur ac plane iure Nostro, propterea quod caussa agitur ea, cuius exitus probabilis quidem nullus, nisi advocatâ religione Ecclesiaeque, reperietur. Cum vero et religionis custodia, et earum rerum, quae in Ecclesiae potestate sunt, penes Nos potissimum dispensatio sit, neglexisse officium taciturnitate videremur. —Profecto aliorum quoque operam et contentionem tanta haec caussa desiderat: principum reipublicae intelligimus, dominorum ac locupletium, denique ipsorum, pro quibus contentio est, proletariorum: illud tamen sine dubitatione affirmamus, inania conata hominum futura, Ecclesiâ posthabitatâ. Videlicet Ecclesia est, quae promittit ex Evangelio doctrinas, quarum virtute aut plane componi certamen potest, aut certe fieri, detracta asperitate, mollius: eademque est, quae non instruere mentem tantummodo, sed regere vitam et mores singulorum praeceptis suis contendit: quae statum ipsum proletariorum ad meliora promovet pluribus utilissime institutis: quae vult atque expetit omnium ordinum consilia viresque in id consociari, ut opificum rationibus, quam commodissime potest, consulatur: ad eamque rem adhiberi leges ipsas auctoritatemque reipublicae, utique ratione ac modo, putat oportere.

Illud itaque statuatur primo loco, ferendam esse conditionem humanam: ima summis paria fieri in civili societate non posse. Agitant id quidem *Socialistae*: sed omnis est contra rerum naturam vana contentio. Sunt enim in hominibus maximae plurimaeque naturâ dissimilitudines: non omnium paria ingenia sunt, non sollertia, non valetudo, non vires: quarum rerum necessarium discrimen sua sponte sequitur fortuna dispar. Idque plane ad usus cum privatorum tum communis accomodate; indiget enim varia ad res gerendas facultate diversisque munerebus vita communis; ad quae fungenda munera potissimum impelluntur homines differentiâ rei cuiusque familiaris.—Et ad corporis laborem quod attinet, in ipso statu *innocentiae* non iners omnino erat homo futurus: at vero quod ad animi delectationem tunc libere optavisset voluntas, idem postea in expiationem culpae subire non sine molestiae sensu coegit necessitas. *Maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.**—Similique modo finis acerbis et reliquarum in terri nullus est futurus, quia mala peccati consecraria aspera ad tolerandum sunt, dura, difficilia: eaque homini usque ad ultimum vitae comitari est necesse. Itaque pati et perpeti humanum est, et ut homines experiantur ac tentent omnia, istiusmodi incommoda evellere ab humano convictu penitus nulla vi, nullo arte poterunt. Siqui id se profiteantur posse, si miserae plebi vitam polliceantur omni dolore molestiaeque vacantem, et refertam quiete ac perpetuis voluptatibus, nae illi populo imponunt, fraudemque struunt, in mala aliquando erupturam maiora praesentibus. Optimum factu res humanas, ut se habent, ita contueri, simulque opportunum incommodis levamentum, uti diximus, aliunde petere.

Est illud in caussa, de qua dicimus, capitale malum, opinione fingere

* Gen iii. 17.

alterum ordinem sua sponte infensum alteri, quasi locupletes e proletarios ad digladiandum inter se pertinaci duello natura comparaverit. Quod adeo a ratione abhorret et a veritate, ut contra verissimum sit, quo modo in corpore diversa inter se membra conveniunt, unde illud existit temperamentum habitudinis, quam symmetriam recte dixeris, eodem modo naturam in civitate praecepisse ut geminae illae classes congruant inter se concorditer, sibique convenienter ad aequilibratam respondeant. Omnino altera alterius indiget : non res sine operâ, nec sine re potest opera consistere. Concordia gignit pulcritudinem rerum atque ordinem : contra ex perpetuitate certaminis oriatur necesse est cum agresti immanitate confusio. Nunc vero ad dirimendum certamen, ipsasque eius radices amputandas, mira vis est institutorum christianorum, eaque multiplex.—Ac primum tota disciplina religionis, cuius est interpres et custos Ecclesia, magnopere potest locupletes et proletarios componere invicem et coniungere, scilicet utroque ordine ad officia mutua revocando, in primisque ad ea quae a iustitia ducuntur. Quibus ex officiis illa proletarium atque opificem attingunt ; quod libere et cum aequitate pactum operae sit, id integre et fideliter reddere : non rei ullo modo nocere, non personam violare dominorum : in ipsis tuendis rationibus suis abstinere a vi, nec seditionem induere unquam : nec commisceri cum hominibus flagitiosis, immodicas spes et promissa ingentia artificiose iactantibus, quod fere habet poenitentiam inutilem et fortunarum ruinas consequentes.—Ista vero ad divites spectant ac dominos : non habendos mancipiorum loco opifices : vereri in eis aequum esse dignitatem personae, utique nobilitatam ab eo, character christianus qui dicitur. Quaestuosas artes, si naturae ratio, si christiana philosophia audiatur, non pudori homini esse, sed decori quia vitae sustentandae praebent honestam potestatem. Illud vere turpe et inhumanum, abuti hominibus pro rebus ad quaestum, nec facere eos pluris, quam quantum nervis polleant viribusque. Similiter praecipitur, religionis et bonorum animi haberi rationem in proletariis oportere. Quare dominorum partes esse, efficere ut idoneo temporis spatio pietati vacet opifex : non hominem dare obvium lenociniis corruptelarum illecebrisque peccandi : neque ullo pacto a cura domestica parsimoniaeque studio abducere. Item non plus imponere operis, quam vires ferre queant, nec id genus, quod cum aetate sexuque dissideat. In maximis autem officiis dominorum illud eminet, iusta unicuique praebere. Profecto ut mercedis statuatur ex aequitate modus, caussae sunt considerandae plures : sed generatim locupletes atque heri meminerint, premere emolumentum sui causa indigentes ac miseros, alienâque ex inopia captare quaestum, non divina, non humana iura sinere. Fraudare vero quemquam mercede debita grande piaculum est, quod iras e caelo ultrices clamore devocat. *Ecce merces operariorum . . . quae fraudata est a vobis, clamat : et clamor eorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introvit.** Postremo religiose cavendum locupletibus ne proletariorum compendiis quicquam noceant nec vi, nec dolo, nec fenebribus artibus : idque eo vel magis quod non satis

* Iac. v. 4.

illi sunt contra iniurias atque impotentiam muniti, eorumque res, quo exilior, hoc sanctior habenda.

His obtemperatio legibus nonne posset vim caussasque dissidii vel sola restinguere?—Sed Ecclesia tamen, Iesu Christo magistro et duce, persequitur maiora: videlicet perfectius quiddam praecipiendo, illuc spectat, ut alterum ordinem vicinitate proxima amicitiaque alteri coniungat.—Intelligere atque aestimare mortalia ex veritate non possumus, nisi dispexerit animus vitam alteram eamque immortalem: qua quidem dempta, continuo forma ac vera notio honesti interiret: immo tota haec rerum universitas in arcanum abiret nulli hominum investigationi pervium. Igitur, quod naturâ ipsa admonente didicimus, idem dogma est christianum, quo ratio et constitutio tota religionis tamquam fundamento principe nititur, cum ex hac vita excesserimus, tum vere nos esse victuros. Neque enim Deus hominem ad haec fragilia et caduca, sed ad caelestia atque aeterna generavit, terramque nobis ut exulandi locum, non ut sedem habitandi dedit. Divitiis ceterisque rebus, quae appellantur bona, affluas, careas, ad aeternam beatitudinem nihil interest: quemadmodum utare, id vero maxime interest. Acerbitates varias, quibus vita mortalis fere contextitur, Iesus Christus *copiosa redemptione* sua nequaquam sustulit, sed in virtutum incitamenta, materiamque bene merendi traduxit: ita plane ut nemo mortalium queat praemia sempiterna capessere, nisi cruentis Iesu Christi vestigiis ingrediatur. *Si sustinebimus, et conregnabimus.** Laboribus ille et cruciatibus sponte susceptis, cruciatuum et laborum mirifice vim delenivit: nec solum exemplo, sed gratia sua perpetuaeque mercedis spe proposita, perpassionem dolorum effecit faciliorem: *id enim, quod in praesenti est momentaneum et leve tribulationis nostrae, supra modum in sublimitate aeternum gloriae pondus operatur in caelis.†*

Itaque fortunati monentur, non vacuitatem doloris afferre, nec ad felicitatem aevi sempiterni quicquam prodesse divitias, sed potius obesse: † terrori locupletibus esse debere Iesu Christi insuetas minas: § rationem de usu fortunarum Deo iudici severissime aliquando reddendam. De ipsis opibus utendis excellens ac maximi momenti doctrina est, quam si philosophia incohatam, at Ecclesia tradidit perfectam plane, eademque efficit ut non cognitione tantum, sed moribus teneatur. Cuius doctrinae in eo est fundamentum positum, quod iusta possessio pecuniarum a iusto pecuniarum usu distinguitur. Bona privatim possidere, quod paulo ante vidimus, ius est homini naturale: eoque uti iure, maxime in societate vitae, non fas modo est, sed plane necessarium. *Licetum est, quod homo propria possideat. Et est etiam necessarium ad humanam vitam.||* At vero si illud quaeratur, qualem esse usum bonorum necesse sit, Ecclesia quidem sine ulla dubitatione respondet: *quantum ad hoc, non debet homo habere res exteriores ut proprias, sed ut communes, ut scilicet de facili aliquis eas communicet in necessitate aliorum. Unde Apostolus dicit: divitibus huius saeculi praecipe . . . facile tribuere, communicare.¶* Nemo certe opitulari

* II ad Tim. ii. 12.

† II Cor. iv. 17.

‡ Matt. xix. 23, 24.

§ Luc. vi. 24, 25.

|| II-II Quaest. lxvi. a. ii.

¶ II-II Quaest. lxxv. a. ii.

aliis de eo iubetur, quod ad usus pertineat cum suorum necessarios: immo nec tradere aliis quo ipse egeat ad id servandum quod personae conveniat, quodque deceat: *nullus enim inconvenienter vivere debet.** Sed ubi necessitati satis et decoro datum, officium est de eo quod superat gratificari indigentibus. *Quod superest, date eleemosinam.*† Non iustitiae, excepto in rebus extremis, officia ista sunt, sed caritatis christianae, quam profecto lege agendo petere ius non est. Sed legibus iudiciisque hominum lex antecedit iudiciumque Christi Dei, qui multis modis suadet consuetudinem largiendi; *beatius est magis dare, quam accipere*: ‡ et collatam negatamve pauperibus beneficentiam perinde est ac sibi collatam negatamve iudicaturus. *Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis.*§ Quarum rerum haec summa est; quicumque maiorem copiam bonorum Dei munere accepit, sive corporis et externa sint, sive animi, ob hanc causam accepisse, ut ad perfectionem sui pariterque, velut minister providentiae divinae, ad utilitates adhibeat ceterorum. *Habens ergo talentum, curet omnino ne taceat: habens rerum affluentiam, vigilet ne a misericordiae largitate torpescat: habens artem qua regitur, magnopere studeat ut usum atque utilitatem illius cum proximo partiatur.*||

Bonis autem fortunae qui careant, ii ab Ecclesia perdocentur, non probro haberi, Deo iudice, paupertatem, nec eo pudendum, quod victus labore quaeratur. Idque confirmavit re et facto Christus Dominus, qui pro salute hominum *egenus factus est, cum esset dives*: ¶ cumque esset filius Dei ac Deus ipsemet, videri tamen ac putari fabri filius voluit: quin etiam magnam vitae partem in opere fabrilis consumere non recusavit. *Nonne hic est faber, filius Mariae?*** Huius divinitatem exempli intuentibus, ea facilius intelliguntur: veram hominis dignitatem atque excellentiam in moribus esse, hoc est in virtute, positam: virtutem vero commune mortalibus patrimonium, imis et summis, divitibus et proletariis aequae parabile: nec aliud quippiam quam virtutes et merita, in quocumque reperiantur, mercedem beatitudinis aeternae sequuturam. Immo vero in calamitosorum genus propensior Dei ipsius videtur voluntas: beatos enim Iesus Christus nuncupat pauperes: †† invitat peramanter ad se, solatii causa, quicumque in labore sint ac luctu: ‡‡ infimos et iniuria vexatos complectitur caritate praecipua. Quarum cognitione rerum facile in fortunatis deprimitur tumens animus, in aerumnosis demissus extollitur: alteri ad facilitatem, alteri ad modestiam flectuntur. Sic cupitum superbiae intervallum efficitur brevius, nec difficulter impetrabitur ut ordinis utriusque, iunctis amice dextris, copulentur voluntates.

Quos tamen, si christianis praeceptis paruerint, parum est amicitia, amor etiam fraternus inter se coniugabit. Sentient enim et intelligent, omnes plane homines a communi parente Deo procreatos: omnes ad

* II-II Quaest. xxxii. a. vi.

† Luc. xi. 41.

‡ Actor. xx. 35.

§ Matt. xxv. 40.

|| S. Greg. Magn. in Evang. Hom. ix. n. 7.

¶ II Cor. viii. 9.

** Marc. vi. 3.

†† Matt. v. 3: *Beati pauperes spiritu.*

‡‡ Matt. xi. 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*

eumdem finem bonorum tendere, qui Deus est ipse, qui afficere beatitudine perfecta atque absoluta et homines et Angelos unus potest: singulos item pariter esse Iesu Christi beneficio redemptos et in dignitatem filiorum Dei vindicatos, ut plane necessitudine fraterna cum inter se tum etiam cum Christo Domino, *primogenito in multis fratribus*, contineantur. Item naturae bona, munera gratiae divinae pertinere communiter et promiscue ad genus hominum universum, nec quemquam, nisi indignum, bonorum caelestium fieri exheredem. *Si autem filii, et heredes: heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi.**

Talis est forma officiorum ac iurium, quam christiana philosophia profitetur. Nonne quieturum perbrevis tempore certamen omne videatur, ubi illa in civili convictu valeret?

Denique nec satis habet Ecclesia viam inveniendae curationis ostendere, sed admovet sua manu medicinam. Nam tota in eo est ut ad disciplinam doctrinamque suam excolat homines atque instituat: cuius doctrinae saluberrimos rivos, Episcoporum et Cleri operâ, quam latissime potest, curat deducendos. Deinde pervadere in animos nititur flectereque voluntates, ut divinorum disciplina praeceptorum regi se gubernarique patiantur. Atque in hac parte, quæ princeps est ac permagni momenti, quia summa utilitatum caussaque tota in ipsa consistit, Ecclesia quidem una potest maxime. Quibus enim instrumentis ad permovendos animos utitur, ea sibi hanc ipsam ob causam tradita a Iesu Christo sunt, virtutemque habent divinitus insitam. Istiusmodi instrumenta sola sunt, quae cordis attingere penetrales sinus apte queant, hominemque adducere ut obedientem se praebeat officio, motus animi appetentis regat, Deum et proximos caritate diligit singulari ac summa, omniaque animose perrumpat, quae virtutis impediunt cursum.—Satis est in hoc genere exempla veterum paulisper cogitatione repetere. Res et facta commemoramus, quae dubitationem nullam habent: scilicet civilem hominum communitatem funditus esse institutis christianis renovatam: huiusce virtute renovationis ad meliora promotum genus humanum, immo revocatum ab interitu ad vitam, auctumque perfectione tanta, ut nec extiterit ulla antea, nec sit in omnes consequentes aetates futura maior. Denique Iesum Christum horum esse beneficiorum principium eumdem et finem: ut ab eo profecta, sic ad eum omnia referenda. Nimirum accepta Evangelii luce, cum incarnationis Verbi hominumque redemptionis grande mysterium orbis terrarum didicisset, vita Iesu Christi Dei et hominis pervasit civitates, eiusque fide et praeceptis et legibus totas imbuat. Quare si societati generis humani medendum est, revocatio vitae institutorumque christianorum sola medebitur. De societatibus enim dilabentibus illud rectissime praecipitur, revocari ad origines suas, cum restitui volunt, oportere. Haec enim omnium consociationum perfectio est, de eo laborare idque assequi, cuius gratia institutae sunt: ita ut motus actusque sociales eadem caussa pariat, quae peperit societatem. Quamobrem declinare ab instituto, corruptio est: ad institutum redire, sanatio. Verissimeque id quemadmodum de toto reipublicae

* Rom. viii. 17.

corpore, eodem modo de illo ordine civium dicimus, qui vitam sustentant opere, quae est longe maxima multitudo.

Nec tamen putandum, in colendis animis totas esse Ecclesiae curas ita defixas, ut ea negligat quae ad vitam pertinent mortalem ac terrenam.—De proletariis nominatim vult et contendit ut emergant e miserrimo statu fortunamque meliorem adipiscantur. Atque in id confert hoc ipso operam non mediocrem, quod vocat et instituit homines ad virtutem. Mores enim christiani, ubi servantur integri, partem aliquam prosperitatis sua sponte pariunt rebus externis, quia conciliant principium ac fontem omnium bonorum Deum : coercent geminas vitae pestes, quae nimium saepe hominem efficiunt in ipsa opum abundantia miserum, rerum appetentiam nimiam et voluptatum sitim :^{*} contenti denique cultu victuque frugi, vectigal parsimonia supplent, procul a vitiis, quae non modo exiguas pecunias, sed maximas etiam copias exhauriunt, et lauta patrimonialia dissipant. Sed praeterea, ut bene habeant proletarii, recta providet, instituendis fovendisque rebus, quas ad sublevandum eorum inopiam intelligat conducibiles. Quin in hoc etiam genere beneficiorum ita semper excelluit, ut ab ipsis inimicis caritatis mutuae, ut persaepe sua se re privarent, opitulandi causâ divitiores : quamobrem *neque quisquam egenus erat inter illos.*† Diaconis, in id nominatim ordine instituto, datum ab Apostolis negotium, ut quotidianae beneficentiae exercerent munia : ac Paulus Apostolos, etsi sollicitudine districtus omnium Ecclesiarum, nihilominus dare se in laboriosa itinera non dubitavit, quo ad tenuiores christianos stipem praesens afferret. Cuius generis pecunias, a christianis in unoquoque conventu ultro collatas, *deposita pietatis* nuncupat Tertullianus, quod scilicet insumerentur *egenis alendis humanisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, inque domesticis senibus, item navfragis.*‡—Hinc sensim illud extitit patrimonium, quod religiosâ curâ tamquam rem familiarem indigentium Ecclesia custodivit. Immo vero subsidia miserae plebi, remissâ rogandi verecundiâ, comparavit. Nam et locupletium et indigentium communis parens, excitatâ ubique ad excellentem magnitudinem caritate, collegia condidit sodalium religiosorum, aliaque utiliter permulta instituit, quibus opem ferentibus, genus miseriarum prope nullum esset, quod solatio carerit. Hodie quidem multi, quod eodem modo fecere olim ethnici, ad arguendam transgrediuntur Ecclesiam huius etiam tam egregiae caritatis : cuius in locum subrogare visum est constitutam legibus publicis beneficentiam. Sed quae christianam caritatem suppleant, totam se ad alienas porrigentem utilitates, artes humanae nullae reperientur. Ecclesiae solius est illa virtus, quia nisi a sacratissimo Iesu Christi corde ducitur, nulla est uspiam : vagatur autem a Christo longius, quicumque ab Ecclesia discesserit.

At vero non potest esse dubium quin, ad id quod est propositum, ea

^{*} *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*, 1 Tim. vi. 10.

† Act. iv. 34.

‡ Apol. II. xxxix.

quoque, quae in hominum potestate sunt, adiumenta requirantur. Omnino omnes, ad quos caussa pertinet, eodem intendant idemque laborent pro rata parte necesse est. Quod habet quamdam cum moderatrice mundi providentia similitudinem: fere enim videmus rerum exitus a quibus caussis pendent, ex earum omnium conspiratione procedere.

Iamvero quota pars remedii a republica expectanda sit praestat exquirere.—Rempublicam hoc loco intelligimus non quali populus utitur unus vel alter, sed qualem et vult recta ratio naturae congruens, et probant divinae documenta sapientiae, quae Nos ipsi nominatim in litteris Encyclicis de civitatum constitutione christiana explicavimus. Itaque per quos civitas regitur, primum conferre operam generatim atque universe debent totâ ratione legum atque institutorum, scilicet efficiendo ut ex ipsa conformatione atque administratione reipublicae ultre prosperitas tam communitatis quam privatorum efflorescat. Id est enim civilis prudentiae munus, propriumque eorum, qui praesunt, officium. Nunc vero illa maxime efficiunt prosperas civitates, morum probitas, recte atque ordine constitutae familiae, custodia religionis ac iustitiae, onerum publicorum cum moderata irrogatio, tum aequa partitio, incrementa artium et mercaturae, florens agrorum cultura, et si qua sunt alia generis eiusdem, quae quo maiore studio provehuntur, eo melius sunt victuri cives et beatius.—Harum igitur virtute rerum in potestate rectorum civitatis est, ut ceteris prodesse ordinibus, sic et proletariorum conditionem iuvare plurimum: idque iure suo optimo, neque ulla cum importunitatis suspitione: debet enim respublica ex lege muneris sui in commune consulere. Quo autem commodorum copia provenerit ex hac generali providentia maior, eo minus oportebit alias ad opificum salutem experiri vias.

Sed illud praeterea considerandum, quod rem altius attingit, unam civitatis esse rationem, communem summorum atque infimorum. Sunt nimirum proletarii pari iure cum locupletibus naturâ cives, hoc est partes verae vitaeque viventes, unde constat, interiectis familiis, corpus reipublicae: ut ne illud adiungatur, in omni urbe eos esse numero longe maximo. Cum igitur illud sit perabsurdum, parti civium consulere, partem negligere, consequitur, in salute commodisque ordinis proletariorum tuendis curas debitas collocari publice oportere: ni fiat, violatum iri iustitiam, suum cuique tribuere praecipientem. Qua de re sapienter S. Thomas: *sicut pars et totum quodammodo sunt idem, ita id, quod est totius, quodammodo est partis*.* Proinde in officiis non paucis neque levibus populo bene consulentium principum, illud in primis eminet, ut unumquemque civium ordinem aequabiliter tueantur, eâ nimirum, quae *distributiva* appellatur, iustitiâ inviolate servandâ.

Quamvis autem cives universos, nemine excepto, conferre aliquid in summam bonorum communium necesse sit, quorum aliqua pars virilis sponte recidit in singulos, tamen idem et ex aequo conferre nequaquam possunt. Qualescumque sint in imperii generibus vicissitudines, perpetua futura sunt ea in civium statu discrimina, sine quibus nec

* II-II Quaest. lxi. a. I ad 2.

esse, nec cogitari societas ulla posset. Omnino necesse est quosdam reperiri, qui se reipublicae dedant, qui leges condant, qui ius dicant, denique quorum consilio atque auctoritate negotia urbana, res bellicae administrentur. Quorum virorum priores esse partes, eosque habendos in omni populo primarios, nemo non videt, propterea quod communi bono dant operam proxime atque excellenti ratione. Contra vero qui in arte aliqua exercentur, non eâ, qua illi, ratione nec iisdem muneribus prosunt civitati: sed tamen plurimum et ipsi, quamquam minus directe, utilitati publicae inserviunt. Sane sociale bonum cum debeat esse eiusmodi, ut homines eius fiant adeptione meliores, est profecto in virtute praecipue collocandum. Nihilominus ad bene constitutam civitatem suppeditatio quoque pertinet bonorum corporis atque exteriorum, *quorum usus est necessarius ad actum virtutis*.* Iamvero his pariendis bonis est proletariorum maxime efficax ac necessarius labor, sive in agris artem atque manum, sive in officiis exercent. Immo eorum in hoc genere vis est atque efficientia tanta, ut illud verissimum sit, non aliunde quam ex opificum labore gigni divitias civitatum. Iubet igitur aequitas, curam de proletario publice geri, ut ex eo, quod in communem affert utilitatem, percipiat ipse aliquid, ut tectus, ut vestitus, ut salvus vitam tolerare minus aegre possit. Unde consequitur, favendum rebus omnibus esse quae conditioni opificum quoquo modo videantur profuturæ. Quae cura tantum abest ut noceat cuiquam, ut potius profutura sit universis, quia non esse omnibus modis eos miseros, a quibus tam necessaria bona proficiscuntur, prorsus interest reipublicae.

.. Non civem, ut diximus, non familiam absorberi a republica rectum est: suam utrique facultatem agendi cum libertate permittere aequum est, quantum incolumi bono communi et sine cuiusquam iniuria potest. Nihilominus eis, qui imperant, videndum ut communitatem eiusque partes tueantur. Communitatem quidem, quippe quam summae potestati conservandam natura commisit usque eo, ut publicae custodia salutis non modo suprema lex sed tota causa sit ratioque principatus: partes vero, quia procuracionem reipublicae non ad utilitatem eorum, quibus commissa est, sed ad eorum, qui commissi sunt, naturâ pertinere, philosophia pariter et fides christiana consentiunt. Cumque imperandi facultas proficiscatur a Deo, eiusque sit communicatio quaedam summi principatus, gerenda ad exemplar est potestatis divinae, non minus rebus singulis quam universis cura paterna consulentis. Si quid igitur detrimenti allatum sit aut impendeat rebus communibus, aut singulorum ordinum rationibus, quod sanari aut prohiberi alia ratione non possit, obviam iri auctoritate publica necesse est.—Atqui interest salutis cum publicae, tum privatae pacatas esse res et compositas: item dirigi ad Dei iussa naturaeque principia omnem convictus domestici disciplinam: observari et coli religionem: florere privatim ac publice mores integros: sanctam retineri iustitiam, nec alteros ab alteris impune violari: validos adolescere cives, iuvandae tutandaeque, si res postulet, civitati idoneos. Quamobrem si quando

* S. Thom., De reg. Princip. I. c. xv.

fiat, ut quippiam turbarum impendeat ob secessionem opificum, aut intermissas ex composito operas : ut naturalia familiae nexa apud proletarios relaxentur : ut religio in opificibus violetur non satis impertiendo commodi ad officia pietatis : si periculum in officinis integritati morum ingruat a sexu promiscuo, aliisve perniciosis invitamentis peccandi : aut opificum ordinem herilis ordo iniquis premat oneribus, vel alienis a persona ac dignitate humana conditionibus affligat : si valetudini noceatur opere immodico, nec ad sexum aetatemve accommodato, his in caussis plane adhibenda, certos intra fines, vis et auctoritas legum. Quos fines eadem, quae legum poscit opem, caussa determinat : videlicet non plura suscipienda legibus, nec ultra progrediendum, quam incommodum sanatio, vel periculi depulsio requirat.

Iura quidem, in quocunque sint, sancte servanda sunt : atque ut suum singuli teneant, debet potestas publica providere, propulsandis atque ulciscendis iniuriis. Nisi quod in ipsis protegendis privatorum iuribus, praecipue est infimorum atque inopum habenda ratio. Siquidem natio divitum, suis septa praesidiis, minus eget tutelâ publicâ : miserum vulgus, nullis opibus suis tutum, in patrocinio reipublicae maxime nititur. Quocirca mercenarios, cum in multitudine egea numerentur, debet curâ providentiâque singulari complecti respublica.

Sed quaedam maioris momenti praestat nominatim perstringere.— Caput autem est, imperio ac munimento legum tutari privatas possessiones oportere. Potissimumque, in tanto iam cupiditatum ardore, continenda in officio plebs : nam si ad meliora contendere concessum est non repugnante iustitia, at alteri, quod suum est, detrahere, ac per speciem absurdae cuiusdam aequabilitatis in fortunas alienas involare, iustitia vetat, nec ipsa communis utilitatis ratio sinit. Utique pars opificum longe maxima res meliores honesto labore comparare sine cuiusquam iniuria malunt : verumtamen non pauci numerantur pravis imbuti opinionibus rerumque novarum cupidi, qui id agunt omni ratione ut turbas moveant, ac ceteros ad vim impellant. Intersit igitur reipublicae auctoritas, iniectoque concitatoribus freno, ab opificum moribus corruptrices artes, a legitimis dominis periculum rapinarum coerceat.

Longinquior vel operosior labos, atque opinatio curtae mercedis caussam non raro dant artificibus quamobrem opere se solvant ex composito, otioque dedant voluntario. Cui quidem incommodo usitato et gravi medendum publice, quia genus istud cessationis non heros dumtaxat, atque opifices ipsos afficit damno, sed inercaturis obest reique publicae utilitatibus : cumque laud procul esse a vi turbisque soleat, saepenumero tranquillitatem publicam in discrimen adducit. Qua in re illud magis efficax ac salubre, antevertere auctoritate legum, malumque ne erumpere possit prohibere, amotis mature caussis, unde dominorum atque operariorum conflictus videatur exiturus.

Similique modo plura sunt in opifice, praesidio munienda reipublicae : ac primum animi bona. Siquidem vita mortalis quantumvis bona et optabilis, non ipsa tamen illud est ultimum, ad quod nati sumus : sed via tantummodo atque instrumentum ad animi vitam perspicientia veri et amore boni complendam. Animus est, qui expressam

gerit imaginem similitudinemque divinam, et in quo principatus ille residet, per quem dominari iussus est homo in inferiores naturas, atque efficere utilitati suae terras omnes et maria parentia. *Replete terram et subicite eam: et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et universis animantibus, quae moventur super terram.** Sunt omnes homines hac in re pares, nec quippiam est quod inter divites atque inopes, inter dominos et famulos inter principes privatosque differat: *nam idem dominus omnium.†* Nemini licet hominis dignitatem, de qua Deus ipse disponit *cum magna reverentia*, impune violare, neque ad eam perfectionem impedire cursum, qua sit vitae in caelis sempiternae consentanea. Quin etiam in hoc genere tractari se non convenienter naturae suae, animique servitutum servire velle, ne sua quidem sponte homo potest: neque enim de iuribus agitur, de quibus sit integrum homini, verum de officiis adversus Deum, quae necesse est sancte servari.—Hinc consequitur requies operum et laborum per festos dies necessaria. Id tamen nemo intelligat de maiore quadam inertis otii usura, multoque minus de cessatione, qualem multi expetunt, faultrice vitiorum et ad effusiones pecuniarum adiutrice, sed omnino de requiete operum per religionem consecrata. Coniuncta cum religione quies sevocat hominem a laboribus negotiisque vitae quotidianae ut ad cogitanda revocet bona caelestia,tribuendumque cultum numini aeterno iustum ac debitum. Haec maxime natura atque haec caussa quietis est in dies festos capiendae: quod Deus et in Testamento veteri praecipua lege sanxit: *memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices; ‡* et facto ipse suo docuit, arcana requiete, statim posteaquam fabricatus hominem erat, sumptâ: *requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat.§*

Quod ad tutelam bonorum corporis et externorum, primum omnium eripere miseros opifices e saevitia oportet hominum cupidorum, personis pro rebus ad quaestum intemperanter abutentium. Scilicet tantum exigi operis, ut hebescat animus labore nimio, unâque corpus defatigationi succumbat, non iustitia, non humanitas patitur. In homine, sicut omnis natura sua, ita et vis efficiens certis est circumscripta finibus, extra quos egredi non potest. Acuitur illa quidem exercitatione atque usu, sed hac tamen lege ut agere intermittat identidem et acquiescat. De quotidiano igitur opere videndum ne in plures extrahatur horas, quam vires sinant. Intervalla vero quiescendi quanta esse oporteat, ex vario genere operis, ex adiunctis temporum et locorum, ex ipsa opificum valetudine iudicandum. Quorum est opus lapidem e terra excindere, aut ferrum, aes, aliaque id genus effodere penitus abdita, eorum labor, quia multo maior est idemque valetudini gravis, cum brevitate temporis est compensandus. Anni quoque dispicienda tempora: quia non raro idem operae genus alio tempore facile est ad tolerandum, alio aut tolerari nulla ratione potest, aut sine summa difficultate non potest.—Denique quod facere enitque vir adulta aetate beneque validus potest, id a femina puerove non est aequum postulare. Immo de pueris valde cavendum, ne prius officina

* Gen. i. 28.

‡ Exod. xx. 8.

† Rom. x. 12.

§ Gen. ii. 2.

capiat, quam corpus, ingenium, animum satis firmaverit aetas. Erumpentes enim in pueritia vires, velut herbescentem viriditatem, agitatio praecox elidit: quae ex re omnis est institutio puerilis interitura. Sic certa quaedam artificia minus apte conveniunt in feminas ad opera domestica natas: quae quidem opera et tuentur magnopere in muliebri genere decus, et liberorum institutioni prosperitatique familiae naturâ respondent. Universe autem statuatur, tantum esse opificibus tribuendum otii, quantum cum viribus compensetur labore consumptis; quia detritas usu vires debet cessatio restituere. In omni obligatione, quae dominis atque artificibus invicem contrahatur, haec semper aut adscripta aut tacita conditio inest, utrique generi quiescendi ut cautum sit: neque enim honestum esset convenire secus, quia nec postulare cuiquam fas est nec spondere neglectum officiorum, quae vel Deo vel sibimetipsi hominem obstringunt.

Rem hoc loco attingimus sat magni momenti: quae recte intelligatur necesse est, in alterutram partem ne peccetur. Videlicet salarii definitur libero consensu modus: itaque dominus rei, pacta mercede persoluta, liberavisse fidem, nec ultra debere quidquam videatur. Tunc solum fieri iniuste, si vel pretium dominus solidum, vel obligatas artifex operas reddere totas recusaret: his caussis rectum esse potestatem politicam intercedere, ut suum cuique ius incolume sit, sed praeterea nullis.—Cui argumentationi aequus rerum index non facile, neque in totum assentiatur, quia non est absoluta omnibus partibus: momentum quoddam rationis abest maximi ponderis. Hoc est enim operari, exercere se rerum comparadarum caussâ, quae sint ad varios vitae usus, potissimumque ad tuitionem sui necessariae. *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane.** Itaque duas velut notas habet in homine labor naturâ insitas, nimirum ut *personalis* sit, quia vis agens adhaeret personae, atque eius omnino est propria, a quo exercetur, et cuius est utilitati nata: deinde ut sit *necessarius*, ob hanc caussam, quod fructus laborum est homini opus ad vitam tuendam: vitam autem tueri ipsa rerum cui maxime parendum, natura iubet. Iamvero si ex ea dumtaxat parte spectetur quod *personalis* est, non est dubium quin integrum opifici sit pactae mercedis angustius finire modum: quemadmodum enim operas dat ille voluntate, sic et operarum mercede vel tenui vel plane nulla contentus esse voluntate potest. Sed longe aliter iudicandum si cum ratione *personalitatis* ratio coniungitur *necessitatis*, cogitatione quidem non re ab illa separabilis. Reapse manere in vita, commune singulis officium est, cui scelus est deesse. Hinc ius reperendarum rerum quibus vita sustentatur, necessario nascitur: quarum rerum facultatem infimo cuique non nisi quaesita labore merces suppeditat. Esto igitur, ut opifex atque herus libere in idem placitum, ac nominatim in salarii modum consentiant: subest tamen semper aliquid ex iustitia naturali, idque libera paciscentium voluntate maius et antiquius, scilicet alendo opifici, frugi quidem et bene morato, haud imparem esse mercedem oportere. Quod si necessitate opifex coactus, aut mali peioris metu permotus duriores con-

* Gen. iii. 19.

ditionem accipiat, quae, etiamsi nolit, accipienda sit, quod a domino vel a redemptore operum imponitur, istud quidem est subire vim, cui iustitia reclamât.—Verumtamen in his similibusque caussis, quales illae sunt in unoquoque genere artificii quotâ sit elaborandum horâ, quibus praesidiis valetudini maxime in officinis cavendum, ne magistratus inferat sese importunius, praesertim cum adiuncta tam varia sint rerum, temporum, locorum, satius erit eas res iudicio reservare collegiorum, de quibus infra dicturi sumus, aut 'aliâ inire viam, quâ rationes mercenariorum, uti par est, salvae sint, accedente, si res postulaverit, tutela praesidioque reipublicae.

Mercedem si ferat opifex satis amplam ut ea se uxoremque et liberos tueri commodum queat, facile studebit parsimoniae, si sapit, efficietque quod ipsa videtur natura monere, ut detractis sumptibus, aliquid etiam redundet, quo sibi liceat ad modicum censum pervenire. Neque enim efficaci ratione dirimi caussam, de qua agitur, posse vidimus, nisi hoc sumpto et constituto, ius privatorum bonorum sanctum esse oportere. Quamobrem favere huic iuri leges debent, et, quoad potest, providere ut quamplurimi ex multitudine rem habere malint. Quo facto, praeclarae utilitates consecuturæ sunt: ac primum certe aequior partitio bonorum. Vis enim commutationum civilium in duas civium classes divisit urbes, immenso inter utramque discrimine interiecto. Ex una parte factio praepotens, quia praedives: quae cum operum et mercaturae universum genus sola potiatur, facultatem omnem copiarum effectricem ad sua commoda ac rationes trahit, atque in ipsa administratione reipublicae non parum potest. Ex altera inops atque infirma multitudo, exulcerato animo et ad turbas semper parato. Iamvero si plebis excitetur industria in spem adipiscendi quippiam, quod solo contineatur, sensim fiet ut alter ordo evadat finitimus alteri, sublato inter summas divitias summamque egestatem discrimine.—Praeterea rerum, quas terra gignit, maior est abundantia futura. Homines enim, cum se elaborare sciunt in suo, alacritatem adhibent studiumque longe maius: immo prorsus adamare terram instituunt sua manu percultam, unde non alimenta tantum, sed etiam quamdam copiam et sibi et suis expectant. Ista voluntatis alacritas, nemo non videt quam valde conferat ad ubertatem fructuum, augendasque divitias civitatis.—Ex quo illud tertio loco manabit commodi, ut qua in civitate homines editi susceptique in lucem sint, ad eam facile retineantur: neque enim patriam cum externa regione commutarent, si vitae degendae tolerabilem daret patria facultatem. Non tamen ad haec commoda perveniri nisi ea conditione potest, ut privatus census ne exhauriatur immanitate tributorum et vectigalium. Ius enim possidendi privatim bona cum non sit lege hominum sed natura datum, non ipsum abolere, sed tantummodo ipsius usum temperare et cum communi bono componere auctoritas publica potest. Faciat igitur iniuste atque inhumane, si de bonis privatorum plus aequo, tributorum nomine, detraxerit.

Postremo domini ipsique opifices multum hac in caussa possunt, iis videlicet institutis, quorum ope et opportune subveniatur indigentibus, et ordo alter propius accedat ad alterum. Numeranda in hoc genere sodalitia ad suppetias mutuo ferendas: res varias, privatorum provi-

dentiâ constitutas, ad cavendum opifici, itemque orbitati uxoris et liberorum, si quid subitum ingruat, si debilitas affligerit, si quid humanitus accadat: instituti patronatus pueris, puellis, adolescentibus natuque maioribus tutandis. Sed principem locum obtinent sodalitia artificum, quorum complexu fere cetera continentur. Fabrum corporatorum apud maiores nostros diu bene facta constitere. Revera non modo utilitates praeclaras artificibus, sed artibus ipsis, quod perplura monumenta testantur, decus atque incrementum peperere. Eruditio nunc aetate, moribus novis, auctis etiam rebus quas vita quotidiana desiderat, profecto sodalitia opificum flecti ad praesentem usum necesse est. Vulgo coiri eius generis societates, sive totas ex opificibus conflatas, sive ex utroque ordine mixtas, gratum est: optandum vero ut numero et actiosa virtute crescant. Etsi vero de iis non semel verba fecimus, placet tamen hoc loco ostendere, eas esse valde opportunas, et iure suo coalescere: item qua illas disciplina uti, et quid agere oporteat.

Virium suarum explorata exiguitas impellit hominem atque hortatur, ut opem sibi alienam velit adiungere. Sacrarum litterarum est illa sententia: *melius est duos esse simul, quam unum: habent enim emolumentum societatis suae. Si unus ceciderit, ab altero fulcietur. Vae soli: quia cum ceciderit, non habet sublerantem se.** Atque illa quoque: *frater, qui adiuvatur a fratre, quasi civitas firma.†* Hac homo propensione naturali sicut ad coniunctionem ducitur congregationemque civilem, sic et alias cum civibus inire societates expetit, exiguas illas quidem nec perfectas, sed societates tamen. Inter has et magnam illam societatem ob differentes causas proximas interest plurimum. Finis enim societati civili propositus pertinet ad universos, quoniam communi continetur bono: cuius omnes et singulos pro portione compotes esse ius est. Quare appellatur *publica* quia per eam *homines sibi invicem communicant in una republica constituenda.‡* Contra vero, quae in eius velut sinu iunguntur societates, privatae habentur et sunt, quia videlicet illud, quo proxime spectant, privata utilitas est, ad solos pertinens consociatos. *Privata autem societas est, quae ad aliquod negotium privatum exercendum coniungitur, sicut quod duo vel tres societatem inuent, ut simul negotientur.§* Nunc vero quamquam societates privatae existunt in civitate, eiusque sunt velut partes totidem, tamen univse ac per se non est in potestate reipublicae ne existant prohibere. Privatas enim societates inire concessum est homini iure naturae: est autem ad praesidium iuris naturalis instituta civitas, non ad interitum: eaque si civium coetus sociari vetuerit, plane secum pugnancia agat, propterea quod tam ipsa quam coetus privati uno hoc e principio nascuntur, quod homines sunt natura congregabiles.—Incidunt aliquando tempora cum ei generi communitatum rectum sit leges obsistere: scilicet si quidquam ex instituto persequantur, quod cum probitate, cum iustitia cum republicae salute aperte dissideat. Quibus in causis iure quidem potestas publica, quo minus illae coalescant, impedit: iure etiam dissolvit coalitas: summam tamen adhibeat cautionem necesse est, ne iura civium

* Eccl. iv. 9-12.

† Prov. xviii. 19.

‡ S. Thom.: *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, cap. ii. § *Ibid.*

migrare videatur, neu quidquam per speciem utilitatis publicae statuatur, quod ratio non probet. Eatenus enim obtemperandum legibus, quoad cum recta ratione adeoque cum lege Dei sempiterna consentiant.*

Sodalitates varias hic reputamus animo et collegia et ordines religiosos, quos Ecclesiae auctoritas et pia christianorum voluntas genuerant: quanta vero cum salute gentis humanae, usque ad nostram memoriam historia loquitur. Societates eiusmodi, si ratio sola diiudicet, cum initae honestâ caussâ sint, iure naturali initas apparet fuisse. Qua vero parte religionem attingunt, sola est Ecclesia cui iuste pareant. Non igitur in eas quicquam sibi arrogare iuris, nec earum ad se traducere administrationem recte possunt qui praesint civitati: eas potius officium est reipublicae vereri, conservare, et, ubi res postulaverint, iniuriâ prohibere. Quod tamen longe aliter fieri hoc praesertim tempore vidimus. Multis locis communitates huius generis respública violavit, ac multiplici quidem iniuria: cum et civilium legum nexu devinxerit, et legitimo iure personae moralis exuerit, et fortunis suis despoliarit. Quibus in fortunis suum habebat Ecclesia ius, suum singuli sodales, item qui eas certae cuidam caussae addixerant, et quorum essent commodo ac solatio addictae. Quamobrem temperare animo non possumus quin spoliationes eiusmodi tam iniustas ac perniciosas conqueramur, eo vel magis quod societatibus catholicorum virorum, pacatis iis quidem et in omnes partes utilibus, iter praecludi videmus, quo tempore edicitur, utique coire in societatem per leges licere: eaque facultas large revera hominibus permittitur consilia agitantibus religioni simul ac reipublicae perniciosa.

Profecto consociationum diversissimarum, maxime ex opificibus, longe nunc maior, quam alias frequentia. Plures unde ortum ducant, quid velint, qua grassentur via, non est huius loci quaerere. Opinio tamen est, multis confirmata rebus, praeesse ut plurimum occultiores auctores, eosdemque disciplinam adhibere non christiano nomini, non saluti civitatum consentaneam: occupataque efficiendorum operum universitate, id agere ut qui secum consociari recusarint, luere poenas egestate cogantur.—Hoc rerum statu, alterutrum malint artifices christiani oportet, aut nomen collegiis dare, unde periculum religioni extimescendum: aut sua inter se sodalitia condere, viresque hoc pacto coniungere, quo se animose queant ab illa iniusta ac non ferenda oppressione redimere. Omnino optari hoc alterum necesse esse, quam potest dubitationem apud eos habere, qui nolint summum hominis bonum in praesentissimum discrimen conicere?

Valde quidem laudandi complures ex nostris, qui probe perspecto quid a se tempora postulent, experiuntur ac tentant qua ratione proletarios ad meliora adducere honestis artibus possint. Quorum patrocínio suscepto, prosperitatem augere cum domesticam tum singulorum student: item moderari cum aequitate vincula, quibus invicem artifices et domini continentur: alere et confirmare in utrisque

* *Lex humana in tantum habet rationem legis, in quantum est secundum rationem rectam, et secundum hoc manifestum est quod a lege aeterna derivatur. In quantum vero a ratione recedit, sic dicitur lex iniqua, et sic non habet rationem legis, sed magis violentiae cuiusdam* (S. Thom., Summ. Theol. I-II, Quæst. xiii. a. iii).

memoriam officii atque evangelicorum custodiam praeceptorum; quae quidem praecepta, hominem ab intemperantia revocando, excedere modum vetant, personarumque et rerum dissimillimo statu harmoniam in civitate tuentur. Hac de caussa unum in locum saepe convenire videmus viros egregios, quo cummunicent consilia invicem, viresque iungant, et quid maxime expedire videatur, consultant. Alii varium genus artificum opportuna copulare societate student; consilio ac re iuvant, opus ne desit honestum ac fructuosum, provident. Alacritatem addunt ac patrocinium impertiunt Episcopi: quorum auctoritate auspiciisque plures ex utroque ordine Cleri, quae ad excolendum animum pertinent, in consociatis sedulo curant. Denique catholici non desunt copiosis divitiis, sed mercenariorum velut consortes voluntarii, qui constituere lateque fundere grandi pecunia consociationes adnitantur: quibus adiuvantibus facile opifici liceat non modo com-moda praesentia, sed etiam honestae quietis futurae fiduciam sibi labore quaerere. Tam multiplex tamque alacris industria quantum attulerit rebus communibus boni plus est cognitum, quam ut attineat dicere. Hinc iam bene de reliquo tempore sperandi auspicia sumimus, modo societates istiusmodi constanter incrementa capiant, ac prudenti temperatione constituentur. Tutetur hos respublica civium coetus iure sociatos: ne trumat tamen sese in eorum intimam rationem ordinemque vitae: vitalis enim motus cietur ab interiore principio, ac facillime sane pulsu eliditur externo.

Est profecto temperatio ac disciplina prudens ad eam rem necessaria ut consensus in agendo fiat conspiratioque voluntatum. Proinde si libera civibus coeundi facultas est, ut profecto est, ius quoque esse oportet eam libere optare disciplinam easque leges, quae maxime conducere ad id, quod propositum est, iudicentur. Eam, quae memorata est temperationem disciplinamque collegiorum qualem esse in partibus suis singulis oporteat, decerni certis definitisque regulis non censemus posse, cum id potius statuendum sit ex ingenio cuiusque gentis, ex periclitatione et usu, ex genere atque efficientia operum, ex amplitudine commerciorum, aliisque rerum ac temporum adiunctis, quae sunt prudenter ponderanda. Ad summam rem quod spectat, haec tamquam lex generalis ac perpetua sancitur, ita constitui itaque gubernari opificum collegia oportere, ut instrumenta suppedient aptissima maximeque expedita ad id, quod est propositum, quodque in eo consistit ut singuli e societate incrementum bonorum corporis, animi, rei familiaris, quoad potest, assequantur. Perspicuum vero est, ad perfectionem pietatis et morum tamquam ad caussam praecipuam spectari oportere: eaque potissimum caussâ disciplinam socialem penitus dirigendam. Secus enim degenerarent in aliam formam, eique generi collegiorum, in quibus nulla ratio religionis haberi solet, haud sane multum praestarent. Ceterum quid prosit opifici rerum copiam societate quaessisse, si ob inopiam cibi sui de salute periclitetur anima? *Quid prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur?** Hanc quidem docet Christus Dominus velut notam habendam, qua ab ethnico distinguatur homo

* Matt. xvi. 26.

christianus : *haec omnia gentes inquirunt . . . quaerite primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adiicientur vobis.** Sumptis igitur a Deo principiis, plurimum eruditioni religiosae tribuatur loci, ut sua singuli adversus Deum officia cognoscant : quid credere oporteat, quid sperare atque agere salutis sempiternae caussâ, probe sciant : curâque praecipuâ adversus opinionum errores variasque corruptelas muniantur. Ad Dei cultum studiumque pietatis excitetur opifex, nominatim ad religionem dierum festorum colendam. Vereri diligereque communem omnium parentem Ecclesiam condiscat : itemque eius et obtemperare praeceptis et sacramenta frequentare, quae sunt ad expiandas animi labes sanctitatemque comparandam instrumenta divina.

Socialium legum posito in religione fundamento, pronum est iter ad stabiliendas sociorum rationes mutuas, ut convictus quietus ac res florentes consequantur. Munia sodalitatum dispartienda sunt ad communes rationes accomodate, atque ita quidem ut consensum ne minuat dissimilitudo. Officia partiri intelligenter, perspicueque definiri, plurimum ob hanc caussam interest, ne cui fiat iniuria. Commune administraretur integre, ut ex indigentia singulorum praefiniatur opitulandi modus : iure officiaque dominorum cum iuribus officiisque opificum apte conveniant. Si qui ex alterutro ordine violatum se ulla reputarit, nihil optandum magis, quam adesse eiusdem corporis viros prudentes atque integros, quorum arbitrio litem dirimi leges ipsae sociales iubeant. Illud quoque magnopere providendum ut copia operis nullo tempore deficiat opificem, utque vectigal suppeditet, unde necessitati singulorum subveniatur nec solum in subitis ac fortuitis industriae casibus, sed etiam cum valetudo, aut senectus, aut infortunium quemquam oppressit.—His legibus, si modo voluntate accipiantur, satis erit tenuiorum commodis ac saluti consultum : consociationes autem catholicorum non minimum ad prosperitatem momenti in civitate sunt habiturae. Ex eventis praeteritis non temere providemus futura. Truditur enim aetas aetate, sed rerum gestarum mirae sunt similitudines, quia reguntur providentia Dei, qui continuationem seriemque rerum ad eam caussam moderatur ac flectit, quam sibi in procreatione generis humani praestituit.—Christianis in prisca Ecclesiae adolescentis aetate probro datum accepimus, quod maxima pars stipe precaria aut opere faciendo victitarent. Sed destituti ab opibus potentiaque, pervicere tamen ut gratiam sibi locupletium, ac patrocinium potentium adiungerent. Cernere licebat impigros, laboriosos, pacificos, iustitiae maximeque caritatis in exemplum retinentes. Ad eiusmodi vitae morumque spectaculum, evanuit omnis praeiudicata opinio, obtrectatio obmutuit malevolorum, atque inveteratae superstitionis commenta veritati christianae paullatim cessere.—De statu opificum certatur in praesens : quae certatio ratione dirimatur an secus, plurimum interest reipublicae in utramque partem. Ratione autem facile dirimetur ab artificibus christianis, si societate coniuncti ac prudentibus auctoribus usi, viam inierint eandem, quam patres ac maiores singulari cum salute et sua et publica tenuerunt. Etenim quantumvis magna in homine vis opinionum praeiudicatarum cupiditatumque sit, tamen nisi sensum honesti prava voluntas obstupescerit,

* Matt. vi. 32, 33.

futura est benevolentia civium in eos sponte propensior, quos industrios ac modestos cognoverint, quos aequitatem lucro, religionem officii rebus omnibus constiterit antepone. Ex quo illud etiam consequetur commodi, quod spes et facultas sanitatis non minima suppetabitur opificibus iis, qui vel omnino despecta fide christiana, vel alienis a professione moribus vivant. Isti quidem se plerumque intelligunt falsa spe simulataque rerum specie deceptos. Sentiunt enim, sese apud cupidos dominos valde inhumane tractari, nec fieri fere pluris quam quantum pariant operando lucris: quibus autem sodalitatibus implicati sunt, in iis pro caritate atque amore intestinas discordias existere, petulantis atque incredulae paupertatis perpetuas comites. Fracto animo, extenuato corpore, quam valde se multi vellent e servitute tam humili vindicare: nec tamen audent, seu quod hominum pudor, seu metus inopiae prohibeat. Iamvero his omnibus mirum quantum prodesse ad salutem collegia catholicorum possunt, si haesitantes ad sinum suum, expediendis difficultatibus, invitarint, si resipiscentes in fidem tutelamque suam acceperint.

Habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quos et qua ratione elaborare in caussa perdifficili necesse sit.—Accingendum ad suas cuique partes, et maturius quidem, ne tantae iam molis incommodum fiat insanabilius cunctatione medicinae. Adhibeant legum institutorumque providentiam, qui gerunt respublicas: sua meminerint officia locupletes et domini: enitantur ratione, quorum res agitur, proletarii: cumque religio, ut initio diximus, malum pellere funditus sola possit, illud reputent universi, in primis instaurari mores christianos oportere, sine quibus ea ipsa arma prudentiae, quae maxime putantur idonea, parum sunt ad salutem valitura.—Ad Ecclesiam quod spectat. desiderari operam suam nullo tempore nulloque modo sinet, tanto plus allatura adiumenti, quanto sibi maior in agendo libertas contigerit: idque nominatim intelligant, quorum munus est saluti publicae consulere. Intendant omnes animi industriaeque vires ministri sacrorum: vobisque, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritate praeceuntibus et exemplo, sumpta ex evangelio documenta vitae hominibus ex omni ordine inculcare ne desinant: omni qua possunt ope pro salute populorum contendant, potissimumque studeant et tueri in se, et excitare in aliis, summis iuxta atque infimis, omnium dominam ac reginam virtutum, caritatem. Optata quippe salus expectanda praecipue est ex magna effusione caritatis: christianae caritatis intelligimus, quae totius Evangelii compendiarium lex est, quaeque semetipsam pro aliorum commodis semper devovere parata, contra saeculi insolentiam atque immoderatum amorem sui certissima est homini antidotus: cuius virtutis partes ac lineamenta divina Paulus Apostolus iis verbis expressit: *Caritas patiens est, benigna est: non quaerit quae sua sunt: omnia suffert: omnia sustinet.**

Divinorum munerum auspicem ac benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis singulis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xv Maii An. mccccxci, Pontificatus Nostri Decimoquarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The Vatican Observatory.—The definitive establishment of an astronomical and physical observatory under the immediate control of the Roman Pontiffs is of high significance as regards the relations of the Catholic Church to secular science. For it embodies, according to the express declaration of His Holiness Leo XIII. in his recent brief upon the subject, a formal and perpetual protest against the oft-repeated calumny that those relations have been, are, or must be, of a hostile character. Truth cannot contradict truth; what is above need not be against nature; to fear the advance of true knowledge would be to distrust the Word of God. The Church, then, favours all legitimate inquiries, and blesses every effort calculated to promote the true intellectual dignity of man. Astronomy, above all, she takes under her protection, not alone because it supplies data indispensable for fixing the ecclesiastical calendar, but for the sake of its intrinsic grandeur as being concerned with the “stars, which,” in the words of the Papal Brief, “more than any other inanimate objects, recount the glory of God.”

The Vatican Observatory henceforth takes rank as a permanent institution, the future support of which has been provided for by the generosity of Leo XIII., while his wise discernment has selected its immediate tasks. Two distinct edifices shelter the instruments available for their execution. The first is the Gregorian Tower, erected by Gregory XIII. in the Vatican Palace itself, for objects connected with the Reform of the Calendar. Refitted and restored to scientific use under Pius VI., it was the scene, from 1800 to 1821, of the magnetic, meteorological, and phytological observations of an eminent Roman prelate named Filippo Gili. Its vicinity, however, to the vast dome of Saint Peter's detracted from its convenience for astronomical work, hence carried on by preference, during recent pontificates, in observatories on the hither side of the Tiber. These having been confiscated by the Italian Government, the expediency of reorganising the older institution became apparent, and was accentuated by Jubilee offerings to the present Holy Father of various astronomical and other scientific instruments. A receptacle has accordingly been found for them in the Gregorian Tower, where appropriate investigations will be conducted with, it may be hoped, valuable results. A dependency of this main building, but commanding a wider horizon, has meanwhile been established by the Pope's orders in the Leonine Fort on the summit of the Vatican hill; here is installed the large photographic telescope constructed for star-charting purposes by the MM. Henry of Paris, and here, under exceptionally favourable conditions of climate, and the learned direc-

tion of Father Denza, the great task of registering the contents of the heavens will be carried on during the next few years. The interest of the Catholic world in its progress will certainly not be lessened by the participation in it of an establishment set on foot by august authority to symbolise, it might be said, the promotion of the march of intellect by the Church.

The Spectroscopic Determination of Motion.—An admirable exposition of the principle underlying this new system of investigation, with specimens of its most interesting results, has been contributed by M. Cornu, the eminent French Academician, to the *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes* for 1891. It has a somewhat curious history. The idea of determining the movements of the heavenly bodies by changes in the refrangibility of the light emitted by them, originated with Christian Doppler in 1842; but in an unshapen, one might almost say, a misshapen form. He supposed that variations of colour would ensue upon, and betray, variations of velocity in the line of sight. This, however, was a complete misapprehension. For such an effect, to become perceptible, not alone presupposes a most improbable rate of speed, but its very existence is precluded by the presence of an invisible range of vibrations at either end of the visible spectrum, the shiftings of which by movement would perfectly compensate to the eye the shiftings, through the same movement, of the visible rays. The gamut of colour would thus always remain complete, infra-red pressing up to replace red beams turned orange, say, by advance *towards* the spectator, ultra-violet dropping down to supply violet beams altered to blue by recession *from* the spectator. But it is otherwise with certain dusky lines forming a well-known feature of celestial spectra. These, under all circumstances, maintain their individuality. Even when pushed, as the result of motion, a little up or down in the spectrum, they remain unmistakably recognisable, and the amount of their displacements being strictly measurable, gives the strict measure of the velocities producing them. This was pointed out in 1848 by M. Fizeau of Paris, and the honour is thus his of having established the true theory of this inestimable method. But for its actual realisation even this was not enough. The science of spectral analysis had first to be constituted; before the shiftings through motion of the solar, planetary, and stellar “fixed lines” could be depended upon as significant, it was necessary to demonstrate their intrinsic stability as representing the vibrations of chemical bodies of invariable constitution; to say nothing of the instrumental refinements requisite in such delicate operations as the determination of “motion-displacements”—if really present, certainly very minute. All this occupied twenty years; then at last Dr. Huggins detected tell-tale symptoms of end-on movement in a number of stars, and by his measurements of them created a new branch of exact astronomy. Their exactitude, indeed, was as yet prospective; observations with the eye being so gravely perplexed by atmospheric disturbances as to leave a very wide margin of uncertainty about the data they were

then the sole means of procuring. Yet genuine results were obtained; the way was struck out; time and persistent effort might be trusted to overcome the difficulties that remained. To enable them to do so, however, a further important development of the resources of astronomy was needed. The increased powers of the camera brought just the appropriate remedy against the effects of aerial oscillations. For to a great extent these are neglected by the sensitive plate, which registers the spectral rays thrown upon it accurately in their true places, apart from the tremors and oscillations only too painfully apparent to the human retina. This happy circumstance was first taken advantage of by M. Vogel in 1888, and the Potsdam spectrograph has already supplied a valuable store of reliable data concerning stellar movements in line of sight. They need, however, to be indefinitely multiplied before general inferences can be fitly derived from them; and hence the prospect that other observatories will before long co-operate in the work is particularly welcome to those who desire that speculation in matters sidereal should not remain fruitless.

As specimens of what may be expected from a method thus perfected at the cost of prolonged and varied exertions, we may refer to the discoveries, through slight spectral changes produced by their orbital motion, of closely revolving double stars. The first of these was made by Miss Maury at Harvard College; others have followed both there and at Potsdam; further detections of the same kind, and by the same means, may confidently be looked for. From a sufficiently numerous collection of stellar motions in the line of sight, moreover, the direction and speed of the solar translation through space can be deduced with far greater certainty than is otherwise attainable; by their aid, the great problem of stellar distances may be at least partially elucidated; and into this vortex of inquiry the interstitial movements of nebulae are also not unlikely to be drawn.

"As yet," M. Cornu concludes, "it is impossible to forecast the future reserved for the Doppler-Fizeau method. Brought forth yesterday, but just admitted into the curriculum of observatories, it has nevertheless already attacked with success the leading problems of modern astronomy, and by its means questions regarding the orbital revolutions and movements in space of stellar systems, the translation of our own solar system, and the transformations of nebulae, may be expected to receive definitive answers. Although it cannot yet lay claim to all the precision and certainty of the older methods, it has given proofs of possessing extraordinary potential resources, the delicacy of the details revealed by it serving as a pledge of coming penetration, further than could be accomplished with the most powerful telescopes, into the intimate structure of the universe. Stellar astronomy has entered upon a new era."

The Classification of Stars.—This subject has been thoughtfully and candidly discussed by Mr. Maunder in two recent numbers of *Knowledge*. Not, however, in its entire range. Only what are

called the "Sirian" and "Solar" stars have been considered; the problem set by the red stars with banded spectra being left practically untouched. This is a wise reticence; inquiries spread over too wide an area are apt to be inconclusive; and the two former classes can very well be separately dealt with. Their peculiarities supply abundant materials for present thought and future investigation. The questions most obviously demanding answers are these: Do white stars like Sirius and yellow stars like our sun represent merely different stages of growth? And if so, which is the earlier stage? It has hitherto been assumed that stellar "types" correspond to diversities of "age" alone, and imply no diversities in original constitution; and it must be admitted that some ground for the assumption is afforded by the unbroken gradation of specimens by which the transition is effected from one type to the other. There is no breach of continuity; one species is linked on to the next by a long chain of barely perceptible variations. All these, exhibited to observation simultaneously in the heavens, have been plausibly supposed successive as regards the "life" of each individual star. But recent inquiries throw grave doubt upon this view. The evidence brought forward by Mr. Maunder tends to show that diversities of spectral type are not explicable on any simple evolutionary hypothesis. He admits, indeed—and it is difficult to avoid admitting—that some stars are more advanced in their careers as suns than others; but the records of their advance are not clearly decipherable; and fundamental varieties of structure, or of chemical composition, must, it now begins to be seen, have at least a share assigned to them in producing the spectroscopic diversity of sidereal objects.

There is much reason to believe that Sirian stars in general are both considerably rarer as to substance, and considerably more brilliant as to surface, than solar stars. This would seem to indicate that development, if truly responsible for their distinctive peculiarities, proceeds from the white to the yellow stars—that is, by the natural order of progression, from the less to the more condensed bodies. But if this were the case, the rule that a Sirian spectrum is the badge of a comparatively attenuated mass should be invariable; and it is far from being so. The exceptions to it, gathered from a comparison of the revolutions and apparent brightness of binary stars, are numerous and striking. The probability, moreover, is strongly urged by Mr. Maunder, that solar stars are, on the whole, more potent light-givers than Sirian stars, and this notwithstanding their inferiority in actual emissive intensity per square foot of surface. They must then be really much larger and more massive bodies, a difference obviously independent of growth or decay, subsisting *ab initio* and lasting *usque ad finem*. Professor Pickering has shown besides that the two classes of objects are not quite similarly distributed over the sphere. For while stars of the nature of our sun occur indifferently in all directions, stars of the Sirian type are, proportionately, much more numerous in the Milky Way. And this result of

statistical enumeration has been confirmed and extended to smaller stars by Dr. Gill's photographic survey of the southern heavens. It seems indeed probable that the "star-dust" of the galactic clusters consists entirely of objects similar in constitution, and perhaps not inferior in size to the greater Dog Star, though enormously more remote. This surprising fact may prove of transcendent importance to future theories of sidereal construction, but its full bearing upon them cannot yet be estimated. The upshot of all these arguments is, then, to render it highly probable that stellar spectra are indexes, not to the progress of a uniform course of development, but to varieties of organisation offering to stellar physicists a boundless and attractive arena of investigation.

The Rejuvenescence of Crystals.—From the universality of natural laws, and the consequent tendency of the various exact sciences to a common basis, crystallography is about to become an intensely practical part of geology. So far, it has occupied an interesting, but comparatively small, portion of experimental chemistry; now the phenomena of crystallisation which confront the geologist are found to need for their explanation "the light of experiment and the leading of analogy." From a knowledge of the properties of the artificially formed crystals of the laboratory it is possible to investigate and analyse even those complicated groups of phenomena in natural crystallisation, which, from the length of time needed for their formation, defy our laboratory efforts at reproduction.

Time is a most important factor in crystallisation. This was dwelt on by Professor Judd in one of this spring's Friday evening discourses at the Royal Institution on the "Rejuvenescence of Crystals." Crystals can resume their growth after interruption, and there seems no time limit to this possibility of growth-continuation. They can resume growth under different conditions and by a different method. And in this connection, in considering zoned crystals, Professor Judd pointed out that the beautiful theory of isomorphism as propounded by Mitscherlich, in the face of the result of modern investigations, requires re-modelling. Crystals can resume growth after mutilation, and in growing repair their injuries; and, going beyond the low forms of organic structure, it seems that in the mineral kingdom there is no limit of crystal fragmentary minuteness which cannot grow after millions of intervening years into a perfect crystal. These can intergrow, yet preserving distinct individuality. And further, old crystals, such as are found in deep-seated rocks, "pseudomorphs," which have had their internal structure in great part altered, and have become filled with secondary products, can lose all signs of age, and grow young again, clear and transparent, with perfect faces and angles, if only a certain small proportion of their unaltered molecules remain. When we remember that the earth's crust is built up of crystals in all these various stages, we realise that the future geologist must go hand in hand with the student of crystallography, and that his verification

of geological facts rests in great part on the experiments of the chemist.

The Efficiency of Artificial Illumination—Luminescence.

—The enthusiasm with which the advent of the incandescent electric lamp was greeted claimed it to be an ideal light. But familiarity with its working has bred criticism, and, while allowing that it is an advance in artificial illumination, the scientist cannot fail to discern that in its present form it is only a temporary expedient, as it lacks that "economy" so marked in the operations of Nature, and so difficult to attain in the applications of science. An incandescent lamp has a certain length of life, according to the manner it is treated. It may be 1000 hours or a few moments. But even if that constant voltage which will ensure it having a long life is maintained, it is not equally a good servant during the course of its existence. The lamp deteriorates in the efficiency of its candle-power as time goes on. There is (1) the gradual disintegration of the carbon filament; (2) the production of the black film of carbon upon the glass bulb; (3) the increased resistance of the carbon filament which comes with wear. To balance these deteriorating agencies it is possible to gradually increase the electro-motive force, which will make up the efficiency of the light; but such a process is commercially extravagant, according to results obtained by Professor Edward Nicols, and lately described by him at the New York Electric Club. A lamp of 16 candles was subjected to rises of electro-motive force, the actual increase being 9 volts. In this test the efficiency decreased from 3.118 volts per candle to 3.468 volts. The resistance of the filament rose from 221.6 to 234.8 ohms. For the first fifty hours of the test the changes were slow; after this point there was a sudden increase of resistance. The life of this lamp was only 100 hours. Another lamp of the same candle-power was started at 57 candles, and then kept at constant voltage. Its short life was only $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Professor Nicols thinks such experiments as these make it clearly evident that the limit of the temperature to which the carbon filament can be exposed without bringing it to an untimely end has been reached. This limit does not stand high; in fact, the incandescent lamp seems to him to be fairly stable only at temperatures in which its efficiency does not exceed about 5 watts per candle. At this limit 95 per cent. of the radiant energy emitted is made up of wave lengths, that are useless for the production of light. But while making these criticisms, the Professor has overlooked the fact that an improvement in the vacua of incandescent lamps would greatly influence the life of the carbon filament, and one may reasonably ask the question whether the limit of practical exhaustion has been reached.

Professor Nicols thinks that the problem of a really economic artificial light may be solved by the use of a substance that is capable of becoming luminescent as well as incandescent, or even without the assistance of incandescence. His remarks on this point are very suggestive, and might well be studied by those who possess the inventive

faculty. "Luminescence" is a somewhat new phrase, originated to include those phenomena which are known as Phosphorescent and Fluorescent. Professor Nicols points out that *Luminescence* is due to a different class of molecular vibration from that which causes ordinary incandescence. It produces vibrations in which a single wave length, or set of wave lengths, predominates. *Luminescence* is the result of previous treatment of the substance; sometimes it is the direct action of the sun's rays, as in the case of the sulphide of calcium, which shines after exposure to light; sometimes some chemical reaction, or process of crystallisation, in which latter case the luminescence has been latent until set free by an external force. This may be friction, heat, or electricity. Professor Nicols is of opinion that the dazzling brilliancy of the magnesium light is partly due to the luminescence of the white oxide of magnesium formed during the process of combustion. He thinks that possibly magnesium may become one means of practical illumination, instead of being only used as a firework and photographic speciality. A few years ago such a suggestion would have appeared extremely impracticable, magnesium being then a costly luxury; but a new process for producing the metal at once reduced its cost enormously, the well-known magnesium ribbon, now so largely used by the amateur photographer, being sold at 2s. 6d. an ounce instead of 16s. Professor Nicols is sanguine that other methods of obtaining this abundant metal will be forthcoming that will still further reduce its market price. Amongst other artificial illuminants magnesium stands pre-eminent in approaching nearest to the conditions of sunlight. According to Professor Nicols, the magnesium flame is ten times brighter in the violet than a gas flame of equal power, and but little more than half as bright in the red. It is even brighter than the electric arc light beyond the yellow, excepting a very limited region of the extreme violet. The brilliancy of its light is best appreciated when compared with our ordinary methods of illumination. "A screen which is well lighted by incandescent lamps gives you the impression of a nearly uniform white surface. Its whiteness now, however, is a very different thing from that which it takes under the rays of the magnesium light. It sinks by comparison into a rather weak chocolate brown." In comparing the ratio of total radiation to light-giving radiation with other sources of illumination, it is found that the efficiency of the magnesium light stands very high. Weight for weight, magnesium affords more than thirty times the light obtained from gas, with the development of much less heat. Although Professor Nicols thinks that a portion of the brilliancy of the magnesium light is to be found in the luminescent qualities of the magnesium oxide, yet, as he points out, much of the brilliancy is due to its simple incandescence. The oxide is a white amorphous solid, which is twice as heavy as the metal itself. During combustion it remains in the place where it was first formed, and becomes intensely incandescent. Having a considerable radiating surface, it affords a large amount of light. But while it is incandescent, the Professor thinks we have

every reason to believe that other wave-motions which have been stored up in the magnesium are set free, and that we have the phenomenon of "luminescence" combining with incandescence to give the magnesium spectrum so rich in light rays. Professor Nicols comes to the conclusion that for economic artificial illumination we must have higher efficiency at low temperatures. Perhaps a metallic oxide, rendered incandescent by electrical means, may give such a result. But in a truly ideal light, as he says, there should be no heat, or next to none, to accompany the production of the light rays. Such an attainment may not be hopeless. In the light of the Geisler tube the accompanying heat is next to nothing; it has only been measured by that refined and sensitive instrument—the Bunsen ice calorimeter. Then there is the light of the fire-fly, which has been investigated with such accuracy by Messrs. Langley and Very. This would seem to be the most perfect example of a source of light. "All the energy of its spectrum is massed within the narrow limit of its visible spectrum; and what is more, by far the greatest part of it is in the form of rays which are especially important for the purposes of radiation, the particular rays which give us yellow and green light. The non-luminous radiation which accompanies the light of the fire-fly seems to be so insignificant that it was with difficulty that it could be estimated even with the almost inconceivably delicate apparatus used by Langley and Very. They give the efficiency as about 400 times as great as that of a gas flame. It cannot fall appreciably below 100 per cent."

Electricity as an "Anæsthetic."—The relations between electricity and the human body have up to the present time been but little investigated. The experiments, however, which have been made would seem to suggest that this is a promising field of research, and one that may one day add abundantly to the resources of medical science. The fact that a current of electricity will carry with it a drug in solution through the skin of the human body is one which deserves the examination of the medical profession.

Experiments in this so-called electric osmosis seem to have been first made in Germany and America, but they have been taken up with some earnestness in this country by Mr. H. Newman Lawrence and Dr. Harries, who were lately able to make a successful demonstration at a meeting of the Society of Arts. They state that they arrived at the results that were shown at this meeting by three stages of experiments. In the first experiment they took two glass vessels; one of these they filled to the brim with dilute sulphuric acid, and the other with a solution of barium chloride. Between the two glasses they placed a piece of lamp-wick well soaked in a solution of sodium chloride, the ends of which were dipped in the respective liquids. The arrangement was left without disturbance for twenty-four hours, to see whether there would be any transference of the hydric sulphate into the barium chloride by simple capillary action. No such action occurred. Then the experimenters placed in the vessel containing the dilute sulphuric acid an electrode

connected with the positive pole of the battery, and in the vessel containing the barium chloride another electrode connected with the negative pole, and sent a current through the arrangement. In half an hour there was a deposit of barium sulphate, showing that the current of electricity had mechanically transferred some of the hydric sulphate to the solution of barium chloride.

In the second experiment they divided a glass trough into two compartments by means of a piece of baked clay, which is a porous substance. A thin piece was selected, but of sufficient substance to prevent any chance of leakage. In one of these compartments they placed a solution of iodine, and in the other a solution of starch. When an electrode was placed in each compartment, one connected with the positive, the other with the negative pole of the battery, and a current allowed to pass, it was found that within an hour there was a distinct precipitation of iodide of starch. In the third experiment, in place of the lamp-wick of the first experiment, and the porous plate of the second, is substituted the human skin. Through this a drug can be conveyed by a continuous electric current. To take the example shown at the meeting above mentioned, if it is wished to produce insensibility to pain in a particular spot of the arm of a person, a small pad in connection with one of the electrodes is steeped in cocaine, and placed upon the desired spot. The negative electrode is placed a little higher up. The current is allowed to pass through the skin for twenty-five minutes, and on removing the pad it is found that the skin is quite insensible to pain; a needle can be thrust through it without the subject showing the slightest sign of pain, and even a red-hot iron can be applied without discomfort. Should future investigation find that no injurious action accompanies such a method of treatment, there can be no doubt that in electricity we shall have a new and valuable anæsthetic.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

A Girl in the Karpathians.—Miss Mémie Muriel Dowie* has proved herself a heroine of travel in her indifference to the ordinary requirements of civilisation, and in her capability of sustaining hardship, loneliness, and, if not actual danger, at least many chances of it. To roam alone through the mountain solitudes of Galicia, sometimes sleeping in the open air, with no companion save a rough

* "A Girl in the Karpathians." By Mémie Muriel Dowie. London: George Philip & Son. 1891.

peasant whose dialect she understood but imperfectly, was an enterprise that few young ladies of two-and-twenty would have had nerve to undertake, while the revolting squalor and dirt amid which she was content to live for weeks would have been almost equally deterrent. Neither were the results of her journey such as to compensate for these privations. Beauty of scenery in the region traversed by her there seems to have been none, while her ignorance of the language deprives her study of local manners of much of its value. The people among whom her experiences principally lay were the Ruthenians, a Slavonic race occupying East Galicia, or Red Russia, between the borders of Hungary and Volhynia. They profess the Greek religion, and seem, by the author's account, to be low in the scale both of morality and civilisation. Their dress is picturesque, as their upper garment, a sort of short open pelisse, is richly embroidered by their own skill. Their foot-gear consists of cowhide sandals, which Miss Dowie found a very comfortable substitute for the shoes and boots of civilisation. The commerce of the towns and villages is entirely in the hands of the Jews, who wear a long gabardine or soutane, while their women are distinguished by a yellow handkerchief on the head. The mountainous districts are occupied by the Huzuls or Huculs, a semi-savage race of mingled Mongol and Slavonic blood.

The North-West Frontier of India.—The *Times* of May 20 gives a summary of recent movements on the Indian frontier at its vulnerable point in the North-West. Here communications, both strategic and commercial, are being rapidly opened up, and Sir Robert Sandeman has been visiting various chiefs in Baluchistan with a view to pacifying the tribes so as to admit of restoring caravan traffic by the old Kafilā route between India and Southern Persia, *via* Beyla and Panjgur. The latter is one of the principal States on the Persian border, from which it is about sixty miles distant, and the route thence to Karachi, described as easier than that by the Zhob Valley, leads direct to Seistan, termed by Colonel Bell the watch-tower of Baluchistan and Khorassan. It is also pointed out that this line deserves special attention as the one likely to be followed by the future railway to India, being preferable to the alternative one by Herat and Kandahar, as less liable to capture from Russian territory, and more entirely within the sphere of British influence. Panjgur, which had previously been devastated by border raids, is now occupied by a detachment of Baluchi levies, and its plain, with peace secured by their presence, is being restored to cultivation.

The recently annexed Zhob Valley has meantime been surveyed for a railway, which will supply a second line of approach to Kandahar, and facilitate the massing of troops on that objective, while shortening the route from the plains of the Punjab to Ghazni and Kabul, thus strengthening the defensive position of Afghanistan. The successive Miranzai expeditions in 1854, 1877, and 1891 have had the effect of reducing to submission tribes who had defied the

authority alike of Calcutta and Kabul, rendering their country the Alsatia of the border. The blow struck by Sir W. Lockhart in the recent campaign will restore tranquillity for some time to come, as he inflicted a crushing defeat on them, with a loss of 300 killed and wounded, after which he blew up numbers of their fortified towers and exacted securities for good behaviour. The Black Mountain Expedition, the sequel to previous campaigns in 1852, 1868, and 1888, has a similar object, and has hitherto met with little resistance, the two columns composing it having effected a junction with but trifling loss.

The Manchester Ship Canal.—As in the case of most such enterprises, the Manchester Ship Canal has proved a work of greater cost and difficulty than was anticipated. Not only has fresh capital been required, for which the aid of the Manchester Corporation has been invoked; but it has been found necessary to extend the time allowed for the completion of the Canal from August 5, 1892, to December 31, 1893. It is thought, however, that the lower portion, from Eastham to the mouth of the Weaver, may be completed by the end of the current year. The course of the channel trends south and south-east from the Eastham Lock gates, within the southern shore of the estuary, crossing a succession of bays and inlets, necessitating at two places, Pool Hall and Ellesmere Point, the construction of sloping sea-walls for a length of a mile each. Intervening capes and headlands had also to be cut through, and the nature of the soil, in some places too hard, and in others too yielding, caused much difficulty from landslips and settlements. Two brooks, the Gowy and Thornton, had, in another place, to be carried, in tubes 12 feet in diameter, 18 feet below the bed of the Canal, and discharged into the estuary. The mouth of the Weaver is closed by great sluices, with ten openings admitting of the passage of vessels at high water between that river and the Ship Canal.

The works on the non-tidal portion of the waterway above Latchford, twenty-one miles from the Eastham entrance, are not so well advanced as on the lower course, financial difficulties having delayed their progress. Among the gigantic tasks required on this portion of the waterway is the erection of a huge swing tank to carry the old Bridgewater Canal across the Ship Canal, in place of Brindley's aqueduct at Barton. The tank is to be 180 feet in length, so as to overspan the 170 feet surface width of the Ship Canal at this point. The main pier, on which the tank is to pivot, is well advanced towards completion, allowing pieces of the centre on which the hydraulic swing machinery is to turn to be put in their places. (*Times*, May 19, 1891.)

The Plum Trade of Bosnia.—The British Consul at Serajevo reports that the plum crop in Bosnia last year, after having given promise of abundance, suffered from the ravages of an insect, which pierced the fruit when about the size of a pea, causing it to wither and drop off. In many districts, too, the trees were stripped of their leaves by caterpillars, yet, despite these misfortunes, the crop, though

reduced in quantity to about 14,763 tons, or no more than a third of the ordinary produce, was of excellent quality. New drying-ovens have been introduced by the Government with excellent results, as the plums remain fresher, and consequently heavier—so much so, that while by the old method it takes from 350 to 400 okes of the fresh fruit to produce 100 when dried, the new ovens yield the same weight with 300 to 340 okes. The price, moreover, is regulated by the number of dried plums to the half-kilogramme, and as this, which was 95 to 100 with the old ovens, is only 80 to 85 with the new, there is a gain in this respect of 2*fl.* to 3*fl.* per 100 okes. They also economise labour, and 30 to 40 per cent of fuel, but, as their prime cost is greater, and the drying process some hours longer, it will probably be some time before they are generally adopted.

Condition of Ngamiland.—The country round Lake Ngami, hitherto known as Moremi's Land, from the name of its late ruler, is one of those slices of African territory which have recently been placed under the British protectorate. The African and General Exploring Company having acquired considerable concessions there, recently sent an expedition to obtain their confirmation from the chiefs, and the result of this exploration has been to describe all the country south of the lake as a mass of quartz reefs, probably gold-bearing. The present government is a regency, exercised by a chief, called Dithapo, in combination with others, but the future ruler, who will probably be installed in the course of the present year, is Sechome, a boy of sixteen, a nephew of Khama, the ruler of Bechuanaland, and, like him, a total abstainer, though not a Christian. The people are described as discontented with the present form of government, as they were accustomed to the strong hand of Moremi, and miss the guidance of his almost absolute will. The future ruler is his half-brother, and will, it is believed, prove a capable successor. The Towana, as this assembly of tribes is called, are harassed by their neighbours, the Namaqua tribe, who are more or less nomadic, but are desirous of acquiring a portion of Ngamiland to settle on, and, as this has been steadily refused, they give vent to their dissatisfaction in raids on passing traders. A settlement has been made on the hills by the agents of the Company, and a house erected for the storage of goods, but the fever which prostrated some members of the party in the course of their explorations is a proof that the country is not generally habitable by Europeans. It is situated north of the Kalahari Desert, and its lakes are a series of salt-pans, probably the remnants of a formerly extensive sheet of fresh water.

Peruvian Railways.—The Peruvian Corporation has just published a report, prepared by the Earl of Donoughmore, after a prolonged visit to Peru, originally undertaken in the interest of the Peruvian Bondholders' Committee. The railways are the most valuable of the concessions held by the Corporation representing the bondholders, and on their development the whole future of the country depends. Peru and Bolivia occupy an almost unique geographical position, inasmuch as their territory consists of both slopes of a great

mountain chain, and is consequently divided into two sections, of which the western, or Pacific incline, itself barren and rainless, is almost inaccessible from the eastern and inland half of the country. This region, known as the *montaña*, is, unlike the Pacific slope, fertilised by a bounteous rainfall, and is rich in all tropical growths, as well as in the cattle, cereals, and other agricultural produce which Western Peru is obliged to import. The railways from the coast, which cross the Andes at the prodigious height of 16,000 feet, are intended to remedy this evil, but their farther extension is required in order to do so effectually. The prolongation of the Central Railway to Oroya will open up the district of Yauli, whose rich silver mines could then be worked with the aid of imported machinery. Additional steamer service is also recommended, to promote the increasing traffic on Lake Titicaca, in the neighbourhood of which are gold mines favourably reported on. Pending the development of railway traffic, the supply of guano will furnish a revenue to the Corporation for several years, and a pioneer expedition has been despatched to secure land in the central district. Lord Donoughmore found the labour supply sufficient on the estates visited by him, and declares the Indians to be competent miners, but recommends the introduction of Chinese with a view to future development. The Corporation has also a valuable property in the Cerro de Pasco Silver Mines, but one which will require considerable capital for its exploitation.

Mexican Railways.—According to news from Mexico of April 14, there seems to be now some chance of the prosecution of the works for extending the Mexican Central Railroad from Guadalajara to San Blas on the Pacific. This extension was begun nine years ago, at the San Blas end, and sixteen miles of road were actually constructed, but the works were discontinued, the rails removed, and the engines and other materials shipped, *via* Guaymas, to Paso del Norte. There was some discontent in San Blas at the abandonment of the project, and the formation of an independent company for the construction of a line from Guadalajara to that point or to Mazatlan was mooted, but dropped as impracticable. The road is reported to be a difficult and costly one to build, owing to the mountainous character of the country to be traversed, but local authorities opine that it would be a paying one, as it would open up the northern Pacific coast of Mexico, declared to be rich in agricultural and mineral resources. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 4.)

Locusts in Morocco.—A British Consular report from Mogador describes the ravages inflicted on the country during the spring by swarms of locusts, which, appearing first in the southern province of Sous in October, gradually spread over the adjoining districts, until they reached the fertile grain-producing lands round Mazagan and Casablanca. There they proceeded to lay their eggs, preparing still further extension of destruction, as the young locusts in their early wingless state are if possible more voracious than when fully grown. In addition to the havoc wrought on green crops, the yield of oil

and almonds for the year will be seriously diminished by the stripping of the bark from the almond and olive trees, the produce of which was in some places gathered unripe to save it from total destruction. The only means taken to reduce the number of the winged marauders is to collect them in bags for sale as food among the natives. Taken into the towns in camel-loads, the ruddy-brown or greenish-yellow insects—their colours in autumn and spring respectively—are first boiled in salt and water, and then fried or parched. Their flavour is by Europeans compared to that of prawns, but they are not, like that crustacean, considered unclean by either Jews or Mohammedans. A story was told of two children being found devoured by locusts, with the addition that some of the Jews in Mogador, who had bought a consignment of locusts from that locality, were taken ill in consequence of their having eaten human flesh. This tale, like similar ones propagated in Algeria, is probably false, as locusts are not believed to consume animal food.

Nickel Mines of Canada.—The *Times* of June 5 quotes a special correspondent of the *Toronto Globe*, who has just concluded a tour through the nickel region near Sudbury, and says that not even the restrictive legislation of the Ontario Government can long retard the development of its mining industries, as enough claims are held free of all limitations to supply the markets until the demand reaches enormous proportions. The result of the recent experiments conducted at Annapolis by the Navy Department of the United States has been to show the vast increase in resisting power conferred by an alloy of nickel on steel armour-plating. As the metal is found only in a very few localities, its possession promises to add largely to the future wealth of Canada, and Sudbury, where 200 buildings, some of them handsome structures, have been erected within the last twelve months, looks forward to a golden future. A capitalist of Chicago has recently extracted close upon 1000 tons of nickel at Drury, and Mr. Ahn, of Nickel City, has set up there an improved apparatus for reducing the ore, "by which the separation will be made through the application of an electric current to the mercury, thus preventing it (in miners' phrase) from becoming sick." Platinum mining has also been undertaken on a scale that threatens to rival that of nickel.

The New Treaty Port in China.—A writer in the *Times* of May 22 complains of the inertia of the British authorities in establishing the rights secured to them by treaty in the newly opened Chinese Port, Chungking, on the Upper Yangtse. The British Consular representative was not even present at the inaugural ceremony on March 1, and the concession, according to the correspondent, remains a dead letter pending further instructions from Peking, that citadel of procrastination. No measures have been taken to secure a site for a foreign settlement in which Europeans could live conformably to the requirements of their standard of civilisation, as was invariably done in former days on the opening of a treaty port. This right was abandoned in the case of Ichang, the

nearest port below Chungking, in consequence of the throwing of some stones at the British Consul and officials engaged in determining the boundary, by the squatters who had taken unauthorised possession of the land. The consequence is that European residents, instead of having a separate quarter, where roads, drainage, and lighting should be under their own control, are compelled to live amid the unspeakable noisomeness of a densely packed Chinese city, traversed by narrow and filthy winding lanes, so impassable without contamination that no one who can afford a decent dress ever goes out except in a sedan chair. Self-protection would also be a motive for the concentration of European inhabitants, as anti-foreign riots are frequent in remote Chinese towns. In Chungking in 1886 the British representative was obliged to take refuge for seven months in the official residence of the magistracy, while the missionaries, since returned, had to fly down the river. Last summer, in a neighbouring town, the Catholic Church was demolished, eight Christians burnt, and the remainder, with their pastor, a priest from Lyons, obliged to fly for their lives. "The Christians (says the writer), of whom numerous flourishing communities, some dating back to the seventeenth century, existed in the neighbourhood, were all driven from their homes, their crops were destroyed by fire, and the starving people fled to the mountains, where large numbers perished. The survivors are still at this date (March 19) unable to return to their homes, and are now subsisting mainly on the charity of their co-religionists and of the Fathers in this city."

The Sacred Citron.—The British Consul at Mogador describes, in a recent report, the sacred citron of the Jews, a fruit sold in Morocco, but never eaten. Its value consists in its symbolical signification and its place in Jewish ritual, for which it is so highly prized that specimens without blemish, intended to be carried to the synagogue on the Feast of Tabernacles, sometimes fetch 4s. each in Mogador, and in England from one to two guineas. The passage supposed to enjoin its use occurs in the 23rd chapter of Leviticus, in a passage of which the Jewish version runs as follows: "And ye shall take to yourselves on the first day the fruit of the tree hadar, palm leaves, boughs of the tree aboth, and willows of the brook." These varieties are particularised in a Jewish book, "The Festivals of the Lord," as fruit of the tree hadar, or citron, in Hebrew "troon," the "capoth tamarin," or palm leaves, boughs of the tree aboth, or myrtle, and brook willows. The "troon," or "tabernacle citron," as it is sometimes called, is, according to a paragraph in the *Times* of May 21, a fruit of a pale greenish yellow, rather longer than a lemon, always plucked before fully ripe, containing but one pip, and said to be of an extremely pure nature, and to keep sound a long time. Those exported from Mogador are carefully packed in cotton-wool, as their value for ritualistic use is entirely dependent on their freedom from blemish as certified by the priests. The locality producing them is Assats or Assat, in the province of Sous, situated a day or half a day's journey from the

town of Tarudant, and on the banks of the River Sous. It is said to contain a very ancient Hebrew cemetery, and orchards known by the names of Aaron, Moses, David, &c., and the authority of the Moorish Government is not recognised there. The Jews say that all sacred "troons" come from this place, but are unable to explain how they are supplied to their co-religionists all over the world. As many as 110 boxes, containing 9024 fruits, have been shipped from Mogador in a single year.

Coalfields of the Northern Shan States.—The report of Dr. Noetling, the geological expert sent from India to examine the coal deposits in the Shan States, is not very encouraging as to their practical utility. The principal ones would indeed be workable if sufficiently accessible, but are situated 170 miles from the nearest centre of traffic, and reached by a road of which fifty miles may be travelled by carts and the remainder by baggage animals. Only the construction of a railway could give them any economical value, and this would be a costly undertaking if the fuel necessary for its working had to be brought from Rangoon. The alluvial deposits associated with the carboniferous strata would also impede the extraction of the mineral, as a thick layer of clay in one, and of conglomerate in another, would necessitate very strong support for the sides of the shaft to resist their lateral pressure, while strong pumping machinery would also probably be required to drain the workings. When we add to these difficulties the unhealthiness of a feverish climate, we have said enough to show that the prospect of creating a coal-mining industry in the States is, at best, a very remote one.

Forest Fires on the St. Lawrence.—The woodland districts on the St. Lawrence were devastated last June by terrible conflagrations. A telegram from St. John, New Brunswick, on the 10th, described the Miramichi Valley as a sea of flames, spreading for dozens of miles over the country, and leaving not a house or barn standing, while the farmers and lumber-men crowded into the port as fugitives. A railway station was utterly destroyed, and all the carriages burned, together with 15,000 railway ties left on the track. Despatches from Quebec described the peril encountered by the schooners, the *Katie* and *Marie Louise*, which had ventured up the river, and which were partially set on fire by brands falling on their decks while slowly feeling their way through the dense smoke. The crews, despite the intense heat, had to wear their heaviest clothing to protect themselves, but were badly scorched nevertheless. They were eventually rescued by a tug. Navigation was entirely suspended on the river, and the Allan steamers *Sarmatian* and *Peruvian* were unable to make their way through the dense smoke, while a steamer went ashore at St. Francois from the same cause. The north shore was reported by pilots to be ablaze for 200 miles, and hundreds of farmers arrived homeless in the city, having lost their crops, stock, and farming implements in the conflagration. Ten square miles of timber land were reported blazing near Lake

St. John, and the trains on the St. John Railway were stopped by the fires on both sides of the track. In this district not a house was left standing, nor a horse or beast alive, between Beaudet and Macignac Station, a distance of sixty miles. The village of Black Lake was utterly destroyed, and tents and provisions had to be sent up to shelter and relieve the inhabitants, as 300 families were left roofless and starving.

The Envoys from Gazaland.—Gungunhana's envoys come as the bearers of his third request to be taken under the protection of the British Empire, Huluhulu, their senior, having been in each case his mouthpiece. Sent to Natal on this errand about eight years ago, on the death of Umzila, his petition was laid before the Colonial Government, but rejected, and when despatched on a subsequent mission he was not received at all. Having now reached the kraal of the "Great White Queen," he has secured attention to his master's wishes in the highest quarter. He is a Zulu of pure blood, about sixty years of age, distinguished by an india-rubber circlet round his head, as an Induna of high standing. The younger envoy, Umfeti, is about thirty. Their English companion and spokesman, Mr. Doyle, a native of Natal, who was never in England before, is in the service of the Chartered Company, and was one of its earliest pioneers. Huluhulu indignantly repudiates the Portuguese claim to the suzerainty of Gazaland, and declares the so-called Treaty of Lisbon of 1886 a fabrication. The present settlement of Gungunhana's country dates from about sixty years ago, when his grandfather fled with Lobengula's father from the tyranny of the conquering Chaka, and turning eastward established himself, with his Zulu followers, in the neighbourhood of the Limpopo. He and his son, Umzila, subjected the whole country northward as far as the Lower Zambesi, and westward to the Manica plateau, the royal kraal being established among the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the latter, about 400 miles to the north-east of Gungunhana's present kraal, which is within forty miles of the sea. While Umzila persistently rejected all the overtures of the Portuguese, and refused to receive their envoys, Gungunhana yielded so far as to see them, and even to accept a small Portuguese flag which he allowed to fly over his kraal, in token of friendship, as he declares, not of subjection. "Tell the Queen," were his parting words to Mr. Doyle, "to deliver me from the Portuguese. I do not want to shed white blood; but if the Queen delivers me over to these people, I shall fight to the death against their interference." The envoys complain bitterly of the debasing influence of the Portuguese, as they introduce poisonous spirits, from the effects of which children a few years old are seen reeling in intoxication. They were much struck with the populousness of London, and declared that now indeed they had seen the origin and source of all the white men. At the same time they will be taken to other large towns, that they may not fall into the same error as the envoys of Lobengula, who, having seen only London, reported "that there was but one big kraal in England."

Anglo-Portuguese Delimitation in Africa.—The treaty between England and Portugal, after its approval by the Cortes, was presented to both Houses of Parliament on June 11, and its provisions were explained by Lord Salisbury in a speech in the House of Lords. While it gives a considerable enlargement to the Portuguese area north of the Zambesi, extending it to the watershed between that river and the waters of the Nyassa and Shiré, but not north of the 14th degree of latitude, British territory receives an accession in Manicaland, where the gold miners are now at work, on the lower right bank of the Shiré, with the advantage of facilitating inland navigation in that region, and in the inclusion within it of the Barotse Kingdom, where it was previously limited by the upper waters of the Zambesi. "What the Barotse Kingdom is (declared the Foreign Minister) will have to be ascertained by commission; but, unless we are very much misinformed, it is very much larger than the country limited by the upper waters of the Zambesi." He further explained that the whole littoral from the Zambesi to Delagoa Bay, now claimed on behalf of Gungunhana, had been recognised by treaty as Portuguese territory as recently as 1847.

Relative Endurance of Europeans and Natives in Africa.—Mr. Stanley, in his address at Manchester on June 22, 1890, reported in the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, dwelt on the superiority of the European to the African physique, as proved by the experience of his march:

Although the Europeans and the blacks [he said] lived under the same conditions, yet the mortality among the latter was much greater. Our food was the same, with the exception of tea and coffee, which lasted us two or three years; the remaining European provisions we carried were not worth considering. All our experience goes to show that the white man can live very well in Africa, provided he treats himself properly. He should not go out there too young, and he should come home every three years. There never was a day that we could not walk down the blacks, either our own men, or the aborigines of any part of Africa which we passed through. Undoubtedly the Zanzibaris carried loads, which we did not; but then they are accustomed to that work from their youth. Neither the Nubians or Somalis were obliged to carry loads. Yet, out of 13 Europeans engaged on the expedition, 11 emerged out of Africa. Out of 623 Zanzibaris 225 returned; out of 62 Nubians 12 returned; out of 13 picked Somalis 1 returned. There is no doubt that the tenacity of life is influenced by education and moral pluck. We valued our lives because we have more to live for, and "never say die," whereas the blacks, tired out by fatigue and fever, will simply sit down on the roadside, and not attempt the same effort to get on and reach camp, so as to be able to make a fresh start next morning, although they are well aware what will happen to them, for the wild natives follow up the track of the caravan just as sharks do a ship at sea. Each European who crossed Africa suffered from about 150 attacks of fever. The blacks also suffered from intense fever, but not quite so frequent. I noticed this want of stamina among the Egyptians and Nubians on that memorable march across the Bayuda Desert to reach Metemmeh, when the only men I saw fall out from fatigue and thirst were black men.

Progress in the Southern States of the Union.—The most

interesting chapter (says the *Times* of June 16) in the *Board of Trade Journal* for June is its review of the industrial progress of the Southern States of the American Union. So great is the increase in manufactures and mineral production, that the South is now producing as much coal, iron ore, and pig iron as the entire United States in 1870. The increase in the first item, taking it by decades since 1860, when it was under 1,000,000 tons, amounted in 1870, 1880, and 1890 respectively, to 2,000,000, 5,676,160, and 17,772,945 tons. Still more striking are the statistics on the production of pig iron, restricted in 1860 and 1870 to the State of Tennessee, and amounting to but 13,741 and 28,688 tons for those two years respectively. In 1880 an increased area of production yielded 397,301 tons, which had risen in 1890 to nearly 2,000,000 tons. The official report of the Census officers speaks hopefully of a corresponding extension in the manufacture of steel, which, by attracting a higher class of skilled labour, would help forward the economic development of the country. The marvellous power of recovery displayed by the latter is ascribed to the vast sums received for its cotton exports. Producing about three-fourths of the annual cotton crop of the world, it manufactures only some 7 or 8 per cent. of what it grows. For the remainder, exported to New England and Europe, it is estimated to have received since 1865 nearly 8000 million dollars. Its railways have increased, between 1880 and 1889, from 20,612 to 40,521 miles, and the value of its assessed property during the same period, from 2,913,000,000 to 4,220,000,000 dollars. The industrial development of the South has a direct bearing on politics, increased population carrying with it eventually added voting power, which is based on the relative numbers of inhabitants in the several districts.

Notes on *Robels*.

Khaled. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

MR. CRAWFORD has given no greater proof of the wonderful versatility of his genius than in his success in investing with the interest of modern romance this fable of early Arabia. The main motive is the familiar one, with the sex reversed, of Undine and other spirit maidens, whose endowment with a human soul is conditional on their winning the love of an earthly husband. Here it is a ginn or genie, who, transformed into a man as a reward for slaying a wicked impostor, can nevertheless only acquire a soul and

the accompanying gift of immortality if he succeed in gaining the love of the princess whom fate bestows on him as a wife. Khaled, who as a man is thoroughly human, performs prodigies of valour in defence of his father-in-law's kingdom, yet cannot succeed in rousing a spark of affection in the coldly intellectual Zehowah, who, while perfectly dutiful and submissive to her husband, is incapable even of understanding the nature of the feeling required of her. Khaled vainly tries to touch her heart through pique, by feigned attentions to a beautiful captive, but she, because she does not love, is impervious to jealousy, and sees through the subterfuge that would have blinded her had the apprehensiveness of passion been there to aid it. Yet the author indicates by subtle touches that Zehowah's nature is gradually softening all this time, and its final surrender is brought about by the crisis in her husband's fate when a rising of the desert tribes threatens his throne and life. The manner in which the catastrophe is averted is novel and ingenious, while the sudden shift of popular feeling that follows is not without parallels in history. The tale is throughout thoroughly Eastern in colouring, and is a fresh illustration of the author's power of representing the most dissimilar phases of life.

Bell Barry. By RICHARD ASHE KING. London: Chatto & Windus. 1891.

WITH an Irish girl for a heroine, and Ireland for its principal scene of action, this brightly written tale has an English element in the nationality of its hero and in the scene of the tragedy of his previous life. A temperance lecturing tour, in which Bell, a bright and sensitive girl, accompanies her narrow-minded and one-sided father, affords an opening for the introduction of some humorous episodes, and serves as an introduction to the more romantic portion of the story. This turns on the attachment between Bell and Stewart Rivers, passing under the name of Oliver Reeves in the hope of escaping recognition as the hero of a recent sensational trial in which his acquittal by a jury of the murder of his wife has yet left him under a dark suspicion of guilt. The declaration of his attachment, which under these circumstances he feels himself bound to withhold, is precipitated by circumstances, he and Bell being by a series of accidents carried off to America on board a passenger steamer casually visited by their party during her stoppage at Queenstown. This unintentional elopement lets loose all the flood-gates of scandal as to Rivers's past, and draws down, not unnaturally, the wrath of the heroine's father on the man who has allowed her name to be associated with his own in its disgrace. The final solution is brought about by the exertions of a devoted friend, who succeeds in clearing him of the stain on his character by the discovery of the real murderer. Among the minor personages happily portrayed is Bell's spiteful elder sister, in whom the proselytising zeal of some devout Pharisees is cleverly satirised.

At an Old Château. By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID. London : Ward & Downey. 1891.

MRS. MACQUOID is in her element in describing some of the more romantic aspects of foreign life, and the little drama narrated in her present volume owes much of its charm to the local colour and accessories afforded by its setting in the old Breton Château of Locronan. A family feud interposes a barrier between Manon, the sister of the present owner of the château, and her neighbour, Captain de Camaret, but, as in all romance, this hereditary antipathy is converted into personal sympathy in the case of these two descendants of the rival houses. The young lady has a confidante in Anne Kerlaz, the porter's daughter, who is of course provided with a devoted admirer of her own, while the appearance of an unwelcome suitor for Manon's hand, supported by her brother's authority, still further complicates the situation. Out of these simple materials the art of the narrator weaves an interesting tale, comprising various *contretemps* in the interruption of romantic meetings and the discovery of attempted communications. The reader is for a considerable time left in the dark as to the real clue to the situation—Manon's secret marriage to the representative of the hostile family. The disclosure of this fact in the end exercises a soothing effect on the angry passions that had begun to rise, and the reader is left to wonder why it had not been made before, as the injunction of a dying mother seems an insufficient reason for the maintenance of an awkward mystery on such a subject. So graceful a writer as the author has, however, no difficulty in disguising this slight want of solidity in the basis of her story.

In the Heart of the Storm. By MAXWELL GRAY. London : Kegan Paul. 1891.

A BOOK by the author of "The Silence of Dean Maitland" cannot fail to be readable, from unquestionable gifts of style and narrative power. These qualities are most apparent in the opening scenes of the present work, where the rustic environment of the childhood of the hero and heroine is described with a certain idyllic grace. Much of this charm evaporates as the story progresses, and the attempt to give adventitious interest to the hero's career by a *réchauffée* of the historical incidents of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny has been tried so often as to pall upon the reader. The plot mainly turns on another well-worn theme, the cold-blooded pursuit of a rustic beauty by an unprincipled aristocrat, whose persistent wooing at last drives her from her home in despair at finding her reputation compromised. The obvious, though no doubt useful, moral of the mischief done by good-looking reprobates in high life is farther enforced by her eventual discovery almost in the last stage of starvation by her now repentant persecutor. An unexpected windfall in

the shape of a legacy facilitates his conversion, and enables him to marry her without financial inconvenience, while her ultimate death in consequence of the privations she had previously undergone is the Nemesis of his original cruelty. The love story of her foster-brother Philip is complicated by his early betrothal to her, which binds his conscience though not his affections, as well as by the mystery overhanging his birth, which eventually resolves itself into a disreputable, though aristocratic, father, just released from penal servitude. He is, as usual in such cases, the lawful heir to a baronetcy, but abstains magnanimously from dispossessing the existing claimant, and burns a will in his own favour.

Monsieur Judas. By FERGUS HUME. London: Spencer Blackett.

THE author of "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab" opens his tale, as usual in this school of fiction, with the perpetration of a mysterious murder, and the gradual forging of the chain of evidence leading to an unexpected conclusion. As in most works of this class, too, the *imprévu* is provided at the expense of the probable, and the dramatic surprise is only obtained by the sacrifice of dramatic unity of character. The beginning of the tale is, consequently, better than its *dénouement*, and the climax leaves a feeling of disappointment rather than of satisfaction on the reader's mind. The sudden death during the night of a traveller in a strange hotel, from the effect of an overdose of opium, brings into play the genius of that inspired detective who is always the *deus ex machinâ* of such complications. Rejecting the apparently obvious explanation of suicide or death by misadventure, he proceeds to unravel the whole past history of the victim, starting from the clue afforded by the name of the chemist on the fatal box of pills which has done the mischief. It is in the construction of this part of the story, with the various incidental entanglements bearing on it, that the greatest ingenuity is displayed, suspicion being successively directed to a number of innocent individuals, while the really guilty party is screened until the close. A farcical element is introduced by the peculiarities of some of the secondary characters, in the portraiture of which, indeed, caricature is carried to the verge of the grotesque. "M. Judas" himself, a French chemist's assistant, so nicknamed by his English neighbours, is one of those inconceivable beings speaking a jargon evolved entirely from the novelist's imagination, and utterly unlike any other form of human speech.

An American Girl in London. By SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN.
London: Chatto & Windus. 1891.

THE vivid charm which made the story of this author's imaginary tour round the world such pleasant reading, in the volume entitled "A New Social Departure," enlivens the series of sketches, linked by a slight suggestion of plot, which embody her present

heroine's experiences in London. The *naïveté* and freshness of Miss Mamie Wick, of Chicago, are made the vehicle for presenting to the reader the familiar aspects of London life, shown under a new light by this ingenuous and quasi-unconscious satirist. Many English types are reproduced with a felicity of touch and epithet which has only the barest *souçon* of caricature, while the foibles of fashionable society are touched off with unerring strokes of poignant and swift-winged irony. Yet the satire is throughout without malice, and the button is never off the foil in the word-fence of the author's genial raillery. The peculiar diction of the various social classes, the military slang of Aldershot, the racing jargon of Ascot, the fashionable *argot* of the ball-room and the Park, are reproduced with wonderful fidelity, the slight shades discriminating these various categories of phraseology being often more perceptible to a stranger than to those whose perceptions are blunted by usage. Miss Wick, who is heiress to a large fortune, does not of course escape without a matrimonial plot for securing it, and the stolid reserve of the English wooer, blinding her to the real meaning of his constant attendance on her movements, leads to some amusing complications. Enlightenment only comes in the end by the too obvious adoption of her by his family, and the comedy ends with her return home somewhat disenchanted with the revelation of the interested motive of much of the kindness she has experienced during her stay.

La Fenton. By GWENDOLEN DOUGLAS GALTON. London: Eden, Remington & Co. 1891.

THE name "La Fenton" is not, as the reader might be disposed to imagine, the Italian feminine of an English or American patronymic, but the name of an English country place, the scene of such horrors as Mrs. Radcliffe thought it necessary to veil in the perspective of outlandish distance. The heroine's early life is indeed passed in Italy, and the scenery of the neighbourhood of Palermo gives an appropriate setting to the illusion of her girlish romance, whose hero, an Englishman of the name of Waveney, is one of the numerous class who "love and ride away." The death of Stella Darrell's father coincidently with this disappointment leaves her in the power of his kinsman Philip, who has not only ousted him from his inheritance, but is darkly suspected of having made away with his father. Philip has a son, Robert, no better than himself, to whom he desires to marry Stella, as an alternative to disposing of her in some even less legitimate fashion. Meantime she is lodged in a remote and solitary chamber, equipped with all the properties for melodrama, a tapestry door suggestive of mysterious entrances or exits, and a prevailing sense of mildew, productive of an unwholesome tendency to nightmare. Add to these drawbacks, liability to the incursions of a very unprepossessing beldame, apparently on the verge of homicidal mania, and the reader has the elements of a

considerable amount of nocturnal disturbance. These preliminaries lead up to the final discovery of an imprisoned grandfather, who appears in the end to wreak poetical justice all round, first slaying his enemy in Berserker fashion, and then proceeding to remedy the past by the more orthodox method of making a new will in favour of the heroine.

New Grubb Street. A Novel. By GEORGE GISSING, Author of "The Nether World," &c. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

MR. GISSING'S touch has grown lighter, and his handling, at the same time, more firm, since he wrote "The Nether World." The story of his present book is still sombre and saddening, and the characters seem painfully drawn from life and experience. But things are not so unutterably dreary. The tale concerns itself chiefly with two contrasted literary men, one of whom dies in wretchedness and failure, whilst the other marries a desirable wife, and seems likely to live for many years in as much happiness as the editorship of a leading Review may bring to man. The one who is unfortunate—Edwin Reardon—is so thoroughly unfortunate that the reader at last loses patience with him. After at first—that is, before the story begins—obtaining some success, he loses his nerve, his brightness, his health, his temper, and (it need not be said) his means of livelihood. His young wife, who had married him with the certainty of soon seeing him a famous man, has not the heroism to stick to him in his incapacity, irritability, and bad luck. Their intercourse, in the book, is marked by the most exasperating misunderstandings, and a great deal of the dialogue of the three volumes goes to portray "scenes" in which two fairly refined natures "nag" at one another. All this is intended to be, and probably is, true to nature, but there is just a little too much of it. We find a foil in Jasper Milvain, a shrewd, cynical, hard-working, and not too highly principled young literary man. He says of himself: "I am the literary man of 1882. . . . Literature nowadays is a trade. Your successful man of letters thinks first and foremost of the markets. He knows perfectly well all the sources of income. . . . Writing is a business. There's no question of the divine afflatus; that belongs to another sphere of life. I don't advocate the propagation of vicious literatures; I speak only of good, gross, marketable stuff—for the world's vulgar. . . . Let us use our wits to earn money. If I only had the skill, I would produce novels out-trashing the trashiest that ever sold fifty thousand copies." There is a very good little girl, in the literary line like most of the characters, who, with the fatuity of her sex, falls madly in love with this smart young writer. He, on his side, believing she has five thousand pounds, and being for the time much attached to her, asks her to marry him, and she rapturously consents. When the money

turns out to be only fifteen hundred, the gentleman becomes cool, and there is much woe and no marriage. There are numerous literary characters beside these—Alfred Yule, the irritable and bilious father of the girl just mentioned; Biffen, whose ambition it is to rival Zola in realism, but who conscientiously confines himself to “the decently ignoble,” or “the ignobly decent”; Whelpdale, who lands at last in luck and the editorship of *Chit-chat*, at two hundred and fifty pounds a year; and two young ladies, Jasper Milvain’s sisters, who write for ladies’ newspapers till they find some one who will marry them. The moral of the book is that literature seldom pays; that luck and a friendly purse have much more to do with success than lofty ideals, and that a wife of almost any sort is a terrible encumbrance to a man who has his way to make—unless she is rich enough to make his way for him. Besides poverty, literary men seem particularly liable to colds in the head, bilious attacks, spite, and bad temper. And perhaps Mr. Gissing hints at a deeper moral; for he very clearly brings out how these men who fight and struggle, starve and kill themselves, and their wives and relatives who are interested in their success and failure, are as utterly without sense of religion as the beasts of the field. It is to be feared that the picture is only too real. At all events, the book is interesting from beginning to end.

A Draught of Lethe. By ROY TELLET, Author of “The Outcasts.” Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

THERE is a story in these volumes, but it is terribly spun out, and overloaded with a pretence of science which makes skipping an absolute necessity. A young artist has the good or bad luck to be the means of “resuscitating” a lady, also young, who has already been placed in a mortuary for interment. Before he can marry her about 900 pages have somehow to be filled. First, she finds she has entirely lost her memory; this is the “*Draught of Lethe*.” Then she seems to have been married; and though it turns out to be a Scotch marriage, one of the villains is able to talk darkly about the “restitution of conjugal rights,” the book having been printed before what the newspapers call “the Lancashire Romance” occurred. The chief villain, who happens to be the young lady’s husband, has married another lady, believing the fascinating Evelyn to be dead. His second venture proves to be not only reasonably mad, but an adept with a bowie-knife (“of English make”) which is finally the means of ridding the world of him, and at the same time the occasion for a great deal of prose on the subject of Nemesis, destiny, intersecting paths, and other lofty matters. There is a German doctor, who all but murders the hero with an anæsthetic called “Woraliform”—readers of “*Waterton’s Wanderings*” will recognise where the name comes from. There is also an artist called Vaux, who supplies some light comedy, and thinks himself

descended from one whom the author calls "the great religious reformer whose apotheosis is celebrated on the fifth of November." The young lady recovers her memory, "by the stimulus of cognate impressions," and we leave them in "the sweet summer sunshine," looking into each other's eyes—as a good many couples have been left, and, it is to be supposed, will continue to be left.

Eight Days. By R. E. FORREST, Author of "The Touchstone of Peril." Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

STORIES of the Indian Mutiny are generally interesting; the more so when they are written by one who knows the country and the people. Mr. Forrest writes very seriously, and is, perhaps, a little too didactic. He stops every page or two to deliver, in a parenthesis, some weighty saying about the Indian population, the native army, or the British occupation. He is painfully anxious that we should have before our eyes the map of a country, the plan of a town, the position of a fort. Readers of a novel are apt to resent the necessity for hard mental application, and if they cannot understand things without study they give them up. There is another drawback to perfect lucidity in the book before us, and that is the number of young ladies who are introduced at the very beginning, and whose difference from one another, although the author analyses with some care their respective charms, reduces itself in the reader's mind to the difference of their fathers and mothers. When this story first came out serially in the *Cornhill* it was quite impossible to carry over from one month to another the mental and physical characteristics which appertained to the Mays, Mauds, and Beatrices who ornament the tale from the commencement. The work is life-like and soberly written, and in some parts it attains a high degree of interest. The English persons introduced are the ordinary civilians and army men of an Indian station. They strike one as what they are, viz., as more or less educated and prejudiced English people, with all the inordinate pride, frank courage, and innate Paganism of the English character. One does not wonder in the least how it is that the natives fear and hate them; and when the terrible summons of the Mutiny roused them from their haughty repose, whilst we are filled with horror at what is done, we cannot help seeing some kind of retribution in it. This is not what the author intends, but it comes out in his graphic sketch. His study of the people of the country—princes, pundits, Brahmins, high caste and low caste, traders, robbers, and peasants—is the most useful and not the least part of his work. There is evidence in every page that he knows what he is talking about. All that he says, though circumstances have to a great extent altered during the last thirty years, confirms what is now being insisted upon once more—that the English people know comparatively little of the life and mind of the races which compose our enormous Indian Empire. And as long as there is no serious effort made to Christianise them, they must remain a mystery and a danger.

Eric Brighteyes. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Longmans. 1891.

THE author has found a new and congenial field for his genius in revivifying the old Icelandic literature. Eric Brighteyes is a modernised saga, and the difficult feat has been performed of transcribing it into a vivid and interesting romance. The subject suits the writer's pen to admiration, as it furnishes him with blood-curdling situations, with marvellous adventures, and with frays sanguinary enough to rejoice the heart of Umslopogaas himself. The hero, who is beautiful beyond the sons of men, performs startling and incredible feats of strength and daring, proving himself irresistible in war as in love. The story turns on the rivalry between the half-sisters, daughters of Asmund Asmundson, Gudruda the Fair, and Swanhilda, the beautiful but malignant witch-maiden. The latter is the evil genius of the tale, contriving by her arts to separate the hero and heroine, to woo the former temporarily to her side, and finally to cause the death of both when she can no longer dissolve their union by other means. The drama is laid in heathen times, before the preaching of Christianity in Iceland had dethroned the gods of Walhalla. The finest descriptive passage, recalling those in some of Mr. Haggard's African romances, is that of the vision of Eric and his thrall the night before their death, in which the forms of all those they have slain pass in weird procession before their eyes. The picture of the Norns, giant shapes of fire throned on the snows of Hecla, weaving the loom of fate, and singing as they wove, while "the voice of the one was as the wind whistling through the pines; the voice of the other was as the sound of rain hissing on deep waters; and the voice of the third was as the moaning of the sea," is an impressive rendering of old Scandinavian belief.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik.*

THE March number opens with a memoir of the late Canon Münzenberger, chief parish priest in Frankfort-on-the-Main, a man who was favourably known for his zealous efforts in propagating the Catholic faith in Protestant parts of Germany, for the establishment of convents, as also for the publication of a learned work on the History of the Christian Altar, of great archæological and liturgical value—a work which, unfortunately, he left unfinished. To his unwearied exertions is also due the restoration of the cathedral at Frankfort. Next we have an article by Dr. Paulus, of Munich,

on "Liberty of Conscience," as understood by two champions of the Reformation, Professors Zanchi and Vermigli. These two claimed for the new religion exclusive right to exist, whilst they denied Catholics all opportunity of exercising their old religion, and by sheer force would have constrained them into becoming Protestants. Dr. Falk, parish priest near Mainz, one of our best scholars in the department of mediæval ecclesiastical history and liturgy, contributes a thoughtful paper on the "Perpetual Adoration in the Middle Ages." As a striking example in Germany, he adduces the Elector Ernest of Saxony, who, August 14, 1480, by public deed, established in the cathedral of Meissen a "perpetual choir or service": choristers, vicars, and canons, day and night, alternately sang the solemn offices. The canons who had their stalls near the electoral grave were called "Grabatarii," and those who had to begin the office at eight o'clock "Octaviani." According to Menzel (*Symbolik*, ii. 382), this perpetual choir must have been practised in the great British monastery of Bangor. Father Zimmermann contributes the conclusion of his series of articles on the condition of English Catholics in the reign of James I. Next we note a critical article dealing with a remarkable work by Father Duhr, S.J., recently published under the title of "Jesuit Fables." The institution of the Society of Jesus, as directed to the subversion of Protestantism, the publication of Maria Theresa's general confession, the poisoning of Clement XIV., the "Monita Secreta," and the alleged dangerous educational principles of the Jesuits—such are the topics treated of in the present volume, which successfully shows up the shameless calumniators of the Society, and traces the history of the "Fables." Should Father Duhr bring this learned work to a conclusion, he will succeed in dissipating many prejudices.

In the May number we have a clever article on the educational principles found in Herbart's philosophy. Whatever opinion one may hold on Herbart's system considered in itself, his pedagogical theory, at least in the form it has received from some of his disciples, certainly testifies to the necessity of denominational schools. An excellent article is contributed by Canon Brück, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the episcopal seminary of Mainz, sketching the life of the late Dr. Heinrich, dean of the chapter, and one of the best theological writers of modern Germany. It is much to be regretted that his famous "Dogmatische Theologie," second to no other work in this department for clearness of style and grasp of the most sublime problems of metaphysics and theology, has been left unfinished. Dean Heinrich, too, enjoyed a high reputation as orator and speaker. Next follows an interesting article on General Booth and his Salvation Army, the writer of which has merited well of the German public by putting in its true light the character of this peculiar movement. The title "*Corpus Reformatorum*" is now adopted in Germany for a systematic collection of the writings of the chief Reformers of the sixteenth century. Catholics, so far, have not emulated Protestant example in this respect; but in a

clever article in this number Dr. Falk gives a catalogue of the most prominent defenders of our religion during the Reformation period, and suggests the lines on which their works should be collected and brought out in a critical edition—a thing much to be desired.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The March number of the “*Blätter*” contains an article on the principal dramas of Schiller, which severely criticises Schiller’s treatment of the history and religious position of the Maid of Orleans; a concluding article on the Life of Cardinal Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, one of the most influential prelates of contemporary France, according to his biographer, Mgr. Besson; a contribution on recent literature concerning Mary Queen of Scots, in which due praise is bestowed on the great work of the late Kervyn de Lettenhove; and lastly, an article on Ranke, which tests him by his estimate of Christianity, where no Christian of any denomination can follow him with approval.—The April number contains an article on a letter said to have been sent on Luther’s death by a French ambassador in Rome to his Sovereign, in 1545. There seem to be weighty reasons for attributing this pamphlet to German Protestants, perhaps to Luther himself. Another article discusses the new edition of Professor Gutberlet’s philosophic text-books.—The May issue contains a clever article on the actual condition of Protestantism in Würtemberg, where it may, without exaggeration, be asserted that as to dogma general confusion prevails, and, sad to relate, those who govern the Church are influenced by opinions directly at variance with their official confessions. Indeed, the action on recent Protestant theology of the writings of the late Professor Ritschl, and the opinions of Wellhausen on the Old Testament, have resulted in the creation of a sceptical chasm which will never be bridged over. Among other articles in this May number may be mentioned one on the establishment of the Reformation in the German Palatinate; another on the numerous hospitals throughout Germany in Catholic times dedicated to the Holy Ghost; and an article of mine (the first of two on eminent Scotchmen on the Continent) which is devoted to Ninian Winzet, of Linlithgow, Abbot of St. James, Ratisbon. The opportunity for writing on this vigorous champion of the Catholic faith was given by the admirable edition, by Rev. James King Hewison, of Winzet’s “*Certain Tractes.*”

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Avril, 1891. Paris. (Annual subscription, 25 francs within the Postal Union.)

This number of the *Revue* is of more than usual interest, as may be seen from the titles of some of the chief articles: “St. Bernard

and French Royalty ;” “ The Duke of Alençon’s Conspiracy (1455–1456) ;” “ The Accusations against Mary Queen of Scots ;” “ The Tennis Court Oath, and the Declaration of the 23rd of June.” The shorter articles, too, treat of subjects equally interesting, but are too numerous to be mentioned. I must here confine myself reluctantly to only a selection from the contents.

St. Bernard on Church and State.—Perhaps no man in the Middle Ages was better qualified to deal with the questions which brought kings and ecclesiastics into conflict than the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux. A faithful son of Holy Church, devoted to the See of Rome, a writer well versed in theology and canon law, he was at the same time a statesman engaged in the conduct of affairs, and thoroughly loyal to his country and his king. Such a man was not likely to hold extreme views on the rights either of the State or of the Church. Convinced of the necessity of compromise, he was satisfied with a practical solution of the difficulties. Without going into the abstract, question as to which of the two should be subordinated to the other, he recognises that they are distinct, and that each has a province of its own ; nevertheless, they lean on each other, and render each other mutual aid. He makes use of the comparison of the two swords (St. Luke xxii. 38), which afterwards became so familiar to mediæval writers, and played so important a part in the bull *Unam Sanctam*. But the saint is by no means responsible for the exaggerated opinions which have been based upon a distortion of the meaning of this text. The present Holy Father has clearly laid down that each of the two powers is supreme in its own sphere : “ Ecclesia et civitas suum habet utraque principatum ; neutra paret alteri ” (*Sapientiæ Christianæ*) ; and again : “ Utraque est in suo genere maxima ” (*Immortale Dei*). St. Bernard’s object was to show that the Church, not being able by herself to wield the material sword, possessed the right of calling on the State for protection in the exercise of her spiritual functions and in the enjoyment of her temporal possessions. He was far from denying the authority of the Pope over kings ; but he derives this authority, not from the subordination of royal power to papal, but from the fact that a king, being a baptized Christian, is thereby subject to the common Father of the faithful. He was well aware that the union of the two powers necessitated great sacrifices on the part of the Church. In return for protection, kings might fairly claim a word in elections to bishoprics and abbeys, provided the freedom of religion was not interfered with. The Abbé Vacandard, the writer of the article, is to be congratulated on his treatment of a difficult subject. He has done well to show that in the Middle Ages the last of the Fathers sketched a line of conduct which even now commends itself to devout ecclesiastics and enlightened statesmen. The whole article is well worthy of study.

Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers.—It has long been the fate of Mary Stuart to be tried by partisans or persecutors. Like Marie Antoinette, the mention of her name stirs men’s passions

rather than appeals to their judgment. The Abbé Petit undertakes "coldly and without prejudice" to discuss the chief accusations which are made against her: (1) concerning Riccio, (2) the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell, (3) Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth. He shrewdly observes that her worst enemies are not the heretics who attack her for her religion, but gallants who will not allow the co-existence of beauty and virtue. To their eyes a fair face and a graceful form are the outward signs of a foul mind and a corrupt heart. Riccio was an able statesman, and devoted to the Queen's interests. It was he who brought about her marriage with Darnley, thereby uniting the two nearest heirs of the English throne. But as her husband was nothing but a contemptible debauchee, it is no wonder that Mary continued to be advised by her faithful minister. Darnley's jealousy was aroused by the nobles, who hated Riccio as a foreigner and a Catholic. Surely we have here sufficient explanation for the murder, without having recourse to scandal. The Abbé Petit has no difficulty in disposing of the weak evidence of the Queen's misconduct. The subsequent assassination of Darnley and Mary's marriage with Bothwell are admirably discussed by him. He takes the documents piece by piece—the alleged letters to Bothwell, and the depositions of the assassins—and clearly shows that the unhappy Queen was the victim of an atrocious libel. The marriage, too, is proved to have been a forced one, celebrated to prevent personal violence, and in deference to the peremptory desires of the nobles. The third accusation—Mary's connivance with Babington's conspiracy—is of a different character from the foregoing charges. It is no great reproach to a captive to have joined in schemes for escape; but as this particular plot is said to have involved the assassination of Elizabeth, Mary's connection with it, if proved, would go far to justify her execution. M. Petit distinguishes carefully between the conspiracy to dethrone the Queen of England and the intent to assassinate her. Both can be traced to the arch-plotter Walsingham, but only the former was entered into by the conspirators. The intercepted correspondence with Mary was, however, manipulated by the English Secretary so as to include the baser project. Great critical acumen is shown by M. Petit in his proof that the letters had been tampered with. He says that his treatment of his subject is "cold." I should demur to this depreciatory epithet. He writes calmly indeed, and without prejudice; but his style has all the grace and chivalry which the memory of the injured Queen has the power of bestowing upon those who engage in her defence.

The Tennis Court Oath.—Legend has been busy with the story of the early days of the National Assembly. The towering genius of Mirabeau, and the momentous character of the interests at stake, have naturally tempted writers to indulge in the heroic rather than in the real. M. Marius Sepet, so well known for his quarterly "chronique" in the *Revue*, has done well to tell the story once more, but stripped of the embellishments which have almost

come to be recognised as history. To any sober mind his account will surely commend itself—nay, it will be seen to be more worthy of the great men who led the Assembly than the mock heroics usually attributed to them.

Mgr. Ricard contributes a most interesting episode in the life of the Abbé Maury.

T. B. SCANNELL.

La Revue Generale, Janvier—Juin, 1891. Brussels. (Subscription within the Postal Union, 15 francs a year, post free.)

The completion of a half-yearly volume of this excellent Belgian review is an opportunity for us to recommend it to notice. During last year and this it has assumed a more animated and interesting appearance. With an editorial committee which includes some of the best Catholic literary men of Belgium, Members, Professors of Louvain and Liège, scientific men, &c., the *Revue Generale* aims at giving solid matter in a sufficiently popular manner, and there is a lightness of touch about some of its very best philosophical and scientific articles which makes them quite attractive reading. The *Revue Generale* also does not despise fiction; each number contains one or two well-selected pieces, and sometimes has a serial story, as, for example, "Papillonne," the last unpublished and a posthumous work of the well-known writer, Zénaïde Fleuriot, continued since April last, and to be completed next month. The editors also announce to be commenced in their July number a new novel with the sufficiently suggestive title of "Mademoiselle Sous-Pliocène," by a writer well known to the readers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Correspondant*, M. Charles d'Héricault. Another feature of the *Revue Generale*, which was introduced last year, and which appears to us to be an excellent one, and deserving of special mention, is a bibliographical supplement with independent pagination, so that it can be cast aside, or bound with or separate from the body of the *Revue*. In this supplementary portion is a very full classified list of Belgian and foreign books, and lists of the articles in the chief quarterly and monthly magazines. The better English and American books and reviews find mention here. Brief but generally careful critical appreciations accompany the announcements of the principal works. The supplement is thus trustworthy, and for general purposes a sufficient bibliographical guide.

It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to give at length an account of any of the articles in the body of the *Revue*. We shall merely mention those which have struck us as best in our reading of the six numbers before us. January opened appropriately with six "Contes de Noël," each by a different writer, and contained, besides, an account of the Congrès des Œuvres sociales of Paris, by C. de Moreau d'Andoy; a very good biographical sketch of Cardinal Newman, by Frédéric de Bernhardt; "Mœurs politiques au Japon," by E. de Groote; and other articles. Two articles in February suffi-

ciently explain themselves: "Les Vagabonds et Dom Bosco," by Ch. Woeste, and "L'Ouvrier Russe," by V. Brants; and a third article, completed in March, "L'Instinct chez les Bêtes," by Maurice Lefebvre, is noteworthy as a study of animal instinct, which is both on sound lines and is attractively written: it is primarily a study of M. J. H. Fabre's "Souvenirs entomologiques." "Les Dénrées intellectuelles chez Frère Jonathan," by P. Wauwermans, in April, gives, *apropos* of the new United States Copyright Bill, a foreigner's view of the conflicting interests of British and American authors. The writer judges that the Bill "doit déplacer de Londres vers New York le centre de la librairie en langue anglaise," and that it has degenerated from the high motive which began it, into (so far as its most important disposition goes) "un instrument de protectionnisme mercantile." The June number opens with a useful article by Paul Verhaegen, "Les Sequestrations Monacales en Belgique en 1796," an episode of French rule in Belgium which shows the vile means resorted to by the anti-clericals to spread anti-religious views and vilify the clergy, as a preparation of the public mind for the forcible despoliation of their goods. The chief other papers are: "La Protection de l'Enfance," by Paul Lefebvre; the first of a series of studies on Catholic writers—"Louis Veuillot," by G. Legrand; "L'Arbre de Justice: Mœurs Wallonnes," by the Baron A. de Woelmont; a *compte rendu* of late meetings of the Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, &c.

Notices of Books.

La Passion: Essai Historique. Par Le R. P. M. J. OLLIVIER, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1891. (9 francs.)

THIS interesting attempt to write a truly Catholic and devout historical account of the Passion of our Blessed Lord should be as soon as possible translated into English. We have in Père Ollivier's narrative a history of the last days of our Lord's life, from the Wednesday, when the meeting in the house of Caiaphas decided upon His death, to the resurrection and the succeeding apparitions. The historical part is very full; it is accompanied by an ample commentary which in some cases runs to the length of an *excursus*. Not only are the exact words of the Evangelists incorporated in the text, but the Latin is generally given in the notes. Fathers, theologians, mystics, modern writers, and even non-Catholics, are all laid under contribution; but what will most recommend itself to the clergy and to the

educated laity is the spirit of devotion which breathes everywhere, and the reverence with which the pregnant sayings of saints and contemplatives are cited and in some cases discussed.

The book is beautifully printed, and illustrated with maps and cuts. The style is French, as was to be expected, but sober and comparatively free from mere rhetoric and sentiment. The author does not agree with Sir James Fergusson (to whom, as far as we have observed, he does not refer) in regard to the topography of the Holy City. He follows the traditional view, which places Mount Sion on the western side.

The History of St. Dominic, Founder of the Friars Preachers. By AUGUSTA THEODOSIA DRANE. With Illustrations. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. (15s.)

THE accomplished author of the well-known works, "Christian Schools and Scholars" and "The History of St. Catherine of Siena," has now published a Life of the saintly founder of the Order to which she belongs. More than thirty years ago she wrote a smaller volume entitled "St. Dominic and the Dominicans," which appeared in Burns & Lambert's popular series. How much the life of St. Dominic has grown in the re-writing may be understood from the fact that in the earlier volume it occupied some two hundred and twenty small pages (the remaining hundred and fifty pages were devoted to a sketch of the Dominican Order), whilst here it covers the whole four hundred and eighty pages of a large octavo volume. In the earlier volume, however, the writer purposely left aside the treatment of such historical topics as the Albigensian war and the foundation of the Inquisition. In the present work she enters at length into such details: and her History of St. Dominic will be found, by those who feel interest either in the Saint or in the character of the century to which he belonged, a very complete and attractive volume. In the preface we are given a list of between twenty and thirty of the chief authorities for the Life of the Saint, beginning with that by Blessed Jordan of Saxony, the Saint's successor in the government of the Order; but this bibliography represents only a small portion of the mass of material used: almost every page of the work itself bears witness to very wide and varied reading.

To St. Dominic is so universally attributed the institution of the Rosary that it will perhaps surprise some that our author has to defend St. Dominic's claim to the honour; and that one of the Bollandists, Father Cuyper, in a dissertation attached to the Bollandists' Life of the Saint concludes that either the Rosary existed long before St. Dominic's time, or else that it was not instituted till the fifteenth century, and then by Blessed Alan. This curious alternative conclusion of the learned Bollandist is based on the silence of the earliest biographers of the Saint. Our author sets herself to vindicate the traditional authorship against Father Cuyper and others, and it seems

to us with success. The Angelic Salutation became a popular prayer about the time of St. Dominic : and once it is agreed that the Rosary dates from his time, it is easy to show its special appropriateness to the Saint's purpose. The Albigenses profaned the Pater Noster by the use they made of it in their pseudo-sacrament, the *Consolamentum*, and in their denial of the Incarnation they spread teaching about the Blessed Virgin offensive in the highest degree. To combine, therefore, the Divine Prayer which was being thus degraded with the Salutation of her whose divine maternity was in the thirteenth as it had been in the fifth century the safeguard of faith in the Incarnation, was a practical way of teaching through devotion—the speediest to influence the popular mind. It was the leading idea of St. Dominic—the idea which gave his Order its special character and influence—that the false doctrines of heretics were only to be radically opposed by the teaching of the true Catholic doctrine. The Rosary was well designed to be, as it were, the popular tract (though it was also more) in days when a book was the luxury of a few. And no doubt there was a similar sense of appropriateness in the penance we read the Saint imposed on many of the repentant Albigenses—to wear crosses for a certain period. The cross was abhorred by those heretics ; we know they often burned it, sometimes heaps of them together. When we remember what a crucifix means in France in districts where the authorities have cleared the schools of them, and burned them in heaps, as did the Albigenses long ago, we understand the significance of a penance which, meaningless at other periods, may then have tested very effectively the reality of a conversion. Our author also successfully vindicates the Saint from imputations of cruelty as Inquisitor. St. Dominic, she affirms, never took part in the condemnation of a heretic, nor even possessed power to do so. The real significance of the one severe penance—that imposed on Ponce Roger—on record as imposed by him, is very fairly discussed and explained.

One chapter in the volume—the last but two—is of special interest to us : “ The Dominicans in England.” The Black Friars came to this country in the year of their founder's death, and only a few months before it. The story of their first foundation at Oxford is told in two or three pages. In the same year they were established in London, at Holborn first, where two general chapters were held (1250 and 1263), in the second St. Thomas Aquinas taking an active part ; and later at a site between Ludgate and the river, where now stands Printing House Square. Soon foundations had been made in the great towns, and away westward in the remote valleys of Wales. The conclusion of this chapter may serve as a specimen of the style of this attractive Life, and fittingly conclude our notice of it :

It is to be regretted that such very scanty records have been preserved of the history of the Order in our own land. Foreign writers, when they come to treat of the subject, speak of the inhabitants of these remote islands as we should describe some tribe of the interior of Africa ; and perhaps our own notions of the real conditions of the country at a time separated from our own by six centuries,

and now so utterly revolutionised both socially and religiously, is hardly less vague. It seems like a dream to think of days when St. Thomas (Aquinas) was sitting in council with his brethren in the convent of Holborn, and Blessed Jordan of Saxony was capturing souls in the schools of Oxford; when Blessed Bartholomew of Braganza was negotiating treaties at the English Court, and St. Vincent Ferrer was preaching to the multitudes from those rocks on Clifton Downs which still bear his name; when the white habit of the Friars preachers was worn by some of our greatest prelates, and was a familiar object in the thoroughfares of our great cities, or among the lanes and byways of our country villages. But it is a profitless thing to linger among dreams. Rather will we remind ourselves that the Lord's hand is not shortened, nor does His grace ever fail. The orange-tree of St. Dominic still flourishes at Sta. Sabina, and sends forth new shoots even in the midst of her desecrated cloisters, as though to remind us, when we are disposed to think of the ages of faith as something that have passed away for ever, that even in an unbelieving age God keeps a protecting hand over the ancient faith, the ancient devotions, and the ancient Orders of His Church (p. 453).

L'Œuvre des Apôtres—Fondation de l'Eglise Chrétienne. Par l'Abbé E. LE CAMUS. Paris: Letouzey et Ané. (6 francs.)

THE Abbé Le Camus published some years ago a learned and scholarly "Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The excellent work before us is a fitting sequel to it, and will add considerably to the writer's reputation as an apologist. He is not afraid to face the objections of the Tübingen school and other modern Rationalists, and hence his works have a special critical value; and his extensive erudition is clothed in a style that is both clear and elegant. The present work is divided into three parts. The first, "The Beginnings of the Church in Jerusalem, or the Church and the Jews," gives in seven chapters a picture of the first days of conversions within the Holy City. The second part, "The Manifestation of the Church outside Jerusalem, or the Church and the Hellenists," deals in eight chapters with the origin of the diaconate, and the conversion and early preaching of St. Paul. The third part, "The Enfranchisement of the Church at Antioch, or the Church of the Christians," in twelve chapters, follows the history recorded in the Acts to the detachment of the Church from Judaism at Antioch. An interesting chapter in this part, descriptive of Antioch in the first century, is accompanied by a map of the city, prepared by the author. Before he uses the text of the Acts of the Apostles the author enters into a powerful defence of the authenticity and historical value of the Acts. We warmly recommend his book. It will intensify faith in the divinity of Christianity, and prove a useful help to those who have to defend the divinity of Christianity against modern attacks.

1. *L'Alsace et l'Eglise au temps du Pape Saint Léon IX.* (Bruno d'Egisheim), 1002-1054. Par le P. PIERRE-PAUL BRUCKER, S.J. Two vols. Paris: Retaux-Bray. (9 francs.)
2. *Saint Gregoire VII. et la Reforme de l'Eglise au XI. Siècle.* Par l'Abbé O. DELARC. Three vols., et table alphabétique et analytique. Paris: Retaux-Bray. (21 francs.)

THESE two recent biographies deal with sections of Church history separated by less than twenty years of time, and identical, both as to their political aspect, and as to the character of the special dangers and abuses against which the two Pontiffs contended. We may well, therefore, give them a united welcome, and recommend them to the attention of students. They are both works of that minute and patient original research which raises so much recent French historical writing into the first rank. Both works, too, are excellently brought out by the publishers—printed in good-sized, legible type, on substantial paper; and the volumes on St. Leo IX. are adorned, the one with a portrait of the Pope, and the other with a view of the Château of Egisheim, where he was born—an octagonal castle, with drawbridge and moat, whose mediæval walls were probably themselves a re-erection on older Roman foundations. Père Brucker—whose name, by the way, as one of the Bollandist writers, is of itself a guarantee for the solid and scholarly character of this Life of Leo IX., dedicates initiatory chapters to sketches of Alsace in general, and of Egisheim in particular, and of Bruno's boyish days and home-life there, which are full of archæological erudition. Père Brucker is an Alsatian, and it will be understood that he dwells with a loving tenderness on all the details of its ancient and Catholic life. There is a touching page (xxxvi.) where he claims for the Alsace of to-day that it is still devotedly Catholic and pious.

It is well known that Bruno (afterwards Leo IX.) was selected by Henry III. as candidate for the papal throne. Père Brucker's chapter (vi.) on the Election, places all the incidents of this episode in their true adjustment. It is clear enough, from the fact that Bruno would not accept the dignity until he had presented himself at Rome, and been *chosen* there by clergy and people, that he himself attributed no power of election to Henry; it is not so clear either that Henry liked this act, which left his choice of Bruno a mere designation, or that he would not have liked to hamper the pontifical acts of Leo against simony by considerations of indebtedness to himself for the pontifical dignity. It would be impossible to give an idea of the interest of each page that tells of Leo's active and almost romantic pontificate: his apostolic journeys through Italy, France, Alsace, Flanders; his acts at Reims, Mayence, Cologne, Venice, and most of the important centres of Italy; and the councils he held in numerous places, his campaign against the Normans in Italy, and defeat in the battle of Civitella—these are among the more striking events. Père Brucker defends the recourse of Leo to arms, denies that he was a prisoner of the victorious Normans at Beneventum, or that he gave them in fief

any of the lands they had conquered in Italy and Sicily. Simony was the arch-enemy against which the Pope legislated in so many councils ; and we have seldom read anything more terrible in its way than the graphic account in these pages (vol. ii. p. 8 *seq.*) of the acts of a council held at Reims from the 3rd to 6th October 1049. Père Brucker gives a sketch of the location of the bishops who took part in it, around the Pope and before the tomb of St. Remigius, and we note the presence of the Bishop of Wells—not then united to Bath—Duduc, the Saxon. Some of the accusations made in open council against several of the prelates sitting there make one wince. Leo's vigilance was not confined to simony ; the condemnation of Berengarius's errors as to the Holy Eucharist is due to him, as also the refutation, and finally the condemnation, of Cerularius. When we add to this varied exterior record that Leo was a man of profound piety, humble, austere to himself, gentle to others, we touch the secret of his power and the highest lesson which his life presents. The one fault we find with Père Brucker's wonderfully complete Life is the absence of an index—a sad omission in a work bristling with details.

The name of Hildebrand is enough to recall the multitudinous accusations that have long been current against him in not only popular but historical literature, and even in that modern historical work of the better kind which is marked by fearless research and the effort to be impartial ;—what won't you find said against the terrible Hildebrand, either seriously as in regret, or contemptuously as fact beyond reach of honest doubt ? And it has been seriously asserted that but for his severity the Church would ere long after his time have permitted a married clergy ! There are indeed few Popes, if there be even one, whose career presents a wider field for the labours of a patient historian. The Abbé Delarc appears to us to possess the qualifications for his great undertaking. His researches have been long prosecuted in all the repertories of sources, whether published or lying in archives and libraries ; he has that mastery over an accumulation of evidence which enables him to weave a straightforward narrative. The text, however, is filled with translated extracts from the original authorities, and an abundance of notes enables the student to verify every serious assertion of the text. There is issued in a separate thin volume a very full index, for which the reader will heartily thank the author. The three volumes, only recently sent to us, contain together 1550 pages octavo : it has been impossible yet to read them through ; we hope to speak of them another time, and meanwhile must be content to say that, so far as we can see, they are unreservedly to be commended as the work of an able historian. As to theoretical explanations of Gregory's summary acts towards recalcitrant temporal Sovereigns, the author in the same Introduction rejects the theory of a public right recognised at that time, and either by delegation or tacit consent accorded the Pope by mediæval Europe. "*Consentement tacite des peuples,*" he says, "*droit public de la chrétienté médiévale, grands mots imaginés après coup,* mais qui ne répondent guère à des réalités historiques du passé ; l'érudition montrera au contraire ce qu'il-y-a de

profondément ironique dans de telles expressions appliquées à une telle époque." Gregory himself, he adds, knew nothing of a power purely directive and a right that was transitory and depended on the recognition of the nations: he would not have understood you: "Et vous montrera l'Evangile: là est consigné son droit, là sont tracés ses devoirs." A power of jurisdiction, at least indirectly, over temporal things, founded on revelation and of divine right, goes nearer to being an explanation of Gregory's deeds and of his language.

"*The Story of the Nations.*" *Portugal.* By H. MORSE STEPHENS. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891. (5s.)

THE recent disputes arising out of the rival claims of the British and Portuguese colonists in South Africa give a certain *actualité* to Mr. Stephens' work; but apart from this interest derived from passing events, it has a permanent value as a clear popular history of a State that has been the ally of England from the days when English arms first helped the House of Braganza to establish Portuguese independence, down to the later and better known wars in which Portugal supplied the fulcrum for the lever with which Wellington overturned Napoleon's power in the Peninsula. Mr. Stephens does full justice to the glorious chapter of Portuguese history which began with the discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and culminated in the exploits of Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque, and Da Castro. He gives the Catholic missionaries credit for their part in the work of exploration and civilisation accomplished by the Portuguese, though he might have said more on this head. In dealing with the Inquisition, and with the policy of Pombal, he does not always rise superior to traditional prejudices. But making due allowance for such defects, the book is a useful one, not the least useful that it may serve as an antidote to some of the ill-judged and ill-natured language lately used towards the Portuguese by a section of the English press. We trust Mr. Stephens will not be altogether disappointed in the hope he expresses—

That a clearer knowledge of the old and tried friendship of the English nation with the Portuguese may influence in some degree the attitude taken by a portion of the English people towards their ancient ally in the dispute with regard to the extent of the Portuguese possessions in Africa.

Like all the series to which it belongs, the book is very well illustrated.

La Morale Catholique, et l'Irresponsabilité Déterministe. Par l'Abbé G. PÉRIES, Docteur en Droit Canonique. Arras. 1891.

THIS able and interesting pamphlet is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* last year. It is a vigorous defence of human liberty against determinism, which (as it truly says) is urged upon us now by writers of all kinds, from philo-

sophers to novelists. A special feature of the essay is the attention which is given to the relations of insanity, alcoholism, hypnotism, &c., to free-will, and M. Péries shows that he has studied the extensive literature of the subject thoroughly and intelligently. The chief objection we have to make to it is its brevity; a fault, if any, on the right side. This is probably why the author is obliged to be a little too sweeping in his statement of his opponents' views, and hardly allows for the qualifications with which they would modify them. So, too, in his desire to be brief, he has not made it plain to which of the great schools which exist in the Church he belongs. There is much difference in meeting objections of the present day, whether one follows the Jesuit teaching, that the essence of free-will consists in being able to choose the less desirable of two objects, or the Dominican view, which bases liberty upon the power of the will to check deliberation at any stage. It is to be hoped that M. Péries may have the opportunity of filling in these omissions in a larger and more important work, for which he is evidently excellently qualified.

The Oracles of God. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D. London: Longmans. 1891. (4s.)

SIX of the lectures in this volume were delivered by Dr. Sanday last year as Oxford Preacher at Whitehall, the last three being given at Oxford. Any work of his is sure to show learning and ability, and will be read by the student with interest, though we should have preferred to meet him in his own special province rather than in the more general one he has here chosen. He deals with the results of recent criticism of the Old Testament, and, accepting the concessions of the school represented by Professors Cheyne and Driver, seeks to discover how far the doctrines of inspiration current among non-Catholics are affected thereby. As the evidence for these conclusions is not here before us, we will content ourselves with briefly stating Dr. Sanday's line of thought, remarking only on one or two details.

He begins by urging that the recent criticism, which he supposes proved, does not affect the validity of the teaching of the Old Testament in any point of importance, nor its prophetic witness to Christ on the whole (though there may be some change in the interpretation of particular prophecies); but he admits that it does affect our conception of the Old Testament as the vehicle of revelation. That is to say, the tendency is to believe the human element in the Bible is larger than had been supposed. The Divine element in the Old Testament is shown to be claimed in every part thereof. The consciousness of the sacred writers themselves, that the words they spoke were put into their mouths by God, is "a point where criticism must come to a standstill." Speaking generally, the Divine element in Holy Scripture

is considered to be its prophetic portion, while the historical parts are looked upon as the human element, the two shading off into each other by almost insensible degrees. One lecture (the eighth) is devoted to considering the bearing of our Lord's language on these views as to the origin and authorship of the books of the Old Testament.

Dr. Sanday rejects the explanation some have offered, that when our Lord attributed the Law to Moses and a Psalm to David, He accommodated His language to current notions, knowing them to be false, preferring to think that "He condescended not to know," such ignorance being part of the "exinanitio" of the Incarnation.

The last lecture is on "The Special Value of the Old Testament at the Present Time." Its object is to popularise the teaching of the German so-called "historical" school, of which Ritschl was the founder, and A. Harnack is the most prominent representative. The leading idea is that Catholicism grew up in the period after the Apostles, through defective understanding of St. Paul and of the Old Testament, and through the influence of Greek ideas. "St. Augustine (partially) and the Reformers (again partially) re-discovered St. Paul, and I will make bold to add that the full re-discovering and the full appropriating of the Old Testament are the special problem of our own day."

With this Dr. Sanday connects Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures on the influence of Greek thought on Christianity, and he concludes by urging a more careful study of the Old Testament, especially of the Prophets, as a necessary means of understanding the New. With this conclusion we are not disposed to quarrel, and we gladly note that our author appears to endorse Harnack's teaching, that the Catholic system is at least as old as the days of St. Irenæus and Origen. But when we come to consider the view in itself, objections crowd upon us, which we can only indicate here. We think Dr. Sanday ought in fairness to have told his hearers that the hypothesis of Ritschl and his school is based upon the assumption of a very different form of primitive Christianity than he would be himself disposed to assert. Again, one of Ritschl's chief points is the inability of St. Clement of Rome to master the Old Testament background of St. Paul's teaching, whereas it is more likely that that Father was himself a convert from Judaism than a Gentile. Of course no one will deny the great and, as we should say, providential influence of both Greek and Roman thought on the development of the Church. But the striking contrast of Catholicism with those heresies which were developed under excessive Greek influence (Gnosticism), or cut the connecting-link with the Old Testament (Marcionism), is the best evidence how limited Hellenic influence, after all, was in the Church.

There is an interesting Appendix on "The Date of the Psalter." Dr. Sanday argues from the text which must have been used by the writers of the New Testament, and from the titles of the Psalms, that the Psalter must have been completed at an earlier date than modern critics are disposed to allow.

1. *Trade Unionism, New and Old.* By GEORGE HOWELL, M.P. London : Methuen & Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)
2. *Problems of Poverty.* By JOHN A. HOBSON, M.A. London : Methuen & Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)

MESSRS. METHUEN are publishing a series of twelve handy volumes on "Social Subjects of To-day," under the editorship of Mr. H. de B. Gibbins—and these are the first two which appear. Mr. George Howell's views are pretty well known to all who have read his "Conflicts of Capital and Labour." In the present work he enters into a minute description of the "new" Trades Unionism, and lets it be clearly seen that his sympathies are not in favour of its methods. For the rest we have an interesting sketch of the "organisation" of labour in this country from the days of the Catholic Guilds downwards.

Mr. Hobson treats of the poor and their condition; what is meant by "Poverty"; what effect machinery has had on the working-classes; the influx of the population into large towns; "sweating," its causes and its remedies; the condition of women who work; and "socialistic legislation." The book seems to be marked by moderation and good sense. It closes with a valuable list of works and papers on the Social question. If Mr. Charles Booth's second volume of "The Labour and Life of the People" had been out when these pages were written, some passages would have been modified and some expanded.

If this series goes on as it has begun, its volume will form a most useful commentary on the Encyclical on the Labour Question.

Celui Qui Est. Essai par FRÉDÉRIC DE CURLEY, S.J. Paris : Victor Retaux et Fils. (Ancienne Maison Retaux-Bray). 1891.

THE subject of this philosophical essay (an octavo volume of 350 pages) is that natural knowledge of God, which is the completion of science and a first preliminary of faith. It is a subject, the author affirms in his preface, which is much neglected within the ranks of orthodoxy, whilst from outside it is violently attacked. The *libres penseurs*, he says, "direct all their batteries against the Existence of God. And from the point of view of polemic and apology, this question is *the* great question—it may be called the unique question." Although this may not be true here, as it is in France, yet a good treatise in a living language on the existence of God is not without value and interest in England. Father De Curley uses the old scholastic arguments wherever available, but restates them with reference to modern scientific facts and difficulties; and his style of writing is simple and straightforward. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with those verities which must be pre-supposed, prior to any demonstration of God's existence; and we have chapters on Scepticism, Certitude, Essence, Existence, Sensation, &c. The

second part—the demonstration—consists in three propositions of advancing importance: the first is, The World has a Creator; the second, The Creator of the World is an Intelligence; the third, The Creator-Intelligence exists *per se*. The first proposition is proved from the nature of finitude and number, and then more directly by the old argument of “motion”—*omne quod movetur ab alio movetur*. This portion of the work is specially valuable and interesting. The second proposition is demonstrated by arguments from the nature of chance and of order, and by the argument that the intelligence postulated by the order prevailing in the world is not itself in the world, but is an intelligence distinct from it. The third proposition affirms the existence of God since this Creator-Intelligence which the world demands must exist *a se*. The work concludes with a moving “Elevation” to that God whom the human mind can find in the world, His creation, and whom the human heart must love; having been created for Him, in Him alone will its affections find full rest. Father De Curley’s book is a piece of sustained and cogent reasoning. We believe there is neither a note or reference to, or an extract from, an authority throughout the volume; the author appeals to reason, and works out his appeal by arguments alone—many of them, as we have said, the old class-book proofs restated.

The Sinless Conception of the Mother of God. A Theological Essay.
By FREDERIC GEORGE LEE, D.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
1891. (15s.)

IN this volume an Anglican clergyman defends and explains for the benefit of his fellow-Protestants the Catholic dogma of Our Lady’s Immaculate Conception. It is a remarkable volume, for the author is neither apologetic nor hesitating in his language about the Blessed Virgin. On the contrary, he inveighs against Protestant prejudices, and boldly adopts both Catholic teaching and language. The statement and defence of the dogma is made with considerable fulness, and with large illustration of patristic and theological quotation; and is sufficiently correct and in accord, in its main points, with our own theological language. The author even claims as a duty from Protestants their acceptance of the dogma because the “Father of the Faithful”—whom he elsewhere calls “Authority”—has defined it! And he treats his readers to a translation in full of the Pope’s Bull “*Ineffabilis*” (Pius IX., 1854), which will be very valuable, if only they will carefully peruse it. His own explanation, we trust, will help to dissipate prevailing misconceptions of Catholic teaching on this point, and to encourage devotion to Our Lady. The book presents to us inconsistencies—inevitable from the author’s peculiar position. But we need not dwell on them. May she reward him, in her own way, “Whose gracious patronage and protection now and at the hour of death,” he says in his Dedication, “he constantly and earnestly asks.”

Little Manual. For the private use of the Brotherhood and Confraternity of EXPIATION. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THE Confraternity of Expiation, by which it is sought to spread over wider area the spirit and essential work of the Brotherhood (founded in London in 1886, under the direction of the Cardinal Archbishop) is organised for "the enrolment of all those who sigh and mourn for all the abominations that are committed upon the earth." It takes a view of the world in Faith; it seeks to help the work in a spirit of Faith by self-sacrifice, penance, and prayer in the spirit of expiation. The Holy Father has blessed the work of Expiation, and augurs for it that it will do much to draw down the merciful compassion of God on His erring children. The manual, which the Cardinal Archbishop recommends, contains a choice variety of devout prayers, ejaculations, practices, and readings, both new and old. It is admirably adapted for general use as a prayer-book, and more especially for fostering a spirit of expiatory penance.

Eléments de Droit Naturel. Par Don RAPHAEL DE CEPEDA, Traduit de l'Espagnol par Aug. Onclair. Paris: Retaux-Bray. 1890. (7 francs.)

THE author of this valuable manual (a volume of 600 octavo pages) is Don R. de Cepeda, the Professor of Natural Law in the University of Valencia, and his work in the original Spanish enjoys already a deservedly high reputation. The French translation, excellently made by a priest well known for translations of various similar works, has been made from the second Spanish edition. The field of Natural Law is a wide one, and embraces a vast number of important questions. The present volume presents a surprisingly complete conspectus of it, and the treatment, though necessarily brief, is solid and interesting. A glance over the subject-matter of the Lessons (in which form the "Elements" is written) will best give an idea of the character and the importance of the topics discussed. The doctrine, it need not be said, is that of Christian and Catholic teaching and tradition, and should recommend itself to others than Catholics by its precision and sobriety, more particularly at a time when social questions so ardently discussed are often imperfectly if not wrongly appreciated. The main headings, forming the great divisions of the book are: "Morale Générale," which is preliminary, as is also the "partie Générale" of the body of the work, in which are discussed such questions as the existence, and character of social order, the necessary connection of law with morals, and an *exposé* and refutation of the varied erroneous systems of Natural Law; "Individual Rights," which is subdivided into—1, Natural (*Innés*), and 2, Acquired; "Social Right," under which head the subdivisions are—Domestic Society, the Family and Marriage; the Rights of Children and of Parents; Moral and Social Mission of the Family; Inheritance, &c.; "The

State" (its nature, origin, object, and the extent and character of the "civil power"), and various questions as to the nature, limits, &c., of the relation of the civil power to individuals, the family, and the "classes"—especially labour legislation—and as to the duty of the State as regards public morality and education; "Forms of Government," "International Law," and lastly "Church and State," a portion of the work expedited much too briefly for its importance, perhaps because here the author began to verge on the subject-matter of other professors.

"Human Acts and Freewill," "The Nature and Basis of Morality," "The Nature of Responsibility," "The Necessity of Law," "The Character of the Eternal and Natural Law," "The Force and Obligations of Conscience," these are the subjects of half a dozen of the preliminary Lessons. Whether such topics are as near being of "popular" interest in England as among more metaphysical people abroad may be doubted; but to adduce no other consideration, the way—too often lamentable—in which these very topics are dogmatised on in much of our newspaper and periodical literature, is enough proof of the value to English readers of a reliable manual such as this. The same remark applies, perhaps, even more urgently at the moment to our author's Lessons on the "Natural or Inborn Rights of Man" (pp. 183–227), where he proves the existence, inalienability, and also the limits of these rights. He deals with them in detail as follows: The Right—1, to Live; 2, of Legitimate Defence; 3, of Property; 4, of Personal Dignity (so often abused in the relations of employer and employed, hours of labour, &c.); 5, Liberty of Conscience; 6, of Independence (the right every man has to a legitimate free exercise of his powers, and appropriation of the fruits and results thereof, &c.—a "lesson" which is illustrated by the present Papal Encyclical "On the Condition of Labour"); and, 7, the Right of Association. It will be seen that for a further study of some of the most vital questions treated by the Holy Father in his last and former Encyclical Letters (to the principles laid down in which our author makes frequent reference), there could scarcely be a more opportune book, nor, within its limits, a better than Don de Cepeda's "Elements de Droit Naturel." It is now within reach of countless readers to whom Spanish is unknown; but if any one would translate it into English, amplifying here and there, if he would, with a view to the special needs of the English "general reader," he would confer a boon on his generation.

Le Prêtre et la Vie d'Etude. Par M. L'ABBE MOUSSARD. Paris : Retaux-Bray. 1890.

THIS is the earnest appeal of an aged priest to the levites and younger members of the priesthood for a life of study. The dangers of an unoccupied life (unoccupied, that is, beyond professional duties that do not fill the day) and the dangers of allowing other interests than books to become, instead of diversions, occupations; and

the pleasure, the advantages of study, and even the necessity of it for the priest of modern times, are set forth with much force; every assertion being enforced by the words and examples of the saintly and wise in every century. Making all due allowance for the difference between the missionary life of priests in these countries, and the life of the French clergy of to-day, very much of what the Abbé Moussard says will be found practical and valuable everywhere. So also will the author's further chapters on the kinds of study a priest should choose for his own, the order of preference, and the rules of study. These last are evidently the fruit of a long experience; the rules for acquiring a foreign language are certainly noteworthy and valuable. We would only suggest to the venerable author a fuller bibliography, and an Index—a desideratum in a book so full of reference and titles.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *St. Catherine of Siena. St. Aloysius Gonzaga.* By the Rev. FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J., 1d. each. *The Ven. Jean Baptiste Vianney, Curé d'Ars.* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA, 6d.
2. *Woman's Work in the African Missions.* By EDITH RENOUF. *The Precious Blood.* Short Meditations for July. By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. *Pearls from the Hidden Treasure of Holy Mass.* By BLESSED LEONARD of Port Maurice, 1d. each.
3. *Missing Links. A Tangled Tale. The Gains of Speculation. The Empire of Man.* By the Rev. JOHN GERARD, S.J., 1d. each.
4. *The Three Claims. Abstinence and Moderation* (each 2s. per 100).

1. **T**HE C.T.S.'s publications multiply so fast that it is not easy to keep count, or give more than mere mention of them. Numbers here do not, however, imply deterioration of quality, and we are glad to learn from the Society's last Report (1890-91) that up to the present almost the only one of their numerous publications which has failed to sell is their "Annual"—the publication of which is to be discontinued for the present. The three little works above are biographies of interest, and deserve to be largely read. That of St. Aloysius appears appropriately for the Saint's Centenary. The special claim to notice which Miss O'Meara's life of the Curé of Ars has, is the charming ease and simplicity of her narrative. This Life of the saintly and remarkable priest deserves to be very popular.

2. Miss Renouf's *brochure* gives an interesting account of the new order of women, the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa, established by Cardinal Lavigerie. The Sisters will devote themselves, some to hospital work, some to following in the footsteps of the missionary priests, and working for the instruction and help of African women and children. Among polygamous tribes the missionary can have no communication with native women. "Christian women only can bring the blessings of Christianity to their African sisters." This well-written

exposé of their work is intended to arouse interest in it—also to move the generous to subscriptions. The other little works named above sufficiently explain themselves.

3. In these excellent papers the author of "Science and the Scientists" extends his criticism and refutation of the theories of those scientists, so called, and notably of the evolutionists, whose knowledge does not rise to the level of their imagination. His method of meeting plausible theory with hard facts is admirable. The papers are full of information, which Father Gerard has the happy knack of conveying in a charming style, but always with a sustained ability which is an evidence of the extent of his own close observation of nature's laws.

4. These are two tracts for distribution. The first in catechetical form gives brief refutation of the three Anglican Claims known as Branch Theory, the Continuity Theory, and the Claim of Apostolical Succession. It is an able and effective tract. The second, which is signed with the name of Mr. C. Kegan Paul, is an earnest plea for a widespread adoption of total abstinence, even among those who know they have the power to use drink without abusing it. Moderation of statement and an intensely earnest tone characterise this well-written paper.

Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. An Examination into its Origin and Early History, with an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B., and EDMUND BISHOP. Second Edition. London: John Hodges. 1891. (12s.)

JUST in time for a line of welcome, comes the second edition of this valuable work. That a second edition should be required within nine months of its first appearance is a gratifying sign of the interest it has evoked. As the new edition is substantially a reprint, it is needful here to call attention only to the Preface to it, which is new. One of the points raised by the authors in this Preface is specially interesting. In his judgment of November last, in the Bishop of Lincoln's case, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave prominence to the theory of an influence having been exercised on Cranmer and the Prayer-book by an edition of Isidore of Seville, which appeared in 1534, and in the Dedication of which (to Dr. Robert Ridley) Cranmer was named as "*vir eruditus et theologus insignis*"—Joannes Cochleus was its editor. This theory of Isidorean influence, the authors say they had examined previous to their first edition, and had concluded not to notice it, as "*devoid of any foundation in fact.*" They now, however, deal with it in some detail. First they point out that St. Isidore's work ("*De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*"), which the Archbishop thus refers to, "*is not a Liturgy in any sense, but an exposition, and often a mystical interpretation of ecclesiastical life and practice.*" They proceed, however, to give in full the chapter on the Mass and prayers, parallel with Mr. Burbidge's arguments for their influence on Cranmer's Prayer-book. We quote the summing up (not the process,

for which the reader must be referred to their pages) of their deliberate conclusion :

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the whole of St. Isidore's work runs directly counter to the line of ecclesiastical policy which Cranmer and his friends were forcing on the nation during Edward's reign ; and that he could not have looked to it as a guide in the revision of the Communion Service of 1552. The key to this, the authors believe, is to be found in Cranmer's own works.

The material appearance of this volume calls for a word of acknowledgment. Paper is substantial and type clear, and the plan adopted by Mr. Hodges of bringing out these volumes with gilt tops is one which—as a preventative against dust—we wish publishers would more generally adopt.

Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. By B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham. London : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

DR. WESTCOTT explains in the Preface to this volume that the essays it contains are only fragments of a larger design. He had intended, by examining the teaching of all the leaders of religious thought in the West, to show how far the Gospel satisfies our national aspirations. The subject is excellently fitted to Dr. Westcott's keen sympathy even with forms of thought which are not his own, while the Catholic reader will not be puzzled by the vagueness of expression which hinders his enjoyment of the Bishop of Durham's other works. The five first essays in the volume originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and may therefore be known to the reader. Three of them deal with pre-Christian subjects—the Myths of Plato, Æschylus, and Euripides—and these express, with great beauty, the feeling of the Greek mind in its different stages, after a divine guide and supernatural assistance; the “testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.” One very sympathetic chapter is devoted to the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite, the beauty of whose thoughts is recognised, in spite of the husk of florid rhetoric which clothes them.

With the essay on “Origen and Christian Philosophy” we should be in less general agreement. Not that we desire to stint the praise bestowed on the principles and spirit, as distinguished from the opinions, of that great thinker. But we should side more decidedly with St. Augustine in the comparison which our author draws between the two Fathers, where his sympathies are evidently with Origen.

The remaining essays have never before appeared in print. The one on “Some Points in Browning's View of Life” is a very careful analysis of the moral teaching of that poet. Dr. Westcott points out that Browning's general subject is the Divine element made known to us by the struggles of the human soul. The main truths taught by the poet, and beautifully illustrated from his works, are “that life must be treated as a whole, that learning comes through suffering, that every failure felt to be failure points to final achievement; that the invisible present is but one scene in an illimitable growth.”

"The Relations of Christianity to Art" deals with a wider and more debated subject. Dr. Westcott's purpose is to show that Christianity had to recognise and to reconcile the contrasted aspects of imitative art which had found expression in Judaism and Hellenism. "Christian art embodies the twofold conception of the spiritual destiny of the visible, and of a spiritual revelation through the visible. The central fact of the Christian faith gives a solid unity to both truths." The historical facts adduced are almost all derived from Catholic authors; and the conclusions, with few exceptions, such as we should draw.

"Christianity as the Absolute Religion" is an eloquent vindication of the power that Christianity possesses to satisfy all the needs of the human intelligence and will, summing up, as it does, all the separate excellences of other religions.

The last essay, on Benjamin Whichcote, is the least interesting of the series. He was the Provost of King's College during the Commonwealth, and his chief claim to notice seems to be that he was a precentor of the Cambridge Platonists, and of Shaftesbury.

Studies in the Arthurian Legend. By JOHN RHYS, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1891.

WE may recommend Professor Rhys's learned book to students of Welsh literature. He takes great pains in tracing the origin of the various legends connected with King Arthur. The character of the work is its extremely tentative and, if we may use the word, hesitating character. Professor Rhys settles nothing, though he makes a number of suggestions and draws out a great many analogies. Even the Solar Myth theory itself, which in his Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom he applied to the Arthurian cycle, he now seems to be very uncertain about, though he uses its term throughout the present publication. The book is not easy reading, for the Professor has not the gift of clearness, and Welsh legends are somewhat confusing.

The Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder and Stoughton. (7s. 6d. each vol.)

THIS series of publications, the work of eminent theological scholars, whilst based upon the most recent results of Biblical research, is intended to have a more or less popular character. "The Book of Isaiah," the author has divided into two volumes, taking advantage of the break that occurs after chapter xxxix. He bases his comments upon a careful study of the Hebrew text, and in most cases where he gives a translation of the original, the translation is entirely his own. He alludes in several places to the belief of the Jews in a future state, and discusses the much controverted meaning of the word *sheol*. We cannot agree with the learned author that the Jews held the very unsubstantial views he attributes to them in

regard to the condition of men after death. Neither does he seem to us to do justice to the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah. Whilst himself believing in the Divinity of Jesus Christ, he would persuade his readers that they must not look to Isaiah for any prophetic announcement of the coming of the Son of God. "Just because we know the proofs of the Divinity of Jesus to be so spiritual, do we feel the uselessness of looking for them in prophecies." Dr. Plummer has brought out the volume on "The Pastoral Epistles." Every one knows that the epistles referred to under this title are the two to Timothy, and the epistle to Titus. Dr. Plummer is convinced of the genuineness of all three. They were never called in question, he says, from the first century to the nineteenth, and at the present day, whilst a majority of scholars decide in their favour, those that are opposed to them are hopelessly at variance with one another. In connection with the well-known passage, "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching," &c. (2 Tim. iii. 16), Dr. Plummer gives his views on Inspiration. He does not believe in verbal inspiration, nor does he think that inspiration overrides the personal characteristics of the inspired writers; so far we agree. Then he goes on rather farther than we can follow. "Inspiration does not preserve the inspired writers from every kind of mistake. That it guards them from error in respect to matters of faith and morality, we may well believe, but whether it does more than this remains to be proved." The author's views on the origin of the Christian ministry, and other subjects, though we are not always in accord with them, are not without interest. He has compiled the volume with much care and labour, and the tone of the book is in pleasing contrast with the too prevalent rationalistic teaching of the day.

Mary of Nazareth. A Legendary Poem. By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW, Bart. London: Burns & Oates. (2s. 6d. net.)

AS each of the three parts appeared, in which "Mary of Nazareth" was first issued, we praised the devout spirit and graceful melody of the verses. We are glad to see it now appear in one volume, which is neatly bound in cloth, in which form (still better in richer bindings) it will make an excellent gift-book. His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop has written to its author a thoughtful appreciation of the poem, which, as it is in print, it is permissible for us to quote:

"Mary of Nazareth" is a beautiful and devout poem, and will, I believe, be very instructive, especially to those who come into the Church and have never fully known the sanctity, the sorrows, the dignity, and the glory of the Mother of God. You have drawn it all out in a way so plain, and so clearly based upon the Apostle's Creed that, I believe, it will be not only a poem but an instruction. Let me therefore thank you for both.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Blessed Sacrament, and the Church of St. Martin at Liège.* By Dean CRULS. Translated from the French by WILLIAM S. PRESTON. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.
2. *The Hidden Life of Jesus.* By HENRI-MARIE BOUDON. Translated by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. Third edition.
3. *The Interior of Jesus and Mary.* By Rev. J. GROU, S.J. (translated). Edited, with a Biographical Sketch and Preface, by Rev. S. A. FRISBEE, S.J. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. Two vols. 1891.
4. *The Science of the Saints in Practice.* By JOHN BAPTIST PAGANI, O.C. Second edition, 3 vols. London: Burns & Oates. 1891. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
5. *The Life and Labours of St. Wilfrid, Bishop of York.* By Rev. M. P. HORGAN, Hainton, Lincolnshire. Louth: J. W. Goulding. 1889.
6. *Legends of English Saints.* By Rev. M. P. HORGAN. Louth: J. W. Goulding. 1890.
7. *The Life of the Blessed Angelina of Marseiano, Virgin.* Compiled from Ancient Monuments by Hon. Mrs. A. MONTGOMERY. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
8. *A Novena in Honour of St. Catharine de Ricci.* By the DOMINICAN SISTERS. With Preface by Rev. J. O'NEIL, O.P. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1891.
9. *The Holy Face of Jesus.* By the Abbé J. B. FOURNAULT. With Notice by the Right Rev. Mgr. PRESTON, D.D., LL.D. Benziger Brothers. 1891.
10. *Counsels of St. Angelo to her Sisters in Religion.* Benziger Brothers. 1891.
11. *The Heart of Jane-Frances de Chantal.* With Preface by Right Rev. Mgr. T. S. PRESTON, D.D. Benziger Brothers. 1891.
12. *Catechetical Instructions of St. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.* From the Italian by Right Rev. F. S. CHATARD, D.D. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

13. *The Gate of Heaven.* London : Burns & Oates, Limited. New York : Catholic Publication Society Company. 1891.
14. *Mary in the Epistles ; or, The Implicit Teaching of the Apostles concerning the Blessed Virgin contained in their writings.* By the Rev. THOMAS LIVIUS, C.SS.R., M.A. London : Burns & Oates. 1891.

1. **T**HE town of Liège is for ever associated with the feast of Corpus Christi ; and it is touching to think that the Church of St. Martin still keeps up that pre-eminence in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament which it naturally attained when, half way through the thirteenth century, the visions of St. Julienne induced the Bishop of Liège to celebrate there for the first time the festival which all the world has celebrated since. The Doyen of St. Martin, Mgr. Cruls, devotes a pious and learned volume to the history of St. Julienne and of the Church he loves so well ; and Mr. Preston has given a good translation.

2. This reprint of Mr. Healy Thompson's translation of Boudon's "Hidden Life" sadly reminds us that the accomplished Catholic writer who, for more than forty years, laboured with untired pen to enrich our English devotional literature, has gone to his reward within the last few weeks. Of all the scholars whom the Oxford movement gave to the Church there has been none, perhaps, who was more emphatically a man of letters. He never wrote a bad sentence or used a doubtful word. As for his piety, that constantly recurring aspiration and motto of Boudon himself,—“God only! God only!”—may best describe the life of one who was content to be hidden from the world and to labour for the advancement of God's kingdom. May he rest in peace!

3. The English version of Père Grou's "Interior of Jesus and Mary" is well known to English Catholics. The work has a peculiar interest, as having been written at Lulworth for his penitent, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Weld. Father Frisbee offers a new edition, which, he says, both editor and publishers have endeavoured to make more worthy of acceptance.

4. This useful re-issue of a popular spiritual book is well got up in three volumes. An attempt has been made to bring it up to date by giving their proper titles to the recently canonised and beatified servants of God ; but this has not been thoroughly done, and we have sometimes the "Venerable" Margaret Mary and the "Blessed" Benedict Joseph still. Why is "Labre" uniformly spelt with an accent on the final letter? It would have been a great improvement if some one had taken the trouble to give the references to Father Pagani's interesting extracts. And has it been noticed that there are several repetitions in the work? As an instance, we may cite the long account of the holy Virgin St. Agnes, which figures both under "Chastity" and again under "Divine Love."

- 5, 6. A versified Life of St. Wilfrid, with no 'pretensions to

poetry, and a series of "Legends" of British or English Saints, which are not quite so bad. It is an enigma why the reverend author, who is evidently able to use varied, picturesque, and vigorous English, should choose to spoil his work by cutting his sentences into mechanical lengths with rhymes.

7. This beautiful little volume relates, in Mrs. Montgomery's well-known style, the history of a Saint of the days of Fra Angelico and St. Anthony of Padua. It is an original sketch of great interest, illustrated with all the colour and character of the period.

8. St. Catharine de Ricci is the patroness of the Sisters of the Third (Conventual) Order of St. Dominic. This devout Novena brings out her special characteristics of contemplation and penance.

9. The Archbishop of New York authorises this Manual of Devotions to the Holy Face of Jesus. Its contents are very suggestive.

10. The numerous Ursuline communities will welcome this tiny volume, containing a translation of St. Angela Merici's last will to the directresses of the Congregation, and her last Counsels.

11. The daughters of St. Francis de Sales and others have in this book a series of thirty-one considerations on the spirit of St. Jane Frances, together with several of her forms of prayers, and other memorials of her sanctity.

12. A translation of St. Cyril's first two "Catechisms" on the Real Presence and the Mass. The *brochure* is beautifully got up, and is enriched with several very interesting representations from the Catacombs illustrative of the Holy Eucharist.

13. We have received two copies, variously bound, of this handsome and attractive little prayer-book. It seems to contain all that the ordinary Christian can require, including the Marriage Service and the Rite of Burial. It is approved by the Cardinal Archbishop. In the "Hail! holy Queen" (p. 249), the semicolon in the second line should be a comma, as the second "Hail" belongs to the words which follow.

14. As this book is considered by its author to be devotional rather than controversial it finds its place here. After six "introductory" chapters, occupying about one-third of the work, Father Livius arrives at his subject proper, and dedicates the remaining two-thirds to a commentary on such passages of the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John as he considers to refer "implicitly" to our Lady. It is clear at the outset that the author uses the word "implicitly" in a very wide and loose sense. One proposition is said to be "implied" in another when one at least of its terms is a part of the extension or comprehension of a term of the latter. Thus "Napoleon is mortal" is implied in the proposition "man is mortal," because "Napoleon" is part of the comprehension of the term "man." But when Father Livius quotes St. Paul, and says "Abraham believed God," and continues, "How well and truly might we not here substitute the name of Mary for Abraham," and then in fact does so substitute it for several pages, it is somewhat loose to say that all this is

"implied" in the Apostle's words; for it is conceivable that if our Lady had been totally different those words would still have been true. This being understood, the reader will find in these pages a large variety of devotional matter, partly drawn from the Fathers, and partly the author's own. There can indeed be no doubt that all the glowing and profound words, phrases, and reasonings of St. Paul on faith and grace, on the spiritual life, and on the union of the soul with Christ, are verified in the most transcendent way in most Holy Mary. If the application to her of such passages did nothing else, it would serve to suggest to the devout mind thoughts which of all thoughts are the most sublime in regard to her prerogatives, her power, and her glory.

In the introductory chapters the author takes occasion to show the fallacy of arguing against devotion to the Blessed Virgin from the silence of the Epistles and of the New Testament generally. He explains what must have been the oral teaching of the Apostles about Mary, and gives reasons for their not speaking of her more fully in their writings. Father Livius hardly does justice by his style to the excellence of his thought. We quote one sentence: he is repeating the well-known but necessary principle that a doctrine may develop as time goes on; he says:

For principles of objective truth to become subjective, that is to say, for them to practically energise and give a form to man's moral action, they must needs go through a certain process of assimilation with the thoughts and intelligence wherewith they come in contact; and consequently there is required some fitting preparedness of mind and heart in those who receive the principles, together with such extrinsic opportuneness as will call forth their energy into practical working, and make manifest their due and normal effects (pp. 56, 57).

There is gold here, but a good deal of quartz besides.

* * * The original Italian Edition of the following work, noticed by us in its French translation in October, 1890: "*Les Critères Théologiques*," by Canon Salvatore di Bartolo, was placed on the Index by a Decree of May 21, 1891: "*auctor laudabiliter se subjecit, et opus reprobavit.*"

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

[Notices of many of the following are necessarily held over to October, from pressure on our space this quarter.]

"L'Eglise et la Question Sociale." Etude sur l'Encyclique "De la condition des Ouvriers." Par G. Pascal, Docteur en Theologie. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

"The Early Martyrs." Sixth Edition. "Life of St. Philip Neri." Fourth Edition. "Franciscan Martyrs in England." Second Edition. "The Life of St. Thomas Becket." Third Edition; with Memoir of the Author. Uniform re-issue of Mrs. Hope's Works. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Letters of Father George Porter, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay." London: Burns & Oates.

"Life of Father John Curtis, S.J. By the author of "Tyborne." Revised by Father Edward Purbrick, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica." Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism. By Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

"Le Nouveau Testament et les Origines du Christianisme." Etudes apologetiques. Par le Père J. Fontaine, S.J. Paris: Retaux-Bray.

"De Historia Galliae, regnante Ludovico XIV." Latinis versibus a Jesuitis Gallis Scripta. Thesim Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi proponebat P. V. Delaporte. Parisiis: V. Retaux.

"De Merveilleux dans la Litterature Française sous le règne de Louis XIV." Thèse pour le Doctorat. Par P. V. Delaporte. Paris: Retaux-Bray.

"The Life of B. John Juvenal Ancina." Edited by Charles Henry Bowden, Priest of the Oratory. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

"La Vie de S. Louis de Gonzague." Par P. Meschler, S.J. Traduit par l'Abbe Lebréquier. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

"The Co-operative Movement To-day" ("Social Questions of To-day"). By George Jacob Holyoake. London: Methuen & Co.

"Justice:" being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By Herbert Spencer. London: Williams & Norgate.

"An Introduction to Cudworth's Treatise concerning Morality." By W. R. Scott. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"How to Get On." By Rev. Bernard Feeney. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1891.

ART. I.—MR. HERBERT SPENCER ON JUSTICE.*

IT is with much regret we learn that apprehensions connected with failing health have caused the premature appearance of the fourth part of Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Ethics." In his preface he says: "Should improved health be maintained, I hope that, before the close of next year, I may issue Parts II. and III." This hope we cordially re-echo.

In the present small volume, of but 286 pages, its author puts before us his representation of the sentiments, idea, and formula of justice, with the authority of that formula; after which the various social "rights" and State "duties" are deduced therefrom in a very interesting manner. The book is an entertaining and attractive one, and contains many sagacious remarks, enforced by well-chosen illustrations, sometimes put forward playfully, while sometimes errors are criticised with caustic humour, not, however, in excess of their demerits.

It need hardly be said that the work, being an integral portion of the author's evolutionary philosophy, justice, with the rights and duties which spring from it, are represented as necessary developments of an evolving world, which has once attained to sentiency. Naturally, therefore, the first chapter bears the significant title of "Animal Ethics," while the second is devoted to an exposition of what he calls "Sub-human justice."

It has been our lot on several occasions to point out the radical inadequacy of Mr. Herbert Spencer's representation of the central idea of ethics. Since 1870—beginning with an article in the *Quarterly Review* for 1871, soon to be republished—we have

* "Justice," being Part IV. of "The Principles of Ethics." By Herbert Spencer. London: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

again and again called his attention to the fundamental immorality of his system, but, in common with Professor Martineau, we have been unable to elicit from him any evidence that he has been able to master that central idea. In an Appendix * dealing directly with the ethics of the subject he once more clearly manifests what may be called his "moral colour-blindness," therefore we will begin our criticism with a notice of that Appendix. It concerns two letters, written in 1890, by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, wherein that gentleman sought (as vainly as his predecessors) to obtain from Mr. Spencer "some justification" for employing the ordinary terms of ethics in connection with his evolutionary philosophy.

Mr. Spencer begins (p. 272) his reply by crediting his opponents with the absurd notion that a man cannot perform beneficial actions from non-moral motives, and then assumes that if such a beneficially acting man be questioned enough, he will at last reveal a latent "moral" motive, while the example he gives is not a necessarily moral one at all.

He says: "If you push your inquiries to the end, you will compel him to assign the fact that if men in general did not do the like the race would disappear." But why must it be wrong to adopt a line of conduct which, under conceivable circumstances, if ordinarily followed, would have such a result? Under certain circumstances no person who understood the necessary supremacy of "right" (however he might *feel*) could deny the validity of St. Augustin's exclamation, *Oh! Felix exitium mundi!*

In the next paragraph but one Mr. Spencer contends that his system does not prevent his feeling angry at injurious actions. But who would be so irrational as to suppose that it would prevent him? The question does not concern "feelings," but "ethical judgments." Let us suppose, *per impossible*, that Mr. Spencer himself had done something wrong, and that he knew it, would such knowledge necessarily prevent his being angry with a man who chastised him for his offence?

But our author is fatally compelled by his system, not indeed to feel in this or that way, but to "judge" that virtue and pleasure are fundamentally the same. This is the case since, whatever people may either think or feel about them now, they are, according to him, one in origin—an origin consisting ultimately of pleasurable and painful sensations. Moral conceptions, he teaches us, have been evolved from pleasurable sensations by the preservation through long ages (in the struggle for life) of a predominating number of such individuals as happened to have a natural and

* Appendix C, "The Moral Motive," pp. 271-276.

spontaneous liking for practices and habits of mind useful to their tribe or race, while the same action has destroyed a predominating number of those individuals who possessed a marked tendency to contrary practices. The descendants of individuals so preserved have, according to his system, come to inherit these beneficial likings and habits of mind, and at last (finding this inherited tendency thus existing in themselves distinct from their tendency to self-conscious gratification) have grown to regard it as *fundamentally* distinct and independent of all experiences, individual or ancestral. In fact, according to Mr. Spencer's system, the idea of "right" is only the result of the gradual accretion of useful predilections, which, from time to time, arose in a series of ancestors naturally selected. In this way "morality" is the congealed past experience of the race, and "virtue" becomes, as it were, a sort of "*retrieving*," which the thus improved human animal practises by a perfected and inherited habit, regardless of self-gratification, just as the brute animal has acquired the habit of seeking prey and bringing it to his master instead of devouring it himself. As Mr. Martineau has neatly put it: "Conscience is a hoarded fund of traditionary pressures of utility. . . . Our higher attributes are only the lower which have lost their memory and mistake themselves for something else."

A little further on (p. 274) in his Appendix Mr. Spencer quotes from his "First Principles" to the effect that a man "must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are children which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief he is thereby authorised to act out that belief."

But why, on Mr. Spencer's principles, "may not" the supposed man let his thoughts die? To what end may he "properly" view himself in the way proposed? Mr. Spencer seems to think that we are to be frightened by his "bogey-man," the Unknown and Unknowable, dressed up with capital letters like a South-sea Islander with a huge war-mask. But it is a good many years now since we found Him out, and He can impose on us no more.

That men are responsible for the use they make of the thoughts they voluntarily entertain, and that each of us has his true vocation with its attendant duties, we, of course, not only admit but affirm; yet we do so only because we agree with ordinary men in holding the conviction that there really are such things as "right" and "wrong" and "moral obligations," over and above all merely human ends. According to Mr. Spencer, however, the

Unknowable, in giving ordinary men this conviction, has taught them to believe a lie. But the same Unknowable has taught Mr. Spencer and his friends to know better. The Unknowable has revealed to them that "virtue" is but conduct (whether *well-meant* or *ill-meant*) which happens to benefit the tribe, and that there is nothing really to be said but "Oh! for shame!" to men and women who do not happen to care about it.

But there can be small honour indeed in being one of "the myriad agencies" of that "liar from the beginning" who, according to Spencerism, has thus nourished mankind on such apples of Sodom from a tree of death—spiritual food which at first seems attractive indeed, but which ultimately shows itself to be but dust and ashes. An "absolute moralist," on being converted to Mr. Spencer's system, would, indeed, be justified in saying "the Unknowable be damned," unless he were more disposed to regard it, because devoid of both intelligence and will, as an entity meriting not anger but contempt.

Our author makes another strange mistake about his opponents. He says they "assume that the conception 'ought' is a universal and a fixed conception." By this he means that they are stupid and ignorant enough to suppose that men have everywhere and always agreed about what things, in the concrete, they liked to have done! He illustrates this by citing certain savage practices and sentiments, and also the duels of Europeans. He says: "The aggrieved man is forced by a strong sense of *obligation* to challenge one who has injured him; and the injurer entertains no doubt that he *ought* to accept the challenge—feels, in common with his associates, that it is his *duty* to do this thing which is condemned by the creed he professes" (p. 275).

But in this passage the terms "ought," "obligation," and "duty," are used illegitimately. The two men here supposed (the injured and the injurer) feel, indeed, that it is necessary for them, *if they would conform to a received code of honour*, and avoid the contempt of the world, to act in a certain way. But this they may none the less know to be morally wrong. Analogous mental conflicts between a perception of duty and the temptations of temporal expediency in small things, are practically familiar to every confessor. But in order to make the matter plain we will put an extreme case. Let us suppose a man to be one of a gang of swindlers, whose immediate and most strongly desired object is to despoil a wealthy young man into whose confidence he has wound himself. Such a man will feel himself "forced by a strong sense of obligation" (if he would not miss his aim) to conform himself to the tastes and inclinations of his victim. He may "entertain no doubt that he ought" (if he would not stultify and defeat himself) to avail himself of some critical opportunity his

unsuspecting dupe may throw in his way, and he will "feel, in common with his associates, that it is his duty" (if he would not disappoint his own intentions and theirs) "to do this thing." But his perception of what is needed in order that his nefarious purpose should be unswervingly carried out, does not prevent his being quite well aware that he is acting as a villain all the time.

It may be well at once here to point out certain distinctions which need to be borne in mind by any one who would study this question. Had Mr. Spencer only understood them, he would not have fallen into the confusion of thought which is so plainly manifested in his work on Justice, in common with all his other ethical writings.

I.—FEELINGS ETHICAL AND THE REVERSE.

- A. Non-ethical sympathetic feelings—as when pain is felt at the sight of the infliction of punishment known to be fully merited.
- B. Ethical sympathetic feelings—as when pain is felt at the sight of the unjust treatment of another person.
- C. Truly ethical feelings—as when a man feels pleasure in performing, or at seeing performed, any really good work.
- D. Anti-ethical feelings—as when regret is felt at the omission of an enjoyment recognised as immoral, or when pleasure is felt at the thought of a past enjoyment of such a kind.

II.—NON-ETHICAL AND ETHICAL JUDGMENTS ABOUT CONDUCT.

- E. Non-ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that an action will, whether right or wrong, gratify us or help us to attain some end we have in view; *e.g.*, that a certain course of conduct is necessary to gratify our vanity, to give us a pleasure we desire, or to maintain our social position.
- F. Relative ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that, of two alternative actions, one is ethically superior to the other, but that it is not an action we are morally obliged to perform.
- G. Absolute ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that one action is right or another wrong, and that it is our bounden duty to do the one and avoid the other.

One of the clearest and more distinct of ethical perceptions is the perception that it is "intentions," and not "consequences," which determine the morality of actions. This distinction is so obvious that it would seem to need no more than a bare statement to make its validity evident; and yet, strange to say, it is either

ignored or expressly denied by the whole school to which Mr. Spencer belongs. The concluding passage of the Appendix here criticised is as follows :—

Perhaps he [Mr. Spencer's opponent] will still ask "Why, having the feeling of obligation, should a man yield to it?" If so, the answer is of the same general nature as that which may be given to the question, "Why, having an appetite for food, should a man eat?" Though, in the normal order, a man eats to satisfy hunger, and without definite consciousness of remoter ends, yet, if you demand his justification, he replies that, as conducive to health, strength, and ability to carry on life and do his work, the yielding to his appetite is needful. And, similarly, one who performs an act which his sense of duty prompts, if asked for his reason, may fitly reply that though he yielded to the feeling without thought of distant consequences, yet he sees that the distant consequences of such conformity are, on the average of cases, beneficial, not only to others, but in the long run to himself. And here let me repeat a truth which I have elsewhere insisted upon, that just as food is rightly taken only when taken to appease hunger, while the having to take it when there is no inclination implies deranged physical state, so a good act or act of duty is rightly done only if done in satisfaction of immediate feeling; and if done with a view to ultimate results, in this world or another world, implies an imperfect moral state.

This comparison between "eating" and "moral action" affords a wonderfully clear illustration of Mr. Spencer's confusion of thought. To satisfy appetite or to perform a beneficial action, however conducive to individual or social health, is not necessarily a moral action; while to eat without appetite, or to do a beneficial action against inclination, may be much more moral than to eat or act with appetite or inclination. There is a certain truth implied in Mr. Spencer's concluding sentence, though it is absolutely false to say that a good act is rightly done only if done in satisfaction of immediate feeling. It may be rightly done if done with extreme repugnance, and, in a sense, may have the more merit on account of that repugnance. Nevertheless, it is true that, in the highest and most perfect moral state conceivable, moral sentiment does accompany moral action. As we have pointed out on a previous occasion, we are far indeed from affirming that no man can perform a really good action unless he pauses and reflects as to his intention; still less that spontaneous good actions are devoid of merit. What we affirm is, that in order that any action should be really good, the doer of it must, directly or indirectly, be moved by the idea of "right" present to his mind, then or antecedently, so as to have become a mental habit. The action must be, in fact, directed by him who does it to a good end, either actually or virtually.

Professor Huxley has praised the man who does good without thinking about it. But it is impossible that the "*not thinking about it*" can be that which makes the action good; otherwise good actions done in a state of somnambulism should attain the acme of moral perfection. In every really good action a man performs, past ethical perceptions must at least be influencing him, whether he adverts to them or not, otherwise the action is not moral. The merit of that virtue which shows itself even in the spontaneous, indeliberate actions of a good man, results from the fact of previous acts having been consciously directed to goodness, by which a habit has been formed. The more thoroughly a man is possessed by the idea of duty, the more his whole being is saturated with that idea, the more will goodness show itself in all his even spontaneous actions, which then will have additional merit through their very spontaneity. It is thus, intentions, and not consequences, which determine the real morality of actions.

Our author's conception of justice is avowedly based on the doctrine of Natural Selection, as we shall shortly see. His formula of justice is: "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (p. 46).

Mr. Herbert Spencer not being a Theist, man's duty towards God forms no part of his ethical code, which is therefore a most imperfect one. Though ethics do not repose upon the will of God, without the recognition of His existence and claims they lose their highest sanction and most efficient support, while large departments of ethics—notably those termed self-regarding duties—necessarily suffer atrophy. Nevertheless, there is a large element of truth in his above-cited formula, for each normal man and woman is a being possessing intelligence and free-will, and therefore true moral responsibility. However divergent may be the positions in which different human beings are placed, they have all the same great aim set before them, and their life has, from the ethical standpoint, a similar value. Since they each have duties, the rights of each one must be limited by the rights of others. The existence of each is an end in itself, and none can justly be made use of by any man as his mere instruments, as if the end of their being was different from his own.

And not only no individual, but no organised aggregate of individuals—no State—can justly violate those "rights" of the individual which follow from the "duties." Above all, respect is due to the family. It is also due to property, and to such voluntary associations of individuals, and to such voluntary segregations and aggregations of their own property as individuals may choose to form or institute, provided that by so doing they do not injure others.

After these preliminary remarks concerning the fundamental errors which necessarily underlie Mr. Spencer's whole system of ethics, we will address ourselves at once to the details of his present exposition of one section of that system.

In his first chapter—"Animal Ethics"—he begins by referring to Part I. of his "Principles of Ethics," and to the chapters entitled "Conduct in General," and "The Evolution of Conduct," wherein he tells us it was

Shown that the conduct which ethics treats of is not separable from conduct at large; that the highest conduct is that which conduces to the greatest length, breadth, and completeness of life; and that, by implication, there is a conduct proper to each species of animal, which is the relatively good conduct—a conduct which stands towards that species as the conduct we morally approve stands towards the human species.

Here, *in limine* we meet with a false statement, and one which is misleadingly ambiguous. Ethical conduct is separable from "conduct at large," and what he calls the "good conduct" of animals is but beneficial action, which can be but "materially" good, and cannot be really "formally" good, so that a comparison between it and human moral action is equivocal, and therefore misleading.

In the next paragraph he nakedly declares the utter immorality of his system. He says:

Most people regard the subject-matter of ethics as being conduct considered as calling forth approbation or reprobation. But the primary subject-matter of ethics is conduct considered objectively as producing good or bad results to self, or others, or both.

If the ill-intentioned acts of individuals and communities which through miscalculation happen to do good, in spite of the malice of their perpetrators, if such acts are reckoned as good actions by Mr. Spencer, then he must mean by "good" what the mass of mankind mean by "bad"!

The next paragraph shows us how he confounds an ethical judgment with a mere feeling. He says:

Even those who think of ethics as concerned only with conduct which deserves praise or blame, tacitly recognise an animal ethics; for certain acts of animals excite in them antipathy or sympathy.

Again, he confounds reprobation generally, with moral reprobation. Thus he says: "A dog which surrenders its bone to another without a struggle, and runs away, we call a coward—a word of reprobation" (p. 4).

But here, in the first place, on Mr. Spencer's system, which

only regards "results," and not "intentions," the cowardly dog performs a highly "altruistic" action.

Secondly, the reprobation of the dog cannot be a really moral reprobation, because the dog has no moral appreciation of his action, and no free will. But, besides that, cowardice may be the unavoidable result, even in a man, of a certain nervous organisation. A coward may be heartily ashamed of himself without in the least feeling that he is morally to blame, just as he may be ashamed of ill-shaped limbs or a prodigiously monstrous nose.

Accepting for a moment, without further dispute, Mr. Spencer's notions of ethics and justice—*i.e.*, materially beneficial conduct—his system of the laws of human conduct is based upon merely animal life as follows :

The most general conclusion is that, in order of obligation, the preservation of the species takes precedence of the preservation of the individual . . . since disappearance of the species, implying disappearance of all individuals, involves absolute failure in achieving the end. . . . The resulting corollaries are these :

First, that among adults there must be conformity to the law that benefits received shall be directly proportionate to merits possessed, merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. For otherwise the species must suffer in two ways. It must suffer immediately by sacrifice of superior to inferior, which entails a general diminution of welfare ; and it must suffer remotely by further increase of the inferior which, by implication, hinders increase of the superior, and causes a general deterioration, ending in extinction if it is continued.

Second, that during early life, before self-sustentation has become possible, and also while it can be but partial, the aid given must be the greatest where the worth shown is the smallest—benefits received must be inversely proportionate to merits possessed, merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. Unless there are *gratis* benefits to offspring, unqualified at first, and afterwards qualified by decrease as maturity is approached, the species must disappear by extinction of its young. There is, of course, necessitated a proportionate self-subordination of adults.

Third, to this self-subordination entailed by parenthood has, in certain cases, to be added a further self-subordination. If the constitution of the species and its conditions of existence are such that sacrifices, partial or complete, of some of its individuals so subserve the welfare of the species that its members are better maintained than they would otherwise be, then there results a justification for such sacrifices. Such are the laws by conformity to which a species is maintained ; and if we assume that the preservation of the species is a *desideratum*, there arises in it an obligation to conform to these laws, which we may call, according to the case in question, quasi-ethical or ethical (p. 6).

In his second chapter, on Sub-human Justice, he begins by observing that he will now pass over the principles of action conducive to the preservation of the family, and have regard only to those opposed principles which exclusively concern adults. This law is the survival of the fittest, which he tells us: "In ethical [!] terms is that each individual ought to be subjected to the effects of its own nature and resulting conduct" (p. 8). He then proceeds to consider a variety of actions performed by gregarious animals, showing the survival of the fittest aggregates, and how his third law (the occasional sacrifice of individuals for the benefit of the whole flock) comes into play.

Evidently [he says] if by such conduct one variety of a gregarious species keeps up, or increases, its numbers, while other varieties, in which self-subordination thus directed does not exist, fail to do this, a certain sanction is acquired for such conduct. The preservation of the species being the higher end, it results that where an occasional mortality of individuals in defence of the species furthers their preservation in a greater degree than would pursuit of exclusive benefit by each individual, that which we recognise as sub-human justice may rightly have this second limitation (p. 14).

In his third chapter, on Human Justice, he further develops his preceding assertions, saying:

As before, so here, we see that, ethically considered, this law implies that each individual ought to receive the benefits and the evils of his own nature and consequent conduct, neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring to him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions. To what extent such ill, naturally following from his actions, may be voluntarily borne by other persons, it does not concern us now to inquire. The qualifying effects of pity, mercy, and generosity will be considered hereafter in the parts dealing with "Negative Beneficence" and "Positive Beneficence." Here we are concerned only with pure justice (p. 17).

The chapter is filled with instances tending to show how human progress has been accompanied by increasing individual liberty, save when such liberty has had to be subordinated to the necessities of national defence.

The three succeeding chapters—on the sentiment, the idea and the formula of Justice—hardly seem to us to need criticism, when read in the light of our introductory remarks.

His seventh chapter, entitled, "The Authority of this Formula," is initiated by some excellent remarks which merit quotation. He says:

By those who have been brought up in the reigning school of politics and morals, nothing less than scorn is shown for every doc-

trine which implies restraint on the doings of immediate expediency or that appears to be such. Along with avowed contempt for "abstract principles" and generalisations, there goes unlimited faith in a motley assemblage of nominees of caucuses, ruled by ignorant and fanatical wirepullers; and it is thought intolerable that its judgments should be in any way subordinated by deductions from ethical truths (p. 49).

He continues :

Alike in philosophy, in politics, and in science, we may see that the inductive school has been carried by its violent reaction against the deductive school to the extreme of assuming that conscious induction suffices for all purposes, and that there is no need to take anything for granted. Though giving proof of an alleged truth consists in showing that it is included in some wider established truth, and though, if this wider truth is questioned, the process is repeated by demonstrating that a still wider truth includes it, yet it is tacitly assumed that this process may go on for ever without reaching a widest truth, which cannot be included in any other, and therefore cannot be proved, and the result of making this unthinking assumption is the building up of theories which, if they have not *à priori* beliefs as their bases, have no bases at all. This we shall find to be the case with the utilitarian systems of ethics and politics (p. 57).

The authority for Mr. Spencer's formula, as our readers will be prepared to expect, turns out to be nothing more than the action of the Unknowable, in the course of the process of evolution, having brought out seemingly distinct moral feelings through ancestral pressures of utility.

No higher warrant [he tells us] can be imagined; and now, accepting the law of equal freedom as an ultimate ethical principle, having an authority transcending every other, we may proceed with our inquiry (p. 61).

"Rights truly so-called," he says, in the next chapter,* "are corollaries from the law of equal freedom, and what are falsely called rights are not deducible from it."

Of these "rights," the first (Chapter IX.) is that "to physical integrity;" the next (Chapter X.), "to free motion and locomotion"; and the next (Chapter XI.), "to the right uses of natural media, such as light and unpolluted air." As to the last matter he observes :

In some measure all are severally obliged, by their own respiration, to vitiate the air respired by others, when they are in proximity. It needs but to walk a little distance behind one who is smoking, to perceive how widely diffused are the exhalations from each person's lungs. . . . Aggression occurs only when vitiation by one,

* VIII. "Its Corollaries," p. 63.

or some, has to be borne by others who do not take like shares in the vitiation; as often happens in railway-carriages, where men who think themselves gentlemen smoke in other places than those provided for smokers; perhaps getting from fellow-passengers a nominal, though not a real, consent, and careless of the permanent nuisance entailed on those who afterwards travel in compartments reeking with stale tobacco-smoke (p. 83).

Land, as one of the "natural media," is recognised by Mr. Herbert Spencer as being subject to an equitable claim on the part of the community as against individual landowners, yet he is entirely opposed to such views as those of Mr. George, and has been converted from analogous ones he himself formerly held, and which he published in 1850 in his "Social Statics."

It is quite true that modern ownership is, in a sense, a legal novelty, and that, as Sir Frederick Pollock says: * "The people who exercise rights of common exercise them by a title which, if we could only trace it all the way back, is far more ancient than the lord's. Their rights are those which belonged to the members of the village community long before manors and lords of the manor were heard of."

Nevertheless, Mr. Spencer declares:

Even were it possible to rectify the inequitable doings which have gone on during the past thousand years, and by some balancing of claims and counter-claims, past and present, to make a rearrangement equitable in the abstract, the resulting state of things would be a less desirable one than the present. Setting aside all financial objections to nationalisation, it suffices to remember the inferiority of public administration to private administration, to see that ownership by the State would work ill. Under the existing system of ownership, those who manage the land experience a direct connection between effect and benefit; while, were it under State ownership, those who managed it would experience no such direct connection. The vices of officialism would inevitably entail immense evils (p. 270).

Mr. Spencer next considers (Chapters XII. and XIII.) the rights of property, corporeal and incorporeal, to which follows a chapter (XIV.) on "The Rights of Gift and Bequest."

After premising that complete ownership implies power to make over the ownership to another, he adds:

The right of gift implies the right of bequest; for a bequest is a postponed gift. If a man may legitimately transfer what he possesses to another, he may legitimately fix the time at which it shall be transferred. When he does this by a will, he partially makes the transfer, but provides that the transfer shall take effect only when his own power of possession ceases. And his right to

* "The Land Laws," p. 2.

make a gift, subject to this condition, is included in his right of ownership, since, otherwise, his ownership is incomplete (p. 119).

This appears to us to be well put, but it is followed by a refusal to recognise the right of direction to "uses," save for children, and by an unequivocal support of laws of mortmain—as might have been expected. But surely if a man has an evident right to transfer his property to another on the condition that he shall only have it at his death, he has no less right to have an agreement with him as to the uses to which he shall put it when he gets it. He is not bound to give it at all to any one who does not agree to his conditions, and certainly Mr. Spencer, who deems that one of the two main duties of the State is to enforce contracts, must allow that the State's duty is to enforce this contract also.

In Chapter XV. on "The Rights of Free Exchange and Free Contract," Mr. Spencer, who we need hardly say, is a free trader, makes some incidental remarks which bear on strikes. He says that we need feel no surprise at the Anti-corn Law agitation having based its efforts on expediency, not on equity, when

We remember that even still the majority of men do not admit that there should be freedom of exchange in respect of work and wages. Blinded by what appear to be their interests, artisans and others tacitly deny the rights of employers and employed to decide how much money shall be given for so much labour. In this instance the law is in advance of the average opinion: it insists that each citizen shall be at liberty to make whatever bargain he pleases for his services, while the great mass of citizens insist that each shall not be at liberty to do this (p.129).

He, nevertheless, allows that the outcry against "being 'dependent on foreigners,' which was common during the Anti-corn Law agitation, was not without some justification, since it is only during well-assured peace that a nation may, without risk, buy a large part of its food abroad instead of growing it" (p. 131.)

After a short chapter on "The Right to Free Industry" comes one (XVII.) on "The Rights to Free Belief and Worship." Mr. Spencer, of course, advocates the widest freedom, yet not without exceptions which would serve the purpose of any moderately astute persecutors. Thus he observes:

Effectual use of the combined forces of the community presupposes subordination to the Government and to the agencies appointed for carrying on war, and it may rationally be held that the open avowal of convictions which, if general, would paralyse the executive agency, ought not to be allowed" (p. 139).

Queen Elizabeth and James I. would have found this maxim

quite sufficient for their purposes as regards either Catholics or Puritans.

In treating of "The Rights of Free Speech and Publication" (Chapter XVIII.) he has to deal with the question of sexual morality, which is indeed a trying one for him, since he places no limits to the rights of adults, save those depending on the similar rights of others. His declarations are naturally somewhat vague. They are as follows :

The question is a difficult one—appears, indeed, to admit of no satisfactory solution. On the one hand, it seems beyond doubt that unlimited license of speech on these matters may have the effect of undermining ideas, sentiments, and institutions which are socially beneficial ; for, whatever are the defects in the existing *régime*, we have strong reasons for believing that it is in most respects good. If this be so, it may be argued that publication of doctrines which tend to discredit this *régime* is undoubtedly injurious, and should be prevented. Yet, on the other hand, we must remember that in like manner it was, in the past, thought absolutely certain that the propagators of heretical opinions ought to be punished, lest they should mislead and eternally damn those who heard them ; and this fact suggests that there may be danger in assuming too confidently that our opinions concerning the relations of the sexes are just what they should be. In all times and places people have been positive that their ideas and feelings on these matters, as well as on religious matters, have been right ; and yet, assuming that we are right, they must have been wrong. Though here in England we think it clear that the child marriages in India are vicious, yet most Hindus do not think so ; and though among ourselves the majority do not see anything wrong in mercantile marriages, yet there are many who do. In parts of Africa not only is polygamy regarded as proper, but monogamy is condemned, even by women ; while in Thibet polyandry is not only held right by the inhabitants, but is thought by travellers to be the best arrangement practicable in their poverty-stricken country. In presence of the multitudinous differences of opinion, found even among civilised peoples, it seems scarcely reasonable to take for granted that we alone are above criticism in our conceptions and practices ; and unless we do this, restraints on free speech concerning the relations of the sexes may possibly be hindrances to something better and higher.

After a retrospect (Chapter XIX.) Mr. Spencer, in the two succeeding chapters, treats of the rights of women and children. Therein he briefly reviews the upward growth of good treatment of the gentler sex, from the Fijian, who, when first met with by Europeans, might kill and eat his wife if he pleased. He is, of course, an advocate of a great degree of equality between the sexes, yet he is by no means a thorough-going upholder of "women's rights." To the question, "Are the political rights of women the same as those of men ?" he replies :

The assumption that they are the same is now widely made. Along with that identity of rights above set forth as arising from the human nature common to the two sexes, there is supposed to go an identity of rights in respect to the direction of public affairs. At first sight it seems that the two properly go together, but consideration shows that this is not so. Citizenship does not include only the giving of votes, joined now and again with the fulfilment of representative functions. It includes also certain serious responsibilities, but if so, there cannot be equality of citizenship, unless along with the share of good there goes the share of evil. To call that equality of citizenship, under which some have their powers *gratis*, while others pay for their powers by undertaking risks, is absurd. Now men, whatever political powers they may in any case possess, are at the same time severally liable to the loss of liberty, to the privation, and occasionally to the death, consequent on having to defend the country; and if women, along with the same political powers, have not the same liabilities, their position is not one of equality, but one of supremacy (p. 165).

In Chapter XXII., on "Political Rights—so-called," he directs attention to the frequency with which mere "means" come to be regarded as "ends." Thus, the fact that political power, when in the hands of a few, has been used for their unfair advantage, while its wider distribution has caused greater justice, has, he urges, led men to identify the maintenance of rights with the power of giving a vote. The consequence of this has been that the instrument for maintaining rights has come to be regarded as itself a right, often usurping, in the general apprehension, the place of rights properly so called.

How true this is [he continues] "we shall learn on observing that where so-called political rights are possessed by all, rights properly so called are often unscrupulously trampled upon. In France, bureaucratic despotism under the Republic is as great as it was under the Empire: exactions and compulsions are no less numerous and peremptory; and, as was declared by the English trade-union delegates to the Congress in Paris, the invasion of citizens' liberties in France goes to an extent which "is a disgrace to, and an anomaly in, a Republican nation." Similarly in the United States, universal suffrage does not prevent the corruptions of municipal governments, which impose heavy local taxes and do very inefficient work; does not prevent the growth of general and local organisations by which each individual is compelled to surrender his powers to wirepullers and bosses; does not prevent citizens from being coerced in their private lives by dictating what they shall not drink; does not prevent an enormous majority of consumers from being heavily taxed by a protective tariff for the benefit of a small minority of manufacturers and artisans; nay, does not even effectually preserve men from violent deaths, but, in sundry States, allows of frequent murders, checked only by law officers, who are themselves liable to be shot in the performance of their duties (p. 178).

After observing that men may use their equal freedom to put themselves in bondage, he defers the further discussion of governmental matters till he has considered, as in the next (XXIII.) chapter he proceeds to do, "The Nature of the State," and then treats of what he regards as its duties and their limits, his four last chapters (XXVI. to XXIX.) being devoted to a consideration of the latter. Therein (p. 240) he strongly condemns that ignoring of "abstract principles" in favour of presumed "practical results," which is so common amongst us: as he had previously (p. 148) complained of that distrust of definite conclusions, and that positive aversion to system, which is also so widely diffused in England. He very reasonably contends that no

adherent of that political creed pursues with consistency this method of judging by "the merits of the case." Contrariwise, throughout by far the most important classes of cases they pursue the method they ridicule. Bring them to the test, and they will emphatically repudiate guidance by "the merits of the case," when the case is one in which the issues are simple and clear.

In explanation of the frequent escapes of thieves in public thoroughfares, a letter to one of the daily papers narrates how, after witnessing a theft, the writer asked a man who was passed by the thief when running away why he did not stop him. The reply was, "I was not going to stop the poor fellow. I expect the things he stole would do him more good than the man he stole them from." Here, consideration of "the merits of the case" was the avowed way of judging; the relative degrees of happiness of the thief and the person robbed were estimated, and the decision justified the theft. "But the rights of property must be maintained," it would be objected. "Society would dissolve if men were allowed to take other men's goods on the plea that they had more need of them than the owners." Just so. But this is not judging by "the merits of the case;" it is judging by conformity to a general principle (p. 243).

Therefore Mr. Spencer proceeds with his deduction of laws from his ideal principles. And he does so very reasonably. It is true that follies, and even crimes, have been committed in seeking to realise abstract political ideas, without due regard to circumstances of time and place. But (as we observed many years ago) this is not a justification for erecting empiricism itself into an ideal. Let us at least *try* to be rational. God has given us our reason as the test and measure of all that comes within the range of our experience, and of much that transcends it. If teaching drawn from principles may be pernicious, certainly teaching drawn from the mere chapter of accidents, with avowed disregard of principles, must be yet more so.

We do not see that Mr. Spencer has given any definition of "the State." For us, "a State" means that plexus of conditions

and relations existing between a mass of individuals which constitutes them an organised, independent whole. The "State," as "a State," has, of course, no existence apart from the individuals who compose it, yet it really exists as a certain condition of relationship in such individuals—just as a "genus" and a species (which have no separate objective existence) exist in the characters and propensities possessed by the various individual animals or plants which may together make up such natural groups. The individual men who wield the power of the complex mass form the "Government" of the State.

Every "State," then, should be organised for the benefit of the individuals who form it, and every "Government" should exist exclusively for their service and welfare. But it is no less evident that each individual has duties as well as rights in the forces of the "State" and "Government" in which he is included. For his duties to his fellow-men not only regard their fellow-men in their individual capacity, but also regard them in their related aspect as members of a State and subjects of a Government. The duty is really to individuals always, but (as it is to individuals so specially related) we may, for convenience and shortness, speak of duties to "the State," although the expression requires to be used cautiously, as it is a misleading one, because apt to favour the sacrifice of realities to abstractions. With regard to the *duty of the State towards the individual*, its supreme duty is to promote the moral welfare of its members. Therefore the motto, "The greatest happiness for the greatest number," though an admirable expression of benevolence and good in itself, yet, as expressing the one great aim and end of social organisation, is a false and degrading principle; but since all human moral worth and true merit depends upon our freedom of choice, it cannot be produced by force. God Himself could not extirpate vice from mankind save by destroying the existing freedom of our nature, and thereby destroying mankind itself, as known to us.

But Mr. Spencer, when occupied with his deductions from his own principles, makes some remarks and adduces certain instances which we desire to bring to the notice of our readers. Thus, after recognising the plain fact that men, as a rule and on the average, will be swayed by what they think their interests, he remarks as follows :

A generation ago, while agitations for the wider diffusion of political power were active, orators and journalists daily denounced the class legislation of the aristocracy. But there was no recognition of the truth that if, instead of the class at that time paramount, another class were made paramount, there would result a new class legislation in place of the old. That it has resulted every day proves.

If it is true that a generation ago landowners and capitalists so adjusted public arrangements as to ease themselves and to press unduly upon others, it is no less true that now artisans and labourers, through representatives who are obliged to do their bidding, are fast remoulding our social system in ways which achieve their own gain through others loss. . . . It is not true, then, that the possession of political power by all ensures justice to all. Contrariwise, experience makes obvious that which should have been obvious without experience, that with a universal distribution of votes the larger class will inevitably profit at the expense of the smaller class. . . . Evidently the constitution of the State appropriate to that industrial type of society in which equity is fully realised, must be one in which there is not a representation of individuals, but a representation of interests. For the health of the social organism, and the welfare of its members, a balance of functions is requisite; and this balance cannot be maintained by giving each function a power proportionate to the number of functionaries (p. 191).

He adds :

The truth we have to recognise is that with such humanity as now exists, and must for a long time exist, the possession of what are called equal political rights will not ensure the maintenance of equal rights properly so called (p. 193).

He concludes as follows :

During the days when extensions of the franchise were in agitation, a maxim perpetually repeated was—"Taxation without representation is robbery." Experience has since made it clear that, on the other hand, *representation without taxation entails robbery* (p. 200). [The italics are ours.]

Returning incidentally to the question of women's rights, he observes :

The comparative impulsiveness of women is a trait which would make increase of their influence an injurious factor in legislation. Human beings at large, as at present constituted, are far too much swayed by special emotions, temporarily excited, and not held in check by the aggregate of other emotions; and women are carried away by the feelings of the moment still more than men are. This characteristic is at variance with that judicial-mindedness which should guide the making of laws (p. 194).

As to the administration of the laws, Mr. Spencer is of opinion that it should be carried on at the public expense. He says :

The proposition that it is the duty of the State to administer justice without cost, in civil as well as in criminal cases, is ridiculed. . . . It is argued that did the State arbitrate between men *gratis*, the courts would be so choked with cases as to defeat the end

by delay, to say nothing of the immense expense entailed on the country. But this objection proceeds upon the vicious assumption that while one thing is changed other things remain the same. It is supposed that if justice were certain and could be had without cost, the number of trespasses would be as great as now when it is uncertain and expensive. The truth is that the immense majority of civil offences are consequent on the inefficient administration of justice—would never have been committed had the penalties been certain.

But when we come to contemplate it, it is a marvellous proposition, this which the objection implies, that multitudinous citizens should be left to bear their civil wrongs in silence or risk them in trying to get them rectified; and all because the State, to which they have paid great sums in taxes, cannot be at the trouble and expense of defending them. The public evil of discharging this function would be so great that it is better for countless citizens to suffer the evils of impoverishment, and many of them of bankruptcy. Meanwhile, through the officers of its local agents, the State is careful to see that their stink-traps are in order (p. 211).

We have often enough raised our voices as loudly as we could against Cæsarism. The following objections against the democratic form of it seem to us well put :

One who denies the unlimited authority of the State is sure to be regarded by men at large as a fool or a fanatic. Instead of that "divinity which doth hedge a king," we have here the divinity which doth hedge a parliament. The many-headed government appointed by multitudes of ignorant people, which has replaced the single-headed government supposed to be appointed by heaven, claims, and is accorded, the same unrestricted powers. The sacred right of the majority, who are mostly stupid and ill-informed, to coerce the minority, often more intelligent and better informed, is supposed to extend to all commands whatever which the majority may issue, and the rectitude of this arrangement is considered self-evident (p. 225).

With respect to this method of considering probable results instead of just principles, Mr. Spencer speaks of well-meaning persons who, ignoring the dictations of pure equity, adopt measures opposed to equity in the hope that they will do good. Such a one

if it is a question of providing books and newspapers in so-called free libraries, he contemplates results which he makes no doubt will be beneficial; and practically ignores the inquiry whether it is just to take by force the money of A. B. and C. to pay for the gratifications of D. E. and F. Should his aim be the repression of drunkenness and its evils, he thinks exclusively of these ends, and, determined to impose his own beliefs on others, tries to restrict their freedom of exchange and to abolish business in which capital has been invested with legal and social assent (p. 240).

In speaking of phenomena connected with strikes, he remarks :

See again what has resulted from the late dock strike, or rather, from the ill-judged sympathy which, guided by "the merits of the case," led public and police to tolerate the violence employed by dockers to achieve their ends. Successful use in this case of assaulting, bullying, and boycotting, promoted elsewhere strikes enforced by like means—at Southampton, Tilbury, Glasgow, Nottingham, &c. Other classes followed the lead—painters, leather-workers, cabinet-makers, scale-makers, bakers, carpenters, printers, sandwich-men, &c. And these men prompted like movements in Australia and America. Then, as secondary results, came the stoppages and perturbations of businesses, and through them of connected businesses, with consequent decrease of employment. Among tertiary results we have encouragement of the delusion that it only requires union for workers to get what terms they please, prompting suicidal demands. And, among still remoter results, we have the urging on of meddling legislation and the fostering of socialistic ideas (p. 244).

As to the superiority of private enterprise over State agency, Mr. Spencer observes :

From the cutting of a Suez Canal and the building of a Forth Bridge, to the insurance of ships, houses, lives, crops, windows, the exploration of unknown regions, the conducting of travellers' excursions, down to automatic supply-boxes at railway stations and the loan of opera glasses at theatres, private enterprise is ubiquitous and infinitely varied in form ; and when repressed by State agency in one direction, buds out in another. Reminding us of the way in which, in Charles II.'s time, there was commenced in London a local penny-post, which was suppressed by the Government, we have in the Boy Messengers Company and its attempted suppression, illustrations of the efficiency of private enterprise and the obstructiveness of officialism. And then, if there needs to add a case showing the superiority of spontaneously-formed agencies, we have it in the American Express Companies, of which one has 7000 agencies, has its own express trains, delivers 25,000,000 parcels annually, is employed by the Government, has a money-order system which is replacing that of the Post-office, and has now extended its business to Europe, India, Africa, South America and Polynesia (p. 243).

On this subject he continues :

Even if we disregard ethical restraints, and even if we ignore the inferences to be drawn from that progressing specialisation which societies show us, we still find strong reasons for holding that State functions should be restricted rather than extended.

Extension of them in pursuit of this or that promised benefit, has all along proved disastrous. The histories of all nations are alike in exhibiting the enormous evils that have been produced by legisla-

tion, guided merely by "the merits of the case;" while they unite in proving the success of legislation which has been guided by considerations of equity.

Evidence thrust before us every morning shows throughout the body-politic and fructifying causation so involved that not even the highest intelligence can anticipate the aggregate effects. The practical politician so called, who thinks that the influences of his measure are to be shut up within the limits of the field he contemplates, is one of the wildest of theorists. And then, while his faith in the method of achieving artificially this or that end is continually discredited by failures to work the effects intended, and by working unintended effects, he shows no faith in those natural forces which in the past have done much, and are at present doing more, and in the future may be expected to do the most (p. 249).

Certainly, as in Theology "Grace supposes Nature," so in the natural development of the world intellectually and ethically every Theist must anticipate that the action of revealed religion will be aided by the course of natural progress. Mr. Spencer gives expression to sentiments which cannot but be read with pleasure by Catholics who are so widely subject to oppression in the matter of education, and often exposed, as in France, to actual persecution by an ignorant majority. As to the desire so many feel that the whole community should be educated to their imperfect views and moulded to their character, he says—

Whether avowedly or not, part of the desired character must be readiness in each citizen to submit, or make his children submit, to a discipline which some or many citizens determine to impose. There may be men who think it a trait of high humanity thus to deliver over the formation of its nature to the will of an aggregate mostly formed of inferior units. But with such we will not argue (p. 255).

We have now placed before our readers as thorough an account as the space at our disposal allows of Mr. Spencer's recent work, and we have thought it well to furnish them with copious extracts from its, to us, interesting pages. If the fundamental and necessary incompleteness of Mr. Spencer's own system of ethics, and therefore, of his notions of justice, be carefully borne in mind, his recent work will be found valuable suggestive and instructive: and, with this proviso, we can cordially recommend it to the attention of the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

ART. II.—SIR JOHN FRANKLIN AND THE FAR NORTH.

Sir John Franklin and the North-West Passage. By Captain A. H. MARKHAM, R.N. London: George Philip. 1891.

MARITIME discovery has, more markedly perhaps than any other branch of research, been impelled by error to blunder into truth. The mirage of a short cut to the East that beckoned Columbus to glory has lured many a navigator through other seas to an unrewarded doom. The dream of a hyperborean route to India by the north of Asia or America, to frustrate the Portuguese monopoly of that by the Cape of Good Hope, was based on a conception of the configuration of those continents as false as that entertained by the Genoese of the shape of the globe itself. The vast expansion of the land along the high parallels of the northern hemisphere was a fact unrecked of by speculative geography, and it was thought that a comparatively narrow projection of the contour of each into the Polar basin would prove the only obstacle to free communication between the warmer seas on either side. Thus, when William Barentz, who first circumnavigated Novaya Zemlya in 1594, found himself steering south along the shore of the Gulf of Obi beyond, he nothing doubted that he had doubled the classical Tabis, the supposed northernmost promontory of Asia, and had sailed right into the opulent China Seas. The magnitude of an error which curtailed the diameter of Asia by no less than a hundred degrees of longitude seems almost incredible to present knowledge, yet a like miscalculation was made by the English navigator, Thomas Dutton, who having in 1612 sailed through Hudson's Straits, took the wider expanse beyond for the Pacific, and believed that, having passed the fabled Straits of Anian, supposed to separate Asia from America, he would find Japan to be the first land lying across his bow.

The long-deferred realisation of the navigator's dream of a Polar passage proved how illusory were all the projects based upon it. A route entailing navigation for thousands of miles through ice-encumbered seas, along the ragged fringes of the new or old continents, might as well, for all purposes of commercial utility, have no existence. The impracticability of this *ignis fatuus* of mediæval adventure is shown by the negative results of its substantiation. Both passages have been proved to exist, yet only one ship, the *Vega*, has ever succeeded in making the actual transit from ocean to ocean by the one or the other. In her memorable voyage, favoured probably by an exceptional season, and under an exceptional commander, she achieved the feat of

reaching the China Seas by the northern coast of Asia, and of completing the circumnavigation of the old continent by returning through the Suez Canal. But no repetition of the exploit has been even attempted in the twelve years that have elapsed since, and it remains a solitary fact in the annals of navigation.

Still less practicable as a thoroughfare has proved the corresponding route in the Western Hemisphere. Traced by overlapping voyages from opposite directions, the North-West Passage has never been, and we are almost tempted to say never will be, traversed throughout by any single ship. Yet the record of its exploration, thus from a utilitarian point of view barren of result, has an interest which will live while the story of human heroism and endurance shall have power to stir the human heart. The courage which can dare to meet death at the cannon's mouth is indeed but a puny sentiment compared to that required to face the awful shapes of terror in which he confronts the Arctic voyager, nor can endurance be put to a severer test than that imposed even by the ordinary conditions of an Arctic winter. There life is sustained only under a pressure which impedes and clogs all the animal functions. The warmth of the body is maintained by a wasting expenditure of vital energy, and the frame is exhausted by the bare effort to live.

To suffering from cold is added privation of light, and the sun, when he disappears for three or four months below the horizon, leaves all living things a prey to nervous prostration, which so lowers and debilitates the whole organism, that when light returns with the advent of spring, it shows blanched and emaciated faces, like those of convalescents in a hospital ward. These physical woes are accompanied by material inconveniences resulting from the extreme of temperature encountered. Solid food is hardened to an iron consistency that makes mastication a painful and difficult process. Liquids must not only be thawed before being swallowed, but often poured by another down the throat of the imbibor, lest the contact of the chilled metal of the vessel should bring away the skin of the lips. Cleanliness becomes impossible when water freezes instantly if removed a few inches from the fire. The condensation of the breath forms pendant icicles wherever men are congregated together, and, remelting, saturates their clothes and bedding. The extent to which it accumulates may be estimated from the fact that 100 cwts. of ice thus formed were removed from the lower deck of the *Hecla* after an Arctic winter. Lieutenant Payer, in his journal, describes the atmospheric conditions between decks as follows:—

When any one comes below, the temperature falls. If the door be opened there rolls in a mass of white vapour. If any one opens a book he has brought with him, it smokes as if it were on fire. A

cloud surrounds those that enter, and if a drop of water falls upon their clothes it is at once converted into ice, even at the stove.*

These, however, are but the normal incidents of Arctic life under its most favourable conditions, relieved as cheerful experiences on the background of its darker possibilities. Disease in its most dreadful forms, famine ever impending in a climate where the soil furnishes nothing towards the support of life, dangers untold and unimaginable, from the frozen element, which has all the instability of water with the momentum of a solid body—these are among the weapons in the armoury of Nature ever ready to be turned against the intruder into her uttermost stronghold of desolation. No greater proof could be afforded of the primacy of mind over matter than that man should, even under such dread penalties, refuse to abdicate his sovereignty of the universe, still asserting his indefeasible right to subdue and occupy to its remotest and most inhospitable bounds the planet assigned him as his inheritance. Only this instinct of dominion, deeply implanted in his nature, can lend charms to the privations, and fascination to the terrors of the wilderness of ice, investing the Polar regions with a special attraction for adventurous spirits in all ages. Thus an Arctic expedition is by no means the least popular form of naval service, and those who have once taken part in one are generally found, not only willing, but anxious, to brave again its familiar hardships and perils. Without such spirits England would never have attained her place in the world's history, and she does well to cherish their memories. No page in her annals is richer in examples of heroic self-sacrifice in the cause of duty than that which records the discovery of the North-West Passage, the barren though glorious realisation of the dream of ages.

After the voyages of Hudson and Baffin in 1610 and 1616 had resulted in the discovery of the two great arms of the sea which respectively bear their names, there was a pause of two centuries in English effort to follow up the track thus opened into the Polar Sea. The establishment of the great fur preserves of the Hudson's Bay Company was the practical outcome of the voyage of the first-named navigator; but though the charter of these merchants bound them to make the most strenuous exertions for the discovery of a western passage, the obligation was fulfilled only in a very half-hearted way. The expeditions sent out by them with this object added little to the knowledge already gained, and either perished miserably in the mystery of the vast unknown, or returned baffled from the attempt to penetrate it.

* "New Lands within the Arctic Circle." By Julius Payer. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

A national expedition, fitted out in 1746 at a cost of £10,000, under the command of Captains Moor and Smith, was equally unsuccessful, and failed to find the western extension of Hudson's Strait, though discovery was stimulated by a promised reward of £20,000. The death of Captain Cook, whose third voyage was intended to have effected the circumnavigation of America by proceeding eastward from Behring's Straits, frustrated the last project of Arctic research entertained during that century.

The revived ardour with which it was prosecuted by the British Government during 1818 and subsequent years, was due, in part at least, to an erroneous assumption. The great ice-curtain which closes the North Atlantic for 1400 miles from Greenland to beyond Spitzbergen, sways between the 70th and 80th parallels as its summer limits, according to the mildness or severity of the seasons, but with a curvature in one part of its line forming the wide bay known as the Whalers' Bight. In the three summers subsequent to 1815 there was, however, a concurrence of opinion among the captains of ships employed in the Greenland fishery, that the ice-barrier had become so exceptionally weakened as to render the Arctic Sea comparatively open and accessible to navigation, and theorists went so far as to base on this evidence the hypothesis of a permanent change in the climate of the Polar regions sufficient to break down the adamantine bulwarks that defended them from all approach. Hence the fresh impulse which urged England once again on the quest of northern research and exploration. In the year 1818 two expeditions were sent out from her shores, designed respectively, the one to open up the North-West Passage, the other to penetrate from the North Atlantic to the Pole itself. The first, consisting of the *Isabella* and *Alexander*, commanded by Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry, returned after having sailed round the recesses of Baffin's Bay without effecting its object, and was principally memorable as having launched the last-named of those officers on his career of Arctic adventure. The second expedition, consisting of the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, had a similar history, since the fame of its chief, Captain Buchan, was also destined to be eclipsed by that of his second in command.

Lieutenant Franklin, who on this occasion first made acquaintance with the Polar ice in command of the brig *Trent*, was thirty-two years of age when he thus performed his apprenticeship to that form of service with which his name is now so inseparably associated. In those stirring times he had, however, already become known as an able and energetic officer. Born in 1786, the twelfth and youngest son of Willingham Franklin, in the inland town of Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, the mysterious call of the sea came to him during a holiday visit to its shores. His

vocation remained unshaken by a voyage to Lisbon in a merchant ship, on which his parents, who intended him for the Church, despatched him in the hope of effecting a cure, and he entered the Navy in 1800, when just fourteen, as a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Polyphemus*. In the following year he was present at the battle of Copenhagen, in which his ship led the line, and two months later was appointed to the *Investigator*, commissioned by his kinsman, Matthew Flinders, like himself a Lincolnshire man, for the survey of the Australian coast. On this service he received invaluable training in the scientific part of his profession, and showed such aptitude for astronomical and nautical observation, that when in charge of the little observatory at Sydney he was familiarly nicknamed "Mr. Tycho Brahe." He shared his commanding officer's shipwreck in the *Porpoise*, two years later, on one of the coral reefs on the northern coast of Australia, and being thus thrown out of employment, returned to England in passenger ships *via* the East Indies. This chance enabled him to take part as signal officer in one of the most singular and brilliant engagements fought even in that heroic age of British seamanship. The East India Company's homeward-bound fleet, sixteen Indiamen and eleven country ships, sailing from Canton without convoy, which was to meet them in the Straits, was sighted off Pulo Aor, on February 14, 1804, by a French squadron, consisting of a ship of the line, three heavy frigates, and a brig. Here was a prize worth a kingdom's ransom, the like of which had not been within such easy reach of capture since the English privateers had been used to swoop down on the helpless galleons laden deep with the ingots of the Spanish Main. But Commodore Dance, of the East India Company's service, who commanded the trading fleet, was equal to the occasion, and seizing the only chance left to him, played such a successful game of bluff, that Admiral Linois, the French commander, was firmly persuaded that three of the vessels opposite him were ships of war. When Dance, after nearly twenty-four hours of preliminary manœuvring, gave the signal to engage the enemy, the latter incontinently took to flight, and for two hours was seen the extraordinary spectacle of a powerful squadron of ships of war chased by a flock of merchantmen. The English commodore, tempering valour with discretion, then recalled his ships, and pursued his voyage to England, where his exploit caused an extraordinary sensation. The East India Company, paymasters of more than royal munificence, settled on him a pension for life of £500 a year, and the Bombay Insurance Company expressed their gratitude for his efficient guardianship of the vast property entrusted to him by a donation of £5000.

The *Bellerophon* was Franklin's next ship, and in that famous

old liner he took part as signal midshipman, with considerable distinction, in the battle of Trafalgar. Getting his epaulettes in 1808, he was again employed on active service in the expedition against New Orleans in 1814, when he commanded one of the boats of the *Bedford*, and was the first to board and capture one of the enemy's gunboats. This was his last exploit in actual war, for his courage in the future was to be tried against an antagonist more formidable than any human foe. He had now reached that middle point in his career when he was to gain his first experience of Arctic ice as commander of the brig *Trent* in the Polar expedition under Captain Buchan, already mentioned. Their instructions were to reach the Pole from the North Atlantic, between Greenland and Spitzbergen, sailing thence to India through Behring's Straits. The theory that ice formed principally along the land led to the idea that the failure of previous attempts to reach high latitudes from this quarter was due to the ships having entangled themselves in the winding shores and inlets on the northern coast of Spitzbergen, while a comparatively open channel was to be found in mid-ocean. The report of the whalers, that the Atlantic ice was absolutely impenetrable, having shown this to be a delusion, the *Dorothea* sought to find an opening to the north-east of Spitzbergen, and succeeded with much difficulty in reaching open water in the latitude of $80^{\circ} 32'$. Here she was overtaken by a gale so terrific that the only chance of saving her lay in the desperate expedient of heading her right for the pack, into which she crashed with such momentum as to penetrate it to twice her own length. She issued from this berth too disabled to continue her voyage, or even to dispense with the attendance of her consort, and allow her to prosecute her mission. Both ships had consequently to return home with a very discouraging report as to the practicability of any future attempt from the same direction.

Lieutenant Parry, on the other hand, had returned from the equally unsuccessful expedition under Captain Ross, with the conviction that Lancaster Sound, declared by the latter officer to be a *cul-de-sac*, would prove to be the long-sought outlet of Baffin's Bay. Having succeeded in convincing the Admiralty that the contrary conclusion had been too hastily arrived at, he was entrusted with the command of a fresh expedition, consisting of the *Hecla* and *Griper*, and on May 19, 1819, sailed from the Nore on the first of a series of the most memorable Arctic explorations made for two centuries. The results of this voyage alone were the discovery of the westerly opening of Baffin's Bay, the establishment of the existence, previously disputed, of a Polar Sea north of America, the discovery of the large group of the North Georgian or Parry Islands in its basin, and the attainment

of a longitude thirty degrees farther west than that reached by any previous navigator, thus securing the reward of £5000 promised to the first ship which should pass the 110th meridian.

Franklin, simultaneously despatched on a land journey to work on parallel lines to those of Parry's by sea, started with Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Richardson, Hood and Back, midshipmen, two seamen, and four Orkney boatmen, for York Factory, on Hudson's Bay. Their instructions were to make their way by the line of the lakes and rivers, dragging their boats in some places overland, to the mouth of the Coppermine River, and thence along the coast eastward to the furthest limit attainable. The survey of 555 geographical miles of coast, thus effected, was dearly purchased by the toils and sufferings undergone in an absence of four years. The little party were mainly dependent for provisions on the produce of the chase, and when this failed them utterly in a terrible winter march across the "Barren Grounds," were reduced to the last extremity of famine. Some died, and some, more dreadful still, were murdered by their companions, one of whom was put to death for the crime. The remnant of the party, who had remained with Franklin, were rescued by the Eskimos, and brought back in a pitiable state to their original starting-point. "Thus terminated (wrote Franklin) our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and land (including our navigation of the Polar Sea) 5550 miles."

The rank of post-captain rewarded the services of Franklin, who had in his absence been promoted to that of commander, and the brief period of leisure he now enjoyed was devoted to writing an account of his adventurous journey. He also found time to pay his addresses to Miss Eleanor Porden, a lady whose acquaintance he had made on his last return from active service through her having celebrated in verse his Arctic voyage in the *Trent*. He married her on August 19, 1823, having, it is said, made the express condition that "she would never, under any circumstances, seek to turn her husband aside from the duty he owed to his country and his profession."

The sincerity of this pledge was tested ere many months had passed, for Franklin then entered into negotiations with the Admiralty in reference to the despatch of a fresh expedition, to co-operate by land with that about to be sent by sea under Captain Parry. In accordance with his proposal he was entrusted with the command of a small party instructed to proceed overland from New York to Lake Huron, and thence by lake and river to the coast. Tracing the outline of the latter westward as far as Kotzebue Sound, they were to be met there by the *Blossom*, sent to the rendezvous by way of Behring Straits. In pursuance of

these orders, Franklin, accompanied by Back, Richardson, and Kendall, left England on February 16, 1825.

His domestic circumstances made the sacrifice of leaving home a grievous one, for his wife, who had fallen into a decline after the birth of a little daughter some months previously, died within six days of his departure. Despite the fatal character of her illness he seems to have been unprepared for its abrupt termination, as the news, when it reached him on the shores of Lake Huron, came upon him as a great shock. The pathos of his bereavement was accentuated when, later on, he planted the British flag on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, using for the purpose a silk Union-jack embroidered by her in anticipation of this moment. But his arduous duties left little time for the indulgence of personal regrets, for he had now to return to provide winter quarters for his party on the shores of the Great Bear Lake. Here the months of inaction were passed in huts, without any other privations than those incident to the climate, and the following summer was utilised in a series of systematic explorations, which added much to the then imperfect knowledge of the coast of North America.

Returned to England in 1827, Franklin married, in November of the following year, his second wife, Miss Griffin, whose name as Jane, Lady Franklin, remains for ever associated with the memorable search for his lost expedition. She shared with him, during the years that followed, the most tranquil period of his life of action, accompanied him to the Mediterranean, where he held command, after having received the honour of knighthood, from 1830 to 1833, and to Tasmania, where he filled the post of lieutenant-governor from January, 1837, to November, 1843. She interested herself deeply in the condition of the female convicts, and took an active part in all her husband's humane efforts for the amelioration of the lot of the outcasts for whom that colony still served as a place of deportation, expending considerable sums out of her private means on these and other works of beneficence.

On Franklin's return to England in 1844 the subject of Polar research was again engaging public attention. In the southern hemisphere Sir James Ross had completed his remarkable voyage with the *Erebus* and *Terror*; while at the opposite Pole, Sir Edward Parry, in a series of voyages, had ascertained much of the geography of the seas west of Baffin's Bay, and the land journeys of Back and Dease, Simpson and Rae, had almost filled up the blank previously existing in the outline of the North American coast. The exploration of a comparatively narrow tract of sea was alone required to set at rest the vexed question of the North-West Passage, and, as was scarcely doubted, to establish its existence. A fresh expedition for this purpose was therefore

decided on, and Franklin, as the senior officer with Arctic experience then in England, claimed to command it. To the objection of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that he was sixty years of age, he promptly replied, "No, my lord, only fifty-nine"; and his determination to carry his point being thus evident, he was given the appointment on the spot. The *Erebus* and *Terror*, just returned from the Antarctic Seas, were recommissioned for a voyage to the opposite Pole, the former by Franklin himself, the latter by Captain Crozier as his second in command. Both ships were fitted for the first time in Arctic navigation with auxiliary screws, and provisioned, as was thought, for three years. Thus equipped for their perilous voyage, they sailed from Greenhithe on May 18th, 1845, never to be sighted from English shores again.

In the beginning of July they were at Disco Island, on the western coast of Greenland, and thence the last direct news of their movements reached home in the shape of a letter from Commander Fitzjames, of the *Erebus*, saying that "Sir John was delightful," and that all were in the best spirits. An Aberdeen whaler saw the two ships somewhat later at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, sailing west before a fair wind, and so disappearing into that shroud of mystery which was to be wholly rent aside only after the lapse of fourteen years. For from that day forth no tidings of the missing ships reached England, and uneasiness grew to fear, and fear to horror, as the years rolled away and brought no sign. As early as the winter of 1846-47 some apprehension began to be felt, and in the following summer, despite the belief that the vessels had supplies for three years, large stores of provisions were sent out to various points on the Arctic coast in charge of Dr. Rae and Sir John Richardson. As another winter passed without news, serious fears of disaster were universally entertained, and in the summer of 1848 began that series of search expeditions, public and private, English and American, which form such a unique chapter in naval history.

Lady Franklin, who had naturally been one of the first to take alarm, co-operated from the beginning by the offer of a reward of £2,000, and subsequently by the despatch at different times of five ships, fitted out almost entirely at her own expense. The "Dictionary of National Biography," in its article on Sir John Franklin, summarises as follows these various expeditions:—

One in 1847, that already mentioned from Hudson's Bay, under Richardson and Rae; five in 1848; three in 1849; ten in 1850, including those sent out by the Admiralty under Austin, Ommanney, Collinson, and McClure; two in 1851; nine in 1852, including the one under Sir Edward Belcher; five in 1853, including one in

boats and sledges under Dr. Rae, and one into Smith's Sound by Dr. Kane of the United States Navy; two in 1854; one in 1855; and one, that of the "*Fox*," in 1857.

The first traces of the missing expedition were found in 1850 by Captain Ommanney, who on Beechey Island, its earliest wintering place, came upon relics that told too truly the cause of the disaster that had overtaken it; for here, in undying witness against the fraud that had cost the lives of so many brave men, were the remains of condemned stores, tins of meat rejected in quantities as unfit for food, whose loss fatally diminished the three years' supply with which the ill-fated ships were provided. Their crews were thus as truly, and far more cruelly murdered in cold blood by their own countrymen as though they had been put to a violent death.

The track of the expedition, after its sojourn on Beechey Island, was again lost until 1854, when the first authentic intelligence of its subsequent course was gleaned by the boat party sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company under Dr. Rae, one of their employés. He learned from the Eskimos that a party of white men had been seen travelling over the ice near King William's Land four winters previously, and that their bodies were afterwards seen on the mainland, in the neighbourhood, as far as he could gather, of the Great Fish River. The truth of this story was attested by various small articles obtained from them, amongst others silver spoons, capable of identification as the property of the officers of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and a silver plate engraved "Sir John Franklin, K.C.H."

Although the fate of the lost crews was thus substantially made known, there was a lingering doubt whether all had perished, or whether some survivors might not still be found among the Eskimo tribes along the coast. Lady Franklin at any rate clung to this despairing hope, and as the official mind preferred to consider the question finally set at rest, organised, almost entirely at her own expense, a private expedition, consisting of the steamer-yacht *Fox*, under the command of Sir Leopold McClintock. The little vessel, sailing in 1857, had an inauspicious beginning to her voyage. She had barely reached the north of Baffin's Bay when, on the very threshold of her enterprise, she was beset in the pack, and drifting southward while helpless in its icy clutch, was only released in the following summer when near the latitude of the Shetlands. Thence again threading her way northwards through the sailing bergs and floes that make Baffin's Bay in summer such a panorama of moving Alps, she forced a passage, ere another winter came upon her, through the rocky channel of Bellot's Straits, into the narrower seas beyond, where lay the secret of her search. By

a series of sledging parties over the ice in the spring of 1859, commanded by McClintock and his colleagues, Lieutenant Hobson, R.N., and Captain (now Sir Allen Young), of the merchant marine, the last relics of the Franklin expedition were finally recovered. A boat, a few skeletons, chronometers, instruments, watches, clothing, plate, books, told in disjointed fashion the sad story of its fate. But later on, in May 1859, was found a more definite record in the shape of a written document, which proved that in the interests of science at least the lives of those composing it had not been laid down in vain. The object of their quest was achieved, though for them there was no return to claim its reward, for they had, by traversing the intervening strait between the known seas to the east and to the west, actually discovered the North-West Passage. The fact that Sir Robert McClure had in 1850 found another connecting link between the known and the unknown, by penetrating to Barrow's Strait, entered by Parry in 1819, could not militate against a discovery in which they had had priority, nor need he grudge this division of laurels shared only with the dead.

The last record of the Franklin expedition, written on one of the official forms supplied to ships, with a printed polyglot request for its transmission by the finder, bore two dates. The earlier portion gave the latitude and longitude of the first winter quarters on Beechey Island, and concluded with the words "All well," so cruelly belied by what followed. Round the margin of the same form the later summary, in the handwriting of Captain Fitzjames, ran as follows:—

"25th April, 1848, H.M. ships *Terror* and *Erebus* were deserted on 22nd April five leagues N.N.W. of this, having been beset since 12th September, 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under the command of Captain F. R. M. Crozier, landed here in latitude 69° 37' 42" N., longitude 98° 41' W. Sir John Franklin died on 11th June, 1847, and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date, nine officers and fifteen men."

To this was added, in the handwriting of Captain Crozier, "And start on to-morrow, 26th, for Back's Fish River."

The story of that march, on which all perished in various stages of disease and starvation, was gathered only from the natives, but nothing could add to the tragic force of the phrase of the old Eskimo woman who described them to McClintock as "falling down and dying as they walked." So, much-enduring to the end, they pass for ever from mortal ken, haloed with a memory of infinite pity and regret, into the ranks of the immortals who have died, not vainly, but for a cause.

Of the ships it was told that they too had perished: the one

sunk in deep water, to the regret of the natives, who were unable to save anything out of her; the other driven on shore, and furnishing a supply of wood and iron, the remains of which were still found in their possession. Thus the frozen sea had given up its last secret, and all that could be known on this side of eternity of the lost Franklin expedition had been discovered. Its relics, few but precious, are doubly commemorative, since they testify not only to masculine heroism, but to feminine fidelity, rewarded for a lifetime of effort by the discovery of so splendid a testimony to the fame of the unforgotten dead. To Lady Franklin's unshaken steadfastness of purpose was due the recognition of the success of her husband in attaining the end for which he and his companions had sacrificed their lives. In her widowhood the personification of a nation's mourning, she lived long to bear the pangs and wear the crown of a supreme sorrow, and died in 1875, at the age of eighty-three, occupied to the last with the task whose completion she had taken on herself. The equipment of the yacht *Pandora* to make the passage through the strait discovered by her husband's expedition, was the business of the closing months of her life, nor did she live to learn the failure of the attempt. The unveiling of the monument to Franklin in Westminster Abbey, which divided with it her last thoughts and interests, took place, too, a fortnight after her death, and the epitaph, whose composition had proved too much for her failing powers, was completed by Lord Tennyson, the nephew by marriage of the illustrious dead.

Thus closed that cycle of English adventure in search of a northern route to the East which may be said to have opened in 1553 with an expedition whose fate was an anticipation of that of Franklin three centuries later. Sir Hugh Willoughby, too, sailed into the frozen seas, to be for ever lost in the mystery that shrouds them, and owed his destruction, in part at least, to a similar cause, the inferiority of the stores supplied to him. Although the Eastern, not the Western Polar Seas, were the scene of the

“Hapless drifting past uncharted bays”

of his ship the *Good Hope* and her consort, their story, so pathetically told in Palgrave's “Visions of England,” is almost literally that of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. Their inmates, too, looked their last upon a world sheeted in the ghastly glimmer of the snows, and stamped with the same stereotyped fixity of feature:

An iron ridge o'erhung with toppling snow
And giant beards of icicled cascade:—
Where, frost imprisoned as the long months go,
The *Good Hope* and her mate-ship lay embayed;

And those brave crews knew that all hope was gone ;
 England be seen no more—no more the living sun.

A store that daily lessens 'neath their eyes ;
 A little dole of light and fire and food ;
 While Night upon them like a vampire lies,
 Bleaching the frame and thinning out the blood ;
 And through the ships the frost-bit timbers groan,
 And the Guloine prowls round, with dull, heart-curdling moan.

Then sometimes on the soul, far off, how far !
 Came back the shouting crowds, the cannon roar,
 The palace windows glittering like a star,
 The buoyant Thames, the green sweet English shore,
 The heartfelt prayers, the fireside blaze and bliss,
 The little faces bright, and woman's last, last kiss.

Since the accomplishment of the North-East Passage by the voyage of the *Vega* * in 1879 completed our knowledge of the northern outline of both continents, the efforts of exploration have been principally directed to the actual Polar basin, with a view to either reaching the Pole itself, or to ascertaining the distribution of land and water around it. The most notable of recent discoveries in this quarter was that of Franz Josef Land, an insular group of large dimensions and as yet unascertained boundaries, lying to the north-east of Novaya Zemlya, in the Siberian Sea. Its existence was made known by one of the most romantic voyages recounted even in the thrilling records of Arctic adventure, that of the *Tegetthoff*, an Austrian steamer of only 220 tons burthen. Beset in the pack off Novaya Zemlya in August 1872, the little vessel remained for over a year exposed to the perils of the awful ice-quake in the convulsed and riven floe. But by a chance, contrary to that which usually befalls ships in such a situation, she was drifted, not southward, but to the north-east, until in the autumn of 1873 a vision of Alpine peaks suddenly looming out of the fog ahead revealed to her enraptured crew the existence of a land never gazed on by mortal eyes before. Its ice-masked contours were explored in a series of sledge journeys in the following spring, as high as the 82nd parallel, after which the ship was abandoned, and her crew, taking to their boats, made their way, after months of incredible hardship, to Novaya Zemlya, and thence to Europe. The region discovered by them consists of two large islands, separated by a frozen strait, and fringed by an archipelago of smaller glacier-covered rocks. It was almost devoid of life, animal or vegetable,

* For the voyage of the *Vega* and its results see the DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1882.

and the hardy Polar bear, though found in such numbers as to supply abundance of animal food was, with scarcely an exception, its solitary four-footed inhabitant. From the highest latitude reached, $82^{\circ} 5'$, extensive mountain ranges were descried on the northern horizon, and on these dim outliers of the earth the names of King Oscar Land and Petermann Land were bestowed. The Austrian flag was planted on the furthest point attained to, and this, the most northerly land in the old world, was thus added to the heterogeneous dominions of the Emperor Francis Joseph. The next and only subsequent visitor to its desolate shores was Mr. Leigh Smith, who on his steam yacht *Eira* in 1880, explored their southern windings for 110 miles. The icebergs discharged from its glaciers are, according to his observations, not peaked and pinnaced like those of Greenland, but table-topped like those of the Antarctic seas.

The latest discoveries in the Siberian seas were made by the *Jeannette*, lost in their ice-storms in 1881, and by the ships sent in search of her. Bennett Island, in latitude $76^{\circ} 40' N.$, and longitude $151^{\circ} 25' E.$, was first seen and named by her commander, Lieutenant De Long, and Wrangell Land, sighted by Captain Kellett, of H.M.S. *Herald*, in 1879, and conjectured by Petermann to be an eastern limb of Greenland, was surveyed by Lieutenant Berry, of the search vessel *Rodgers*, and found to be an island seventy miles in length by twenty-eight in width.

East of Spitzbergen, in latitude $80^{\circ} 10' N.$ and longitude $32^{\circ} 3' E.$, a small island, described as a table-land rising to a height of 2100 ft., was visited in 1887 by a Swedish seaman, Captain Johannesen. Its discovery is interesting, as tending to corroborate the idea that an archipelago extends from Spitzbergen to Franz Josef Land, which by preventing the Polar ice from descending into Barentz Sea, exercises a modifying influence on the climate of Europe. Hudson, who in 1607 penetrated the Greenland seas to the latitude of $81^{\circ} N.$, and affirmed that he had seen land to the north-east of Spitzbergen as high as the 82nd parallel, had doubtless descried either Franz Josef Land itself, or some portion of the group to which it belongs.

The most successful Arctic voyage in the western hemisphere subsequent to the Franklin search was that of the *Alert* and *Discovery*, under Sir George Nares, in 1875-76. The former ship, passing through Smith's Sound, which with its prolongations, Kennedy and Robeson Channels, seems to be the direct avenue to the Pole, reached the edge of the paleocrystic ice, cumbering the sea beyond with a crust from 80 to 100ft. thick. In face of its glacial barrier, she passed the long Arctic night in latitude $82^{\circ} 27'$, the highest in which a ship has ever wintered, and from this advanced point Captain Markham and Lieutenant

Parr pushed forward a sledge reconnaissance over the pack as high as $83^{\circ} 20' 26''$, while Lieutenant Aldrich explored the coast of Grant Land, facing the paleocrystic sea, for 220 miles to the west. The existence of an open sea, which Captain Kane and his companions, who discovered Grinnell Land in 1854, believed they saw stretching Poleward as far as the horizon, was completely disproved by this voyage.

The Greeley expedition, of tragic memory, made in 1882-83 the most systematic exploration of the Polar lands bordering on Smith's Sound. Grinnell Land was found to be buried beneath two vast sheets of ice, stretching north and south from the neighbourhood of the 82nd parallel, and divided by a valley, almost absolutely free from snow, where numerous herds of musk-oxen grazed on a comparatively luxuriant vegetation of willows, saxifrages, and grasses. The ice-cap followed the undulations of the ground with a fairly uniform depth of about 150 ft., and ended in a cliff with a nearly vertical face, modified to a slope admitting of its ascent only in two spots for a length of sixty miles. To the northern ice Major Greeley assigned a probable area of 6000 square miles, but from the indications seen by him believed both glaciers to be receding. The intervening valley he concluded to have been an arm of the sea down to a comparatively recent period, as this region shares with all ultra-northern lands the features of raised beaches and marine remains at high altitudes, indicative of their upheaval from the sea at no distant date. It is curious to find the temperature here, within eight degrees of the Pole, described as at times oppressive, rising once to 74° in the shade.

To Lieutenant Lockwood, of the United States Navy, one of the victims of this expedition, belongs the credit of having carried farthest the exploration of Northern Greenland, on the other side of Nares' paleocrystic sea, and of having reached, in the latitude of $83^{\circ} 35' N.$, the most northerly land known on earth. He added a new coast line of one hundred miles to the charts, and passed by some four or five miles Markham's farthest over the ice in the same region. A confused mass of soaring snowy peaks was all that could be discerned of the interior of the continent from a height of 2000 ft., while the line of coast, fringed with islands, and intersected with deep fiords, showed no signs, as far as the eye could reach, of approaching its northern termination.

The latest addition to the map of Eastern Greenland was made by a sledging party from the *Germania*, a steamer of 140 tons, fitted out by Herr Petermann, and commanded by Captain Koldewey. They reached in 1870 a headland in latitude $76^{\circ} N.$, which, under the name of Cape Bismarck, forms the present limit of knowledge of this part of the Arctic world. A deep

fiord, stretching far into the interior, and fringed with peaks of from 7000 to 14,000 ft. high, seen about three degrees farther south, was the most striking feature of the shores visited by the expedition.

The result of all these researches is to leave an unknown area of 3,000,000 square miles out of the 8,201,883 comprised within the Arctic Circle. The greatest northing has been made from the direction of Smith's Sound, separating Greenland from Grinnell Land, but further advance in this quarter is barred by the *ne plus ultra* of the paleocrystic floe, while the easterly and westerly trend of the widely diverging shores leaves the Poleward way unsheltered by any land barrier. A coast line with a northerly direction and a westerly aspect is now believed to be a *sine qua non* of further progress, since experience has proved it to be destruction for any ship to enter the Polar pack, and the general westward drift of the ice necessitates a breakwater on its lee. These conditions are fulfilled only by Franz Josef Land, and from this direction, if at all, is a higher latitude than those recorded likely to be reached.

This, however, will not be the line taken by the Polar expedition now being organised by Dr. Nansen, whose remarkable feat of crossing Southern Greenland on snow shoes must still be fresh in the minds of our readers. His plan, which has at least the merit of originality, is to proceed to Behring's Straits in February 1892, in a wooden steamer of 170 tons, strengthened to bear the ice pressure, and stored with provisions for five years. Steering for the New Siberian Islands, which he expects to reach before the autumn, and there wedging his vessel in the pack, he hopes to drift in its icy cradle across the Pole to Greenland. The idea that a strong ocean current takes this course rests on the fact that a portion of the wreckage of the *Jeannette*, which foundered off the New Siberian Islands on June 13th, 1881, was picked up on a piece of floating ice off Julianehaab, on the western coast of Greenland. The grounds for the inference seem to us insufficient, for there is no reason why the fragments of the *Jeannette* should not have followed the same course as the driftwood from the Siberian rivers constantly swept round Cape Farewell by the Spitzbergen current, instead of having forced a passage through the land or ice barriers that gird the Pole.

All the indications gleaned in recent voyages seem, indeed, to denote the occupation of the unexplored north by a Polar continent, rather than by a frozen ocean. Not only the scale of the natural features of Greenland, but its very outline, as far as it is known to us, stamp it by all geographical analogy as the extremity of a larger bulk of land, a peninsula rather than an island. It seems likely that it extends across the Pole, filling

up great part of the unknown area, and breaking up on its southern edge into a fringe of islands, of which Spitzbergen and Franz Josef Land are the outworks. The existence of land to the north of the former group is deduced by hunters from the flight of birds, as well as from the occurrence of reindeer marked by the lopping of their ears among the wild ones habitually shot on the islands.

Such land is not even necessarily at any very great distance. The vapour-charged atmosphere of the far north veils the horizon with a fog curtain rarely lifted or drawn aside, and capriciously hiding from one observer the vision of dim coast-line perhaps vouchsafed to his predecessor. Nor in the glistening ice landscape is it always easy to distinguish the fixed from the floating mountain—the glacier from the floe. Hence, while fancy may, on the one hand, easily conjure up the mirage of a continent, one may, on the other, exist undetected at a comparatively short distance from the most watchful observer.

It may be doubted whether more accurate knowledge will ever take the place of the gropings of conjecture in regard to the conformation of the Polar regions. The difficulty of progress increases with every foot of advance northward, and the farther investigation is pushed, the more inviolable does it find the crystal seal set by Nature on her shining sanctuaries of desolation. The abysmal writhings of the hoary ice-crust of the sea forbid locomotion equally with the pinnacled rigidity of the ice-sheathed continent, and since neither affords the slightest sustenance to life, advance is absolutely restricted to the distance for which it is possible to transport supplies.

The ice-pack, to which Dr. Nansen proposes to trust for transport, is no less destructive in its pale fury than the tropical tornado, and treats with as little tenderness the vessel once caught in its adamantine clutches. Much as we wish success to the "hardy Norseman" in his daring attempt to cross these white thresholds of the unknown, our best hope for him is that failure may come sufficiently early in his enterprise to avert its yet more tragical termination. Nowhere on the surface of the globe is adventure threatened with such grim penalties as those which lie in wait for it in the gaunt regions whose warders are Famine and Frost.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—BLESSED THOMAS MORE.

Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and Martyr under Henry VIII. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R. London: Burns and Oates. 1891.

AT this present time the troubles of our Catholic forefathers open out thoughts full of pregnant interest and actuality. They are to us what the Acts of the first Christian Martyrs were to the Early Church, a pledge of the one Christian Faith over against the erring heathen world. The persecutors were at one only in persecuting the Christian people. Their instincts were true: neither Jew nor heretic roused their fury, because it was neither Jew nor heretic who undermined the citadel of paganism. Those very martyrs in their helplessness and anguish conquered the world to Him for Whom they laid down their lives, and the Fathers, living on the confines of the martyr age, recognised the Divine Hand, choosing its tools in tortured and dying men.

What argument is so telling against the Anglican theory or "continuity" as those troubles which were borne because there was no continuity? They are the best proof we can have of the soul-destroying change of the sixteenth century. Vexations, fines, torture, and the scaffold were the price paid by our forefathers for their fidelity to the Holy See. As well might we say that the early martyrs were not Christians as that ecclesiastical continuity in England was unbroken in the sixteenth century. If all Englishmen had risen in a mass and laid down their lives for the Holy See when it was maintaining the purity and indissolubility of the royal marriage, there would have been no change of religion. This is the conclusion which forces itself on the mind from the perusal of these new Acts of Martyrs, and makes them the most forcible argument against the advanced Anglican standing-point. We may at once forestall the objection which might be raised as to the first Protestants in England who suffered death for their religious opinions, by applying to them Blessed Thomas More's words on counterfeit miracles: "I am sure though ye see some white sapphire or berill so well counterfeit, and so set in a ring that a right good jeweller will take it for a diamond, yet will ye not doubt, for all that, but that there be in many other rings already set right diamonds indeed. Nor ye will not mistrust St. Peter for Judas!"*

* "Life," English Works, quoted by Fr. Bridgett, p. 337.

The great merit of F. Bridgett's book is to show us a true man of flesh and blood, one who was all he was in the married life, bound therefore to a certain extent by its conventionalities, and yet who from first to last in his every action carried out the device of St. Ignatius, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Justice is done to every one, and no word of bitterness escapes the martyr's biographer any more than it did the martyr himself. We may look in vain for what we should call a strong expression against the king from the mouth of Sir Thomas. There is not one; yet he knew the master he served as perhaps no other man in England did, and that in Henry's better days, when he was to all appearances a gifted and God-fearing prince. Dame Alice, whom we had somehow looked upon as a worldly woman, receives her measure of praise. She is not a heroine in her words, but her deeds betray her. She is one of that not uncommon type who fear to appear too pious. When her husband was in the Tower she steadfastly endured privations in order to pay his pension. It is true that she urged him to conform, but in that she did as other people. One of two things is true of her as well as of the rest of England. Either they did not see very far ahead, and the oath which they were called upon to take was a mere form, or else they were not prepared to be martyrs. It is not because one saw that all might have seen, but this much may safely be said: if men had been leading the life which Sir Thomas More had been leading in the early part of Henry's reign, they would probably have died as he did at the block. Passion obscures the spiritual vision and weakens the will. Moral decadence is the real secret of England's falling away, and the reason why we number our martyrs by hundreds instead of by thousands.

The personages who have become to us synonymous with the change of religion—Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn, Cranmer, and Cromwell—are treated by Fr. Bridgett as by the great martyr himself, with gentleness. We are not told here how Henry received the news of his old friend's execution. It is said that he was with Anne Boleyn when the messenger arrived, and that, turning to her in anger, he exclaimed: "*You* are the cause of this man's death." These are pregnant words, but Fr. Bridgett had his own reasons for omitting them. He does not allow Anne Boleyn, who was the cause of all the strife, to destroy the impression of deep peace in which he leaves us after the martyrdom. The portrait drawn of Erasmus might possibly appear a little flattering to those who have studied him in Dr. Janssen.* More believed in him and honoured him with his friendship. Nevertheless, the truth will

* See "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes."

remain that he was one of those enigmatical characters whom we shall know only when the secrets of all hearts are revealed.

There is a singular fitness and completeness about this biography, which leaves a conviction on the mind that just the right thing has been said and omitted. The touch is so delicate that it is suggestive. From what we are told we can infer much more, and this is the perfection of biography. The reader protests against "what must have been," or, if he does not, he ought. He enjoys the silent world of heroism which is opened out to him by some chance word or deed told without what we may call the mannerisms of authors. This is a high order of portraiture, and it has been adopted here. Never was any one more perfectly and more joyously himself at all times than Blessed Thomas More. His fine sense of humour was not checked by the Tower or even by the block. To die with a jest on his lips was peculiar to the man whose wit had charmed his contemporaries, but it also illustrated his heroism. *Lætus obtulit universa*: without joy he gave nothing.

By his birth on February 7, 1478, Thomas More belonged to the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. Nothing then presaged the violent upheaving which was so soon to follow in Church and State. The Tudor conquest had seemingly delivered the country from the oppression of a bad king, although Henry VII. was no kingly soul. The Court, too, offered examples of edification. The king's mother was the holy penitent of a future martyr; and his wife, Elisabeth of York, was popularly called "the good." The premature death of Prince Arthur, by making Henry Prince of Wales, changed the destiny of England.

If the shadow of Erasmus' liberalism has hitherto fallen rather heavily on Sir Thomas, Fr. Bridgett's work will remove it altogether. An intelligent study of More's Latin and English works, now undertaken for the first time, lays to rest another phantom of the public imagination—viz., the vague supposition that he could ever have been disloyal to the Holy See or dissatisfied with the Church. The judicial mind in combination with strong faith soon arrives at St. Augustine's *intus age totum*, and rejects the undue influence of externals. More had both in no ordinary degree. He read the human heart as if it had been an open book, and the knowledge, together with the pithiness and wit of his illustrations, give him a place apart as a writer. An incident chosen from one of his letters shows how little times and men alter. "There was," he says, "at Coventry a Franciscan of the unreformed sort. This man preached in the city, the suburbs, the neighbourhood, and villages about, that whosoever should say daily the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin (*i.e.*, the fifteen decades of the Rosary) could never be lost. The people listened greedily

to this easy way of getting to heaven. . . . But at last . . . [some of] the very worst were especially addicted to the Rosary for no other reason than that they promised themselves impunity in everything. . . . While the matter was at the hottest, it happened that I arrived at Coventry on a visit to my sister. I had scarcely got off my horse when the question was proposed also to me, whether any one could be damned who should daily recite the Rosary? I laughed at the foolish question, but was at once warned that I was doing a dangerous thing; that a most holy and most learned Father had preached against those who did so." More propounded the true Catholic doctrine, but only succeeded in getting laughed at, whilst the friar was extolled.*

The "Utopia" is More's most famous work, and as a key to his mind is well worth studying, but the mixture of banter, philosophy, and home truths will baffle the ordinary reader, whilst the ascetic works from which so many apt quotations are made will, with the intelligent editing that is promised, bid fair to become popular books of spiritual reading. These are "*Novissima*, a Remembrance of the Last Things," written during More's last days at Court, a "Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation," a treatise on the Passion, and other short prayers and meditations.

More's first-rate abilities, his friendship with the leading men of the day, his great legal capacity, but, above all, his own personal charm, drew the king's attention to him. After successfully discharging two foreign embassies, he finally took office at Court in 1518, and it was in Henry's service that he spent the best years of his life, till, in 1532, conscientious reasons made him withdraw from the Chancellorship. All his honours belong to this period, but though so highly favoured he was ever entirely free from worldliness. He never fell under that worst of captivities. He was not even so bound to his wife and children that he would not at any given time of his prosperity have sacrificed them for the greater love he bore to God. Yet, as far as his own account of himself goes, the flesh was more his special enemy than either the world or the devil; and his fear of becoming an unchaste priest made him humbly prefer the married life.

The romantic element is conspicuously absent from his wooing, if wooing it can be called. The story of both his marriages is simple enough, since he seems to have embraced the state rather than the person; and he contrived to marry the elder sister instead of the younger, whom he preferred. When Joan Colt became his first wife, "he considered that it would be both great grief and

* The whole incident should be read. See Father Bridgett's "Life," p. 98.

some shame to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage."* Few could be so chivalrous with impunity.

The romance of his life was rather in his children and his friends. In his days London was not earth's "vastest," the best thing our poet-laureate can find to say about it. Chelsea was a quiet village, and in his home there Sir Thomas was able to practise friendship as he understood it. Erasmus says that he was framed for it, yet in this, too, he built up the spiritual man on his natural liking. When the time came for the solitary confinement at the Tower, and all earthly friendship failed him, he turned simply to friendship in its highest expression—communion with God. He said that his early aspirations were fulfilled in the grim Beauchamp Tower, where he could give himself to prayer without let or hindrance.

The detachment of the man is revealed through Holbein's picture, or rather through what it calls up. The Chelsea household, which it depicts, was an abode of peace. Hearts and minds were hard at work. Besides his beloved Meg, More had two other daughters, Elisabeth and Cecily. He had given them his own tastes, and thus raised them above ordinary girlhood. It is said they had, through Erasmus, an European reputation. Alice Middleton, Lady More's daughter by her first marriage, and Margaret Gigs, Sir Thomas's adopted daughter, belonged to this privileged circle; and then, not to speak of the sons-in-law, there was the only son of the house, John More, who, however, has done less than Meg's husband, Roper, to make his father known to us. Dame Alice's watchful eye was over all, and, although she was no heroine, she made an excellent mistress and stepmother, at times displeased with her husband's irrespressible generosity, but agreeing with him in the main. Yet so habitual was More's meditation on the vanity of earthly things, and especially on the Sacred Passion, that he readily made the sacrifice of this loved home. When on the April morning of 1534 he was summoned before the royal commissioners at Lambeth to take the new Oath of Supremacy, Roper noticed that he did not invite his wife and children to "have them bring him to his boat," and that even *his* joyousness seemed overcast. After he had sat silently for some time, he suddenly said to his son-in-law, "Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won." Roper answered, "Sir, I am therefore very glad," though he frankly owns that he did not understand the words at the time. "Afterwards," he says, "I conjectured it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him so effectually that he conquered all his carnal affection

utterly.”* He never saw his Chelsea home again, but “the field was won.” He was beyond the king’s anger, and beyond human suffering.

He became Chancellor in 1529, as successor to Wolsey, being, we think, the first layman who held the great seal. It was in the beginning of sorrows—those sorrows which were the consequence to England of Henry’s steady degeneracy. Some have affected surprise that More could have accepted the position under the circumstances. He did it with his eyes open, though the freedom of refusal under a Tudor Sovereign was scarcely a subject’s prerogative. As soon as More found that he could no longer hold the post and be faithful to his conscience, he resigned honours and emoluments, a striking contrast to his predecessor who outlived them. More foretold every step of a nation’s decadence under a heartless tyrant. The Oath of Supremacy was in the air, but in 1531 it was called the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England, which the king was requiring from the clergy. When the divorce was pronounced by Cranmer, Sir Thomas said to Roper: “God grant, son, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths.”† In 1532 he ceased to be Chancellor, and gained, instead of his brilliant position as second subject in the kingdom, comparative poverty, which inured him to what was to come later on, and time for meditation, or, as he expressed it, for preparation for death.

The Pope gave his final decision in favour of Queen Katherine in 1534. This put the man who took the Oath of Supremacy, erroneously called the Oath of Succession, into open opposition with the Holy Father. Sir Thomas More would have sworn to a simple Act of Succession, however much he might have regretted the change.‡ The Supremacy was quite another question. Because the Pope had decided against the divorce, therefore the king became Supreme Head of the Church of England, and renounced for himself and his subjects any higher spiritual authority than his own. This Act made the English martyrs, and one of the first two Blessed Thomas More. It contains the kernel of the whole controversy between Catholic and Anglican, for, even if history be falsified, and vice called virtue, the reasoning and the conscience of men so honoured and gifted as Fisher and More cannot be set aside. Whilst England was bending in abject subservience to the will of a tyrant, Europe was giving him indignation and execration. He was breaking the laws and the unity of Christendom for the sake of a passing passion. The consequences to England were an abiding heresy, a king becoming Pope by Act of Parliament; for it is a singular fact that men

* P. 315.

† P. 351.

‡ His words are positive. See p. 353.

who object to the Pope of Rome will make a Pope of their own. A Pope of some kind there must be. England did but transfer her allegiance from Rome to London in a well-feigned horror of "meddling foreign priests." It was against this subversion of the moral law, a Parliament devising a new statute of Christian doctrine, that More protested by his death. From the guilty conscience of England he appealed to the conscience of Christendom. If he had been more alone even than he was, and the only man in England to withstand the new order and the breaking of continuity, he would still have gone to death. As it was, the specious objection of what every one else had done was duly urged upon him. Why could he not do what nearly every other bishop and layman in England had done? Because for "one bishop of the new opinion he had a hundred saints of his, and for one Parliament, and God knows of what kind, he had the General Councils for 1000 years, and for one kingdom he had France and all the kingdoms of Christendom."*

So, on July 6, 1535, the Octave day of the great Apostles, and the eve of St. Thomas of Canterbury's translation, Sir Thomas More went joyfully to his ignominious death, and the homily written by St. Chrysostom before his last exile exactly expresses our martyr's mind: "No one is hurt except by himself."

Meg's love followed him out of the world, and shielded her father's remains from ultimate profanation. The body, which she laid to rest in the Tower, is now beyond the reach of man's honour or dishonour, so long at least as no one is sure of the spot finally chosen for burial. She survived her beloved father nine years, a proof, we think, that his martyrdom took the sting out of what would have been otherwise a most terrible catastrophe. She herself was buried at Chelsea, and not with the precious head which she had rescued from London Bridge.

Three centuries of troubles and penal laws were the consequences to our Catholic forefathers of England's fall. Never surely were martyrdoms more entirely without human consolations, and more perfect acts of faith. All was dark externally, whilst the light of the Catholic religion was kept steadily burning in a few devoted hearts by the heroic efforts of our missionary martyrs. Now that the honours of the altar have followed upon that long, and as it seemed hopeless agony of oblivion, it would appear that Divine Providence has some special design on the country for which they died. Is the long era of persecution a type of what is to come? Can our legislation ever again deal with penal laws, the torture-chamber, and a capital sentence full of brutality and agony? It will be said that our age is too

* P. 422.

enlightened. But we have not yet arrived at the final consequences of Luther's negations, so clearly foreseen by Blessed Thomas More. The next generation, and even we ourselves, may come in contact with a world which has banished God—inevitable consequence of dethroning the Pope. Even now, without being prophets, it is easy to see that the names not the forces in the field are gradually thinning, and that the Church and Infidelity are coming to a hand-to-hand fight. Who can predict what the arms of a godless mob shall be, or say that a revival of every penal restriction is not quite possible? One thing is certain. If Infidelity returns to a Star-chamber and to the rack, it will have no false martyrs. Anglicans will not be disturbed, still less Dissenters, but the descendants of Cardinal Fisher and Thomas More may be called upon to bear the great testimony of life or death. To a certain extent we can judge of the future from the past. Our Catholic forefathers had to deal with the weakening of the Pope's authority, whereas the world of to-day is putting out God's authority. May not the latter troubles be worse than the first?

ART. IV.—BENEDICTINE GOVERNMENT FROM THE SIXTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. *Album Benedictinum*, nomina exhibens monachorum qui de Nigro Colore appellantur Ordinis S S. P. N. Benedicti. Prodiit ex Typographæo S. Vincentii in Pennsylvania, 1880.
2. *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*. Auctore UDALRICO. Apud Migne in vol. cxlix. Patrologiæ Latinæ.
3. *Constitutiones Hirsaudienses*. S. GUILLELMI ABBATIS. Apud Migne in vol. cl. Patrologiæ Latinæ.

THE first of the works whose titles I have placed at the head of this article is a kind of census of the Benedictine Order, published by the monks of St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania in 1880, the centenary year of St. Benedict. Of the one hundred and ten monasteries of the Order, exclusive of nuns' monasteries, which are nearly three times as many, and of two hundred and forty houses not canonically erected but having the care of souls attached to them, nearly one hundred are grouped into twelve congregations, while a few monasteries, including one in Bavaria, one in Australia, and one in Scotland are independent of any congregation. Several among these congregations take their names from the country to which they belong, as the Anglo-Benedictine, the French, the Bavarian, and the Brazilian; others from their principal Abbey, as the Cassinese and Beuron congregations. Three of them, the Anglo-Benedictine, the Cassinese of the Primitive Observance, and that of Beuron, have houses in England. The Austrian monasteries are for the most part remarkable for their venerable antiquity, and the brief historical notices given in the *Album* of the Abbeys of Salzburg, Kremsmunster, Mölk, &c., recall the palmiest days of Benedictine history, while the libraries of several among these ancient houses are rich in MSS. of priceless value. Only a summary account is given of the monasteries of the Benedictine nuns, which outnumber those of monks, as I said, in the proportion of nearly three to one.

Now, to any one who has read the history of the Order in its prime of vigorous life, its latest census suggests, at first thought, a state of more serious decline than is actually the case. The numbers given for each congregation would hardly have filled a single monastery in the early days of Cluny or St. Gall, of Corbie or Richenau, of Fulda or Gorze. But our desponding reflections

will be greatly modified by remarking, first, that the *Album Benedictinum* by no means professes to include all who profess the Rule of St. Benedict, but only the *Monachi Nigri*, or those who wear the black habit. No account is given of the white-robed Cistercian army, nor of Camaldolese, Silvestrines, Olivetans, &c., all of whom take their vows according to the Benedictine Rule. Still more cheering is it to note the steady increase in numbers, and the revival in discipline, that has gone on during the last half century, seeing that out of the twelve existing congregations seven have come into life within these fifty years. We are being borne along on the flowing tide, which we trust, with God's help will yet gain in strength, so that *et merito et numero in diebus nostris populus tibi serviens augeatur*, as Holy Church prays; and from 1880 to 1890 there has been a large increase. Then, once more, a careful reader of Benedictine history will not fail to remark how many of its most vigorous periods followed upon times when its prosperity had been at its lowest ebb, as in the days that immediately preceded St. Benedict of Anian, or the rise of Cluny, or, in England, in the dreary interval between St. Bede and St. Dunstan, or in Italy before Lodovico Barbo founded his congregation of St. Justina of Padua, which latter one changed its title to that of Monte Cassino. Now in each and every one of these instances, what filled the old Benedictine trunk with new sap and made it burst forth in all the greenness of a renewed spring was the principle expressed by Pius IX., in 1851, to Canon Marzolini, who had been sent to Rome as envoy from the Duke of Parma to negotiate the reinstatement of the Cassinese monks in the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Parma: "L'Ordine Benedittino com' è ridotto al presente non può durare. Un ritorno almeno parziale, all' antico è troppo necessario; altrimenti pena la vita." * And surely the monastic order had never sunk lower than at the close of the eighteenth century.

On the first page of the *Album Benedictinum* we read, "Our most Holy Lord Pope Leo XIII., Abbot of Abbots, *Abbas Abbatum*." People often ask who is the General of the Benedictine Order? evidently imagining that the Order *has* a General, like the Franciscans, the Dominicans, or the Society of Jesus. Now the order of St. Benedict has never yet had any Superior-General save the Pope. The Holy Father could, of course, at any moment depute his authority to any one, but, as regards the *whole* Order, no Pope has yet done so. Each congregation has its own

* "The Benedictine Order cannot last in the state to which it is now reduced; we must have, *under pain of death*, at least a partial return to its ancient type."

Abbot-General, or President, or President-General, or Arch-Abbot, as the case may be, but his jurisdiction does not go beyond his own Congregation. And this leads me to the main subject which I have taken for my essay—to wit, how was the Benedictine Order governed in the first six centuries of its existence? As in my last article, on “Benedictine Usages,” I have determined to confine myself to the period that ends with Cîteaux and the beginning of the twelfth century. What does St. Benedict himself command on this head, and what is thereon the ancient tradition of his Order? To make matters clearer, we had better first consider the government of each individual monastery, and, secondly, the relations of each monastery to others.

St. Benedict's idea of government is simple and well defined, both as to the subject in whom authority dwells, and the extent of the same. The governing power resides in its fulness in the Abbot. He is to be elected by the votes of the brethren of the monastery from among themselves (Rule, ch. 64). Two things only are to be had in view in the election, learning and holiness of life, and even the last of the community is to be chosen should he excel in these. St. Benedict does not say in what manner he is to enter on his office, obviously supposing as too well known to need description the universal custom of monks in his time. Elsewhere (ch. 85) he alludes to “the Bishop and Abbots, who *ordain*” the Abbot. The hiatus is amply supplied from other sources. Even as now laid down in the *Pontificale Romanum*, abbots were blessed by a bishop, with the assistance of the neighbouring abbots. Thus St. Gregory the Great, writing to Urbicus, Abbot of St. Hermas, in Sicily, commands that Victor, the Bishop of Palermo, be asked to ordain the priest Domitius, who had been duly elected by the monks of Lucusium, and confirmed (it being a disputed election) by St. Gregory. “When thou shalt have received our written message,” says the Pope, “let thy charity invite our brother and fellow-bishop, Victor to the monastery of Lucusium, and let him there celebrate solemn Mass, and in the name of God (*Deo auctore*) ordain Abbot the aforesaid Domitius.” From the ancient *Regula Magistri* we learn the rite in use in such cases, which is as follows:

The election of the new Abbot made by the community was duly notified to the Bishop. The latter came to the monastery, wrote the name of the late deceased Abbot in the diptychs of the departed, and the name of the newly-elect in the diptychs of the living, and then celebrated Mass in the oratory. Mass over, he gave the kiss of peace to the new Abbot and the monks, who, followed by the Abbot and Bishop, walked from the oratory to the chapter-house. There the Bishop delivered into the Abbot's

hands the Rule, the cellarer's keys, and the inventory of the property of the Abbey. Next he exhorted the newly-elect to the observance of the Rule, led him to his place in the chapter-house, and placed a *mantle* (is this the Abbot's *melotes* spoken of by St. Gregory in his Dialogues, Book ii. ch. 7?) on his shoulders. The Abbot-elect kissed the Bishop's hand, and after prayers had been recited over him, took the Rule, and, returning with the monks to the oratory, placed it on the altar. Taking it again in his hands he intoned the verse, *Confirma hoc Deus, quod operatus es in nobis*. Prostrate on the ground he then asked the Bishop's prayers, received from him the kiss of peace, and gave it in his turn to each of his monks. The prelate then departed, and the brethren did homage to their new superior. From this we see how it is that St. Benedict prescribes that in case an unworthy abbot has been elected, "the bishop and neighbouring abbots" are not to allow the election to hold good, but are to put a worthy steward over the House of God. Since St. Benedict's time the exemption of monasteries from episcopal authority, their immediate subjection to the Holy See, and other enactments of canon law have altered in great part the original mode of electing and confirming Abbots in the Order of St. Benedict.

Once elected the Abbot held office for life, saving the case of deposition for misconduct or incapacity. In the earliest times it was not necessary for the Abbot to be in priest's orders, and, according to Mabillon, it is most probable that St. Benedict was only a deacon, while we have not infrequent examples of deacons or even sub-deacons, like Ingelard of Corbie, being elected Abbot. But as early as 826 the Council of Rome commands that none be elected Abbot unless raised to the dignity of the priesthood. Of course the concession of pontifical insignia is of a much later date.

From the manner and conditions of election come we now to the nature of the Abbot's authority. In St. Benedict's own words: "The whole ordering of the monastery rests with the Abbot," he alone (clxv.) names his second in authority and the officers of the community. The Prior is "reverently to do whatever his Abbot biddeth him to, and naught against his will or bidding." When the brethren are called to council all may speak to their mind, but the Abbot must do as he judges right, and all must acquiesce in his decision. The votes of the community are consultive only. Since St. Benedict's time the wisdom of the Holy See has in a certain fixed number of cases given the monks in chapter a deliberative vote. Yet St. Benedict places effective checks on abuse of authority. First the Abbot is commanded to do nothing without taking counsel, in ordinary

cases with the seniors only, in more important ones with the whole community (ch. iii.). But there is something more important. In the most emphatic language, all, Abbot and monks alike, are warned: "In *all* things let *all* look on THE RULE as their mistress, and let none dare rashly to swerve from it." And in the chapter on the election of the Abbot (clxiv.), after a long series of admonitions, he is told that "above all" he must in *all* things observe this Rule. There is far more than appears at first sight in the stress thus laid on the observance of a written Rule. It is in some sense the key to the immense ascendancy the Benedictine Order obtained at one time in Europe, and its supplanting of other institutes. Nothing is stranger to our ideas of religious life than the ease with which monks in the early ages of the Church seem to pass almost at will from one monastery or institute to another, as we so often read in the lives of the Fathers of the Desert. But when St. Benedict established a form of profession, wherein monks vowed before the altar not only a life of holiness, but stability and obedience according to a fixed written code (ch. lviii.), the monastic order acquired a new element of strength and stability. Henceforward monks from other institutes could become Benedictines, but a Benedictine could not change, except to embrace a more austere life (ch. lx. lxi.).

To sum up: the Abbot's authority, if it is a pure or absolute monarchy, because his decisions are not subject to the votes of his brethren, yet is not despotic, fettered as it is by the seventy-three chapters of the Rule, and the strict injunctions laid upon him to make himself more loved than feared, not to be violent or restless, not to be exacting nor obstinate, not zealous nor suspicious, and so to attemper everything that the strong may have something to strive after and the weak not be driven back. The limits by which his authority is hedged in are thus forcibly set down by St. Bernard (*De Præcepto et Dispensatione*, c. iv. v.)

"The commands or prohibitions of my Superior cannot go beyond the terms of my profession. He may neither forbid me to do what I have promised, nor exact more than I have promised. At a monk's profession he promises obedience, not unlimited, but precisely according to the Rule, and according to no other rule than that of St. Benedict, . . . and not according to the will of the Superior. Should my Abbot wish to impose on me anything according to the rule of St. Basil, St. Augustine, or St. Pachomius, what obligation have I to obey him?"

A celebrated instance of an Abbot deposed for exceeding the limits of his authority is that of Abbot Ratgar of Fulda, in 811. The twenty heads of complaint against him are extremely interest-

ing, as showing the ancient usages of the Order, many of the charges brought against Ratgar being grounded on his neglect of established customs. The brethren complain that the priests of the monastery are not allowed to say Mass "as often as heretofore; that the Abbot has abolished the recital of prayers for the dead and for the benefactors of the Abbey, which their fathers had added over and above the divine office; that on Feasts, such as those of SS. Stephen and Lawrence, and of the Saints most in veneration in Germany, they are not allowed to rest from manual labour and pass the day in the divine office and reading; and they request that the ancient custom of eating the bread blessed at the offertory of the Mass (*eulogiæ*) before taking their daily refection be resumed; that their food and clothing be such as Abbot Sturm had introduced with St. Boniface's approval according to the usages of Monte Cassino; that manual labour be not so far increased by the erection of vast and useless buildings as to leave less than the time appointed by the rule for reading," and finally that "as we have been used to find all our Abbots hitherto . . . so that our present Abbot likewise may be kindly to the infirm, gentle to such as go astray, a consoler of the sorrowing, a helper to us in our toil, affable to his brethren, strengthening the weary, upholding the faint-hearted, raising up those that have fallen, &c." Ratgar turned out incorrigible and was deposed. To conclude, the Abbot's authority was monarchical; absolute, but not despotic; tempered by democracy in the fact that even the last of the community was eligible to office, and by a quasi-aristocracy, because he was obliged by the rule to name his assistants, such as the novice-master, the cellarman, the deans, &c., of whom we would speak in detail, if our space allowed. The obedience of his disciples, though limited by the Rule, yet often reached the heroic. St. Benedict exhorts them to obey even in impossible things, and God wrought miracles in favour of such as carried out the holy legislator's counsel to the letter.

So far we have dealt with the government of an individual monastery. Now we come to what I wish to make the principal subject of this essay. In what relation do monasteries of the Order stand to one another? Has the authority of the Abbot, either by the rule itself, or by the traditions of the Order, come to be limited by a superior control within the Order itself?

Now, as regards the Rule of St. Benedict, it is plain that the Saint contemplates its adoption in many distant countries. He expressly states that what he regulates as to the monk's clothing is only to hold good in temperate climates; in cold countries men will need more and are to have it. In his own life-time he had founded, by means of his disciples, monasteries as far apart as

Palermo and the banks of the Loire. Fourteen monasteries he is known to have founded himself, yet nowhere in his Rule does he say anything about the monasteries which should adopt his Rule being bound together by any other bond than the Rule itself, and in case circumstances should render interference from outside needful, he simply refers to the Bishop of the diocese and the neighbouring Abbots as the right people to appeal to, following therein the usage of his time. From all this it is evident that monasteries could be grouped together for mutual help without detriment to the Rule, and the annals of our first six centuries show how early some such arrangement was found beneficial, and even in many cases necessary. Visitors to the vale of Subiaco must have noted the picturesque remains of the twelve monasteries founded within a few miles along the course of the river, the noble ruins of "S. Girolamo," perched on a bold point of rock, and "S. Giovanni dell' Aqua," recalling one of the miracles recorded by St. Gregory, when the Saint, like another Moses, drew from the rock the stream that still flows on; and the monastery called after Blessed Lawrence, the hermit, who, in the thirteenth century, was visited there by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., and whose body rests in Sagro Speco, of which monastery Père Muard wrote: "Imagine to yourself a perpendicular rock, a hundred and fifty feet high, with enormous buttresses, projecting in several parts, and below the rock an abyss from eight to nine hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which a rapid torrent rushes along. It is below the rock and above the precipice that our hermitage is situated, so that it seems to cling to the face of the cliffs like a lark's nest ("Life of R. P. Muard," by E. Healy Thompson).

Ruins or chapels mark the site of other monasteries. How they came to be built we are told by St. Gregory. When St. Benedict's disciples numbered about 150, he divided them into twelve communities, each with its own abbot. He himself named the abbots in this first instance, and from the tenor of the narrative it would seem, as was only natural, that he retained the general direction of the twelve houses. This was the earliest type of a monastic congregation of monasteries, about which we know little, though St. Benedict's own language would lead us to conclude that the exercise of his authority would tend to consolidate and not to weaken the authority of each superior in his own monastery. Little more do we know of the small Sicilian congregation of six monasteries founded by St. Gregory the Great. They had for their abbot-general the Abbot of St. Hermas, but from the scanty notices that remain to us the interior government of each house would seem to have been left as decreed by St. Benedict in his Rule, and no abuse is denounced

therein by the Saint with greater vehemence than the custom of having the prior under the abbot appointed by any one but the abbot himself. We see that in the Sicilian monasteries each community elected its own abbot from its own members, and St. Gregory cancels the nomination of a monk because he had been taken from another monastery. During the next two hundred years we meet from time to time with examples such as that of St. Bennet Biscop, with his monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, or St. Wilfrid governing his foundations at Hexham and Ripon. Most noteworthy is the fact that Monte Cassino claimed and exercised authority over the Abbey of Glanfeuil, founded by St. Maurus, a right confirmed by Urban II. in a Bull directed to Cardinal Oderisius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, A.D. mxcvii., after the question had been investigated in a Council held at Tours, wherein the Abbot of Glanfeuil is said to hold his office *salva obedientia Ecclesie Matris Cassinensis*.

Notwithstanding these examples, the first three centuries of the Order are distinguished as the age of independent monasteries. Illustrious for their long line of saints and apostles, they were, indeed, too apt to collapse if an unworthy abbot was intruded, or the country was disturbed by warfare, without easily recovering their former vigour. But the monastic institute in the West was then at the period of its most vigorous youth, and monasteries studded the land thickly, the rapidly luxuriant growth of the Order being only rivalled by the noiselessness and silence of its spreading. It was the age of countless saints, of the conversion to the faith of the Teutonic race, rich in monastic tradition and picturesque legend. One common bond of unity united the far-spreading multitude of houses in the Benedictine family—the Holy Rule. And when decay began, it was met by the binding together of monasteries into congregations, and each and every one of such congregations for the next five hundred years had but one object—to restore and safeguard the observance of the Rule. It would be impossible even to pass in review the great foundations of this age; it would be far beyond our limits. Their very names call up a host of holy memories, chequered with shadows, which it would be folly and injustice to ignore. There was the great abbey on the banks of the Fulda, wherein St. Sturm had established the usages of Monte Cassino, and ruled over four hundred monks, an abbey that became a seminary of Bishops of Mayence. Did our purpose allow a description of the early cruciform basilica of the Monastery of Fulda, with its numerous altars and its “subterranean church,” or crypt, built in a circular form, and supported by arches springing from one massive column in the centre, it would doubtless be of deep antiquarian interest. This crypt was both a chapel and

a place of burial. In the time of the holy Abbot Egil, whose gentleness would never allow him to do anything without the consent of his monks, while they all strove with angelic harmony of brotherly love who should be the foremost in obedience, the new cloister of Fulda was built. The Abbot asked advice in chapter where it should be placed, and while some advised that it should be to the south of the church (its usual site), others thought it would be better to have it "after the Roman manner"—*Romano more*—to the west, that the monks might thus be nearer to the body of St. Boniface, which reposed in a crypt at the western end of the church. A colony from Fulda peopled the noble Abbey of Hirschau, destined in a later age to be the parent-house of many illustrious monasteries. Then there was the sister abbey of Heidenheim, with its neighbouring colony of English nuns from Wimborne. And Corbie, too, where a community of 350 monks, and besides these five other classes of inmates, made up the vast community—to wit, clerics; scholars; forty-two servants employed within the abbey, as goldsmiths, parchment manufacturers, bricklayers, carpenters, farriers, and physicians; 152 vassals, employed on the mills, fishponds, orchards, &c., and the guests. The monks lived on fish and vegetables; strict silence was observed in all the offices out of case of necessity, and at their work the monks continually recited the Psalms to themselves. It would be hard to over-rate the advantages of monasteries like these in half-civilised countries, with their schools thronged with thousands of pupils. The fame of Corbie was eclipsed by its filiation in Saxony, called New Corbie, or Corbei. Among the scholars at Old Corbie was a little boy named Ansker (Anscharius), who had lost his mother in infancy. The abbey became his home, and under the holy Abbot St. Adelard he grew up in the cloister. In early childhood he saw in vision the Mother of God, and with her his own dear mother, and throughout his life the love of Mary was his one passion. A little schoolfellow, Fulbert, was accidentally killed by a blow from the *tabula* of one of his companions in some boyish quarrel or frolic, and after death appeared to Ansker, who was bewailing the loss of his little companion, and told him he had earned a place among the martyrs, because he had borne his death-wound patiently, and lovingly forgiven the companion at whose hand he met his death. Ever after Ansker burned with a longing to be a martyr. He was destined to the long martyrdom of a toilsome apostleship. From New Corbie he went out to the Danes and Swedes, and his work bore most noble fruit for eight centuries, till the withering blast of Lutheranism laid waste the land of his love and adoption.

But we must not linger, much as we are tempted to do so, on

the entrancing history of these early foundations. Already in the eighth century a number of servants of God dwelt in the caves of the wild and savage region that surrounds the sources of the Alb, and many perished in the long and bitter winters, till at last they agreed to build a monastery and live in common where the Steinbach flows into the Alb, a foundation which afterwards grew into the world-famed Abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest. All along the course of the Rhine great historical monasteries arose, while, eastward from St. Blaise, the noble Abbey of Reichenau, *Augia dives*, within the Rhine-girt isle, had linked itself in one community of prayer with the monks of St. Gall, and had already begun, a century before St. Odilo, the pious usage that the Church has since adopted of keeping All Souls' Day. The most complete and detailed specimen of ancient monastic architecture left on record is the descriptive plan of the ancient monastery of St. Gall, giving more the idea of a monastic city than of a monastery. North and south of the Danube, and in the country watered by the Neckar and the Iller, monasteries were thickly studded and peopled almost to excess by the children of the generous Swabian race who sought to serve God in the Benedictine cloister.

Such were the first ages of the monastic order, when abbeys had little else but monastic charity and the faithful observance of the Holy Rule to link them together. Doubtless scandals and dissensions would be found at times within their walls, but whatever there may have been of human frailty was immeasurably outweighed by the abundant fruits of monastic holiness that light up this page of the Church's history. It is strange that Longfellow in his "Golden Legend" should have chosen to pervert into a tale of nightly debauchery within monastic walls a quaint old story from the chronicle of St. Gall. It does not perhaps represent the Abbey at the height of its fervour, it is true, but it shows what trifles really were the facts that the depraved Protestant appetite for scandal has seized and distorted. It runs simply as follows in the old chronicle:

"Notker, Tutilo, and Ratpert were among the most ardent lovers of study in the Abbey, and were allowed by the Abbot to help one another in their studies in the time that elapsed between Matins and Prime, when they met in the Scriptorium. A cross-grained rectorian, Sindulph, had a grudge against the three, and would do his best to excite the Abbot against them. One morning, as they were at their usual work, Tutilo saw Sindulph furtively watching them at the open window, no doubt hoping to find something to complain of to the Abbot. Speaking Latin, so that Sindulph could not understand him, he quietly prevailed on Notker, who was too gentle and spiritual to enter into the

joke, to go to the Church ; then warned Ratpert to take a whip that hung on the wall. Suddenly turning round, he seized the unwary Sindulph by the wrists, and held him fast while Ratpert laid on with the whip. The cries of the unhappy Sindulph brought the brethren to the rescue : of course the three students were elsewhere. The Abbot was absent at the time, and on his return Sindulph received ample amends."

Compare this laughable fact, so innocently told by the old chronicler, with Longfellow's scene of midnight revelry, purposely drawn up to suit the Protestant craving for scandal.

A new era was approaching. At the close of the eighth century many of the Frankish monasteries had fallen into decay, and the need of a common centre of authority for several houses began to make itself urgently felt. This was not so much to save the monasteries from temporal ruin as to maintain intact what was their breath of life, the observance of the Holy Rule. A great work was at hand, a vigorous revival, to be followed within another hundred years by a far greater one. Of the former I shall speak very briefly, of the second more at length. St. Benedict of Anian is the author of the first, as St. Oddo of Cluny of the latter. Each in his own degree drew more closely the scattered members of the Benedictine family, but the second in particular introduced, if I may so speak, a problem into the government of the Order which is not yet full solved.

Few, if any, among the many thousands of St. Benedict's children bore in themselves a more faithful image of the great patriarch than St. Benedict of Anian, so lovingly styled *alter Benedictus* in the annals of our Order. Born in Languedoc, he was the son of Aigulph Count of Maguellonne. This town was in those days an episcopal see, transferred in 1536 to Montpellier, and Maguellonne is only known now for its vast salt lake. The Count of Maguellonne sent his son to Pepin's Court, where he became the Queen's favourite page and cupbearer. At Court he remained under Charles the Great, though his heart and affections were being daily more and more weaned from the world and fixed on the cloister. Unknown to his parents he retired to the Abbey of St. Seine in the diocese of Langres. There his heroic austerities, carried to excess, injured his health, while he succeeded at first so well in his endeavours to make himself the most despised in the house that some unworthy monks would deride and ill-use him. Meanwhile his soul was flooded with spiritual sweetness and light, and soon he began to possess the gentle and persuasive power of exhorting to penance and holiness that never forsook him in life. Warned by his abbot, he recognised that he had exceeded the austerity of the Rule, and from that time conceived in his heart that ardent and impassioned devotion to the Rule of

St. Benedict, which at all times has marked out such as were destined to great things in the monastic order. He learned it by heart, and it became the one great study of his life and his spiritual nourishment. He was first appointed cellarer of the monastery, and on the Abbot's death was chosen to succeed him, but, dissatisfied with the want of fervour in the community, he left St. Seine and returned to Languedoc in 780. On the banks of a little stream called the Anian, close to the Hérault, at about one-third of its course between its rise in the Cevennes and its outflow into the Mediterranean, he built a hermitage, which soon grew into a monastery. And now we meet with a phenomenon in his monastic career which has been renewed in many Benedictine Saints. In this his first monastery he not only insisted on the greatest poverty in food and clothing, which is the most invariable characteristic of monastic saints, but even the buildings of the monastery and the church he willed should be shorn of all beauty or richness, even in what concerned divine worship. His monastery was rudely built and thatched; even in the church, which was dedicated to Our Blessed Lady, he would not allow the sacred vestments to be of silk, nor the vessels of the altar to be of silver, using instead chalices of glass or tin or even of wood. Such has not been the tradition of the Order; our canonised saints have, by divine inspiration, as the Church tells us in the Office of St. Victor III., ever loved the beauty of the House of God, raising the hearts of monks to the heavenly city, nor have they deemed the loveliness of His House incompatible with the most austere poverty in food and raiment. By light from above the Saint understood this, and two years later built another monastery and church. The roof was no longer thatched, but tiled; a stately cloister was surrounded with marble columns; silver chalices took the place of tin ones; seven splendidly wrought candelabra, whose slender shafts ended in globes surmounted by lilies of marvellous workmanship, shed their light through the church. Seven lamps exquisitely fashioned hung before the altar, and seven coronas, or circular lamps, lit up the choir on great festivals. Precious vestments, the gift of noble Franks, enriched the Sanctuary. The high altar was divided into three *aræ*, or lesser altars, and was hollow within, so that by a door in the back of it could be inserted precious shrines filled with relics; in a golden casket was enclosed a portion of the true cross, and in another, of the same precious metal, a thorn from the crown of our Blessed Lord. There were three other altars in the same church, one in honour of St. Michael, another of SS. Peter and Paul, and a third of St. Stephen.

Neither in this church nor in that of our Blessed Lady were women allowed to enter. Two oratories were built for them,

adjoining the monastery. A vast monastery it was, capable of holding a thousand monks, and very soon could no longer contain the crowd of disciples, who were sent out to found other monasteries. All were enkindled with monastic fervour, each trying to excel in obedience and charity, in fasting and watching. The Holy Abbot spent lavishly the wealth of the abbey in the purchase of books. At morning in chapter the daily reading was a collection of monastic rules, arranged as a commentary on that of St. Benedict, whom he rightly judged to have gathered into one the ancient monastic traditions of the Church, while the reading before Compline was from a collection of homilies from the Fathers of the Church. Classes of grammar—*i.e.*, classic letters—and Holy Scripture had their allotted hours in the day. For all this, the Saint and his disciples gave all the time that could be spared from study to manual labour, and the Abbot was to be seen himself guiding the plough and gathering in the harvest under the burning sun of Languedoc. Besides the perpetual abstinence from meat commanded in the Rule, he drank nothing but water, except on two days in the week, although, following the indulgence allowed by St. Benedict, he allowed wine to his monks. The monks of St. Benedict of Anian wore a white tunic, with a black cowl and scapular.

Very soon his family spread beyond the limits of his native province. Twelve monasteries were founded by his own disciples, over which he retained authority during his lifetime. Many of the neighbouring abbots submitted themselves to his rule in Provence, Languedoc and Gascony. Thus for the first time we have an example of a large and widespread Congregation, wherein the abbots themselves are subject to an Abbot of higher authority. It is clear, however, that he exercised a much fuller authority over the abbeys founded from Anian than over the others. Louis the Pius, then King of Aquitaine, charged him with the reform of all the monasteries in his states. Having succeeded his father, Charles the Great, on the Imperial throne, all the monasteries of the Empire throughout France, and beyond the Rhine as far as Bavaria and Swabia, were formed into one vast Congregation, with St. Benedict at its head, for restoring the observance to full vigour and enforcing uniformity in monastic discipline. One remarkable feature in this reform was the appointment of visitors, who should at fixed times visit the monasteries, with power to supersede the authority of the local abbot, if needed, for the maintenance of monastic rule. The basis of the revival was simply the text of the Rule, with the addition of the special statutes made in the great Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, of which St. Benedict of Anian was the leading spirit.

The principal of these were : that all monks should learn by

heart the Rule of St. Benedict ; that the Divine Office should be recited according to the Rule, and not according to the Roman rite, saving (according to Hildemar) the three days before Easter, both parts of this decree being in force at the present day throughout the Order ; that monks should work in the kitchen, bakehouse, and other offices, and when needed at harvest, according to the Benedictine rule ; that the Abbot should in food, clothing, &c., fare no better than his monks ; that henceforward (derogating from the Rule) he should always eat with the monks, and not with the guests ; that the schools for lay boys should be outside the monastery ; that the tenth part of the monastic income be given to the poor, besides several regulations for a milder treatment of delinquents than had grown up to be the practice, ordering them not to fast on Sundays, and to have fire and convenient rooms, &c. ; that the daily food in all monasteries be, except in Lent, &c., cooked with lard or fat ; that where wine cannot be procured a doublemeasure of good beer (*duplicem mensuram de bona cerevisia*) is to take its place. Lastly, the Council avails itself of the permission granted by the Rule of allowing warmer clothing in colder countries than Italy, and accordingly grants each monk, in addition to the regular habits, two flannel under-tunics, two pairs of drawers, gloves or mittens for winter, and in the last place soap and grease (for shoes) as much as is needful. People may smile, but the Fathers of Aix-la-Chapelle evidently held that regulations were nothing if not practical.

Such was the great reform of the second St. Benedict. Its effects were immense, and, by recalling monks to the Rule, it breathed new life into the Order. But evil days were at hand, and the destructive wars and incursions of the Northmen towards the close of the ninth century laid waste many of the most flourishing centres of the monastic Order. A still greater and far more durable work was begun within about a century from the death of St. Benedict of Anian, and the Cluniac discipline stands out as the most widely extended development of the Benedictine Rule that the Order has seen since its commencement. Even as SS. Robert, Alberic, and Stephen were eclipsed by St. Bernard, so the memory of the first founder of the Abbey of Cluny has been cast into the shade by the glory of his successors. It has its humble beginnings under St. Berno, who obtained a grant of land from Duke William of Aquitaine, and began monastic life there with twelve monks, A.D. 910. Among the causes that raised the Abbots of Cluny well nigh to the rank of sovereign princes, and gave them an influence hitherto without example in the Church, we must reckon the heroic sanctity and regal virtues of the first Abbots. By a singular and providential coincidence they had each a reign of extraordinary duration. For forty years

St. Majolus swayed the abbatial crozier. St. Odilo succeeded him, governing for fifty-six years. The next Abbot, St. Hugh, ruled for full sixty years. But, above all, the Cluniacs owed their immense power to their fervour tempered with wise discretion in the observance of the Rule of St. Benedict. As late as the year 1063, over a century and a half from the foundation of Cluny, the austere St. Peter Damian visited the Abbey, then ruled over by St. Hugh. The sight of that noble community excited his enthusiastic admiration. "I have seen Paradise," he writes, "watered by the streams of the four Gospels, or rather by overflowing rivers of celestial virtues. I have seen a garden of delights wherein God's graces flourish like lilies and roses, replete with fragrant perfumes, so that Almighty God could in very truth say thereof: 'Behold the odour of My Son is as the fragrance of a field blessed by the Lord.' What else is the Monastery of Cluny but God's own field, wherein the choir of monks dwelling together in charity is like a harvest of celestial wheat?" Even St. Bernard, despite the severity with which he inveighed against the abuses that had grown up among Cluniacs, acknowledges that the Order was still holy and venerable, wise and discreet, and well suited to save souls. But it cannot be denied that a change had come over the Order of Cluny as far back as half a century before St. Bernard's time. The almost perpetual silence of St. Oddo's rule had given place to daily conversations. The coarse garb, suited to men whose days were partly spent in manual labour, would hardly have pleased their successors of two hundred years later. The long fasts of one meal in twenty-four hours for half the year, the solicitude at the Divine Office, the prolonged night watches had made the early Cluniacs renowned throughout the world. The haughty and ambitious Abbot Pontius, who was wont to call himself "Abbot of Abbots," broke down the wall of monastic discipline. A vigorous attempt to recall things to their ancient type was made with partial success in the General Chapter numbering one thousand two hundred members, at which Orderic Vitalis assisted Peter the Venerable. With this illustrious Abbot the brightness of the star of Cluny begins steadily to wane, just as the white-robed Cistercians are reaching the zenith of their splendour.

Cluny deserves our most attentive consideration, not only because its customs and discipline are, at this day, in a greater or less degree the model of a very large part of the Order of St. Benedict, but on account of its principles of government, the main subject I have in view at present. At a very early period the Abbey began to affiliate houses to itself. These affiliated monasteries were of three kinds. Some of them simply adopted the admirable and well-digested discipline of Cluny, often with

modifications of their own, without acknowledging any subjection to the authority of that Abbey. Such were the great Abbeys of St. Paul's at Rome, of Fleury, of Farfa, Hirschau, &c.; and it was from Fleury, reformed, according to Cluniac usage, by St. Oddo, that St. Dunstan, with the help of St. Ethelwold and Oswald, derived the usages he incorporated into King Edgar's celebrated decree for the English monasteries, which awoke the Order in our island from its long slumber, and to which movement the ancient monastery in which these pages are written owes its origin. Secondly, came the abbeys which sought incorporation with the Cluniac congregation, retaining their own abbots, though subject to the correction and jurisdiction of the Abbot of Cluny. Towards the close of the Cluniac career of prosperity those incorporations, which, in early times, had been eagerly sought after, were often affected by coercion and intrigue, and the abbeys were not infrequently, as Mabillon remarks, deprived of their dignity and reduced to priories. Lastly came the foundations made by the monks of Cluny themselves. These were simple priories, though often exceeding many abbeys in number of monks and in importance. According to the Cluniac idea the only Abbot in the order was he of Cluny, the other Superiors of houses were all his vicars and priors. General chapters and visitations, from which Cluny itself was not exempt, bound the Order together in unity, and under St. Hugh's government the Cluniacs numbered some ten thousand subjects. They were, *par excellence*, called the Black Monks, and they gave to the habit the form that is most prevalent at this day. Cluniac priories were founded in England immediately after the Conquest, and amongst the principal were those at Lewes, Bermondsey, Northampton, Pontefract, Montague, Exeter, Barnstaple, St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight, Wenlock, Dudley, &c., besides the hospices of Cripplegate, Aldgate, and Holborn in London.

From the very first, however, we find many great and holy men, who, while adopting the discipline of Cluny, and even the authority of one Abbot over several houses, yet wished to preserve in the several local superiors the dignity and title of Abbot. As we confine ourselves to the period before the twelfth century, we shall give an illustrious example, singularly enough in the saint to whom we owe it that the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* were ever committed to writing, St. William of Hirschau. A brief survey of his work will be the fittest conclusion to our remarks on Benedictine government during the first six centuries of our history. St. William, a Bavarian by birth, had made his profession in the monastery of St. Emmeram, wherein he had been offered up to God from his childhood. His proficiency in mathematical and astronomical studies, and his ardent love for

sacred music, on which he has left a useful treatise, were the prelude of that zeal for studies which he afterwards impressed on his disciples, and which lasted for centuries in the monasteries he founded. In the year 1069 he was invited to assume the government of the Abbey of Hirschau. That ancient abbey, situate on the Nagold in the portion of the Schwarzwald which is now included in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, had been founded in 830 by the Counts of Caln, though a church had been built there nearly two centuries before by Countess Helizena. Like our monastery of Buckfast, Hirschau (the meadow of the stag) took its name from the herds of deer that frequented the country. When St. William was called to undertake the government it was reduced to the last extremity by the vexatious tyranny of Count Adalbert of Caln. St. William found that his predecessor had been unjustly expelled by the Count, for which reason he refused to be ordained Abbot till the death of Abbot Frederic. But he at once set vigorously to work to establish the independence of his monastery from lay control, and obtained its confirmation from Pope and Emperor, his final victory being won when the haughty Swabian Count came himself to seek at his hands the habit of religion, in which he, during a long and holy life, edified by his humility the brethren of the monastery he had formerly oppressed.

It would be hard to find in our annals a truer Benedictine than St. William of Hirschau, and almost as soon as he began his government his abbey came to be peopled by 150 monks. Unwilling to exceed that number he began to send out colonies, and before his death had founded twenty-two monasteries, and reformed about eighty more. Over the greater part of these founded by himself he appointed Abbots, who, although perpetual in their office, were yet subject to the Abbot of Hirschau. In a few instances where the limited possessions of a monastery did not allow of a large number of monks, he created priories, most of which afterwards grew into abbeys.

He was among the first to avail himself of the services of lay brothers. Though in early times a large number of monks lived and died without being ordained priests, yet all were, as we should nowadays say, choir-monks, and of the same grade except in so far as seniority or the actual possession of holy orders distinguished them. St. John Gualbert, about 1041, at Vallombrosa first introduced brothers of the Order not bound to the recital of the Divine Office and devoted to exterior employments, an institution that has since received its greatest development among Cistercians. St. William was the first to introduce them into Germany. There they were known as the *fratres barbati*, the "bearded brethren," though nowadays usually called *conversi*, a name formerly given

to all such as had not been received into the monastery in childhood.

Among the most illustrious abbeys founded by St. William we must number Zwifalten—in Latin *Ad duplexes Aquas*—where the waters of the two branches of the Aach meet, long renowned for learning, and suppressed at the beginning of this century. In 1812 the buildings were turned into a State lunatic asylum. Among those reformed by the Saint were Schaffhausen, Wiblingen, Weingarten, St. Blaise in the Black Forest, Ottenbeuren, Benediktbeuren, Oxenhausen, Salzburg, Heidenheim, &c. His work was a lasting one, and the discipline of Hirschau prevailed throughout German monasteries till the rise of the Bursfeld congregation. Except in the form of government, the constitutions of Hirschau are simply the customs of Cluny, saving such usages as had from the days of St. Boniface been among the monastic traditions of Germany.

St. William had been advised by Abbot Bernard of Marseilles, legate of the Apostolic See in Germany, to have recourse to Cluny, if he would complete his work by the most perfect and venerable usages of the Monastic Order. It chanced that Udalric of Cluny stayed some time at Hirschau, and was prevailed upon by St. William to commit to writing the customs of his monastery, then flourishing under St. Hugh. Not content with this, St. William sent six of his monks to Cluny to study there on the spot, and then drew up his own *Constitutiones Hirsauigienses*, which, not only in Swabia, but in Alsace and Bavaria, bore copious and lasting fruit. In this he was much aided by the simple piety and singular suitableness for Benedictine life of the Swabian race, among whom his communities were formed, and his own personal character is one of the most beautiful recorded in the lives of the saints. His lofty stature, the majestic beauty of his countenance, his learning and persuasive eloquence were even surpassed by his gentleness and kindness of heart. One bitterly cold day in winter, when the snow lay thick on the ground, the gentle Abbot sent for his Prior, and, with a tone of sadness in his voice, said: "The little birds are all dying with cold and hunger; take a few bushels of oats, and scatter them about the hedges, that they may get something to eat." "Father Abbot," said the Prior, "we have no oats left." "Then have you any barley or wheat in the house," said the Abbot. "I have," was the answer. "Then sell it, and buy some bushels of oats," rejoined the Abbot. The Prior told the cellarer to do so next morning; but, says the chronicler, a thaw came on during the night. Needless to say that he was ever the "Father of the Poor." A few words from his dying speech to his brethren will give us a good idea of a true child of St. Benedict. A week

before his death he spoke for the last time to his brethren in Chapter. All that he had told them during his years of office, he reminded them of in this his last and most fervid discourse, laying stress above all on the fervour they should have in observing the Rule, on brotherly love, on hospitality and almsgiving, and then added :

One thing has often saddened and weighed me down, and now I will declare it before God and you. Some among you there have been, who lived according to the prudence of the flesh, and not with holy simplicity, and they would often wear me out with their worldly discourses and counsel, but, thanks to God, Who has one by one cut them off from us, and sent them away from the cloister. I shall no more henceforth hold Chapter with you; so my little children, take heed to your Abbot's last words, and never forget what you have seen and heard.

Then they took him back to his poor cell, and there he saw and embraced them one by one. He died in the presence of the Bishops of Spire and Constance and of the Abbot of Zwifalten and four other abbots, and of his assembled children. His last words were : "I call God to witness that unto this last moment I have always dealt with you faithfully and kindly."

Neither our space nor our scope allow us to go at any length into an account of the celebrated customs of Cluny. They are divided into three books, whereof the first is mainly liturgical. The second is entitled *de disciplina regulari*. The third, *pro singulis obedientiis*, is the most interesting. It deals with the several offices in the monastery. After the Abbot we have the first prior, and his substitute, the *claustral* prior. Then there are the *circatores* or monitors, the cellarer, and the *camerarius*, or out-door procurator. The boys and their masters form the subject of a long chapter, ending with the well-known saying, "No king's son could be educated with more care in the palace than the least of the boys at Cluny." Next comes the official who is styled precentor and librarian, then the sacristan, the keeper of the wine-cellar, the gardener, the refectorian, and the guest-master. The master of the stables is ordered to be careful in seeing that the guests' horses are well shod before they leave the Abbey, and is warned to have everything in readiness, and a hammer hanging by a chain at the stable gate. Next comes the almoner, whose office was a most onerous one. In addition to his official duties, he is commanded to see that the pavement in the church and cloister be kept covered with rushes. The infirmarian and his assistants come last, and it is characteristic of the quaint minuteness of Udalric that it is decreed that for the service of bringing in wood for the infirmary "only the best donkey" in the

establishment is to be put into requisition. St. William's customs are considerably altered from those of Cluny. He allots no less than twenty chapters to the manual signs in use both at Cluny and Hirschau to avoid speaking, and the minute description of these signs gives us ample information of the least details of the monk's life in those days. The variety of fish used at table is considerable, and I find special manual signs for sturgeon, salmon, trout, carp, herring, mullet, &c. Roots and vegetables form a still more varied collection. But nothing approaches the minute and reverent detail with which in both these great abbeys even the smallest things are regulated that concern divine worship and the service of the altar. Therein lay the one deep secret of the overflowing happiness of the peaceful cloister, the ceaseless union of hearts and voices in one unending sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the courts of the House of God.

DOM ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.



ART. V.—PROGRESS OF THE PERSECUTION UNDER ELIZABETH.

ALTHOUGH during Mary's life Elizabeth had, with many oaths, declared herself to be a Catholic, it was an open secret that she sympathised with that party in religion and politics which "brook no fatherly counsel that should come from Rome." Her instincts, in spite of her oaths, prompted her to throw in her lot with the Reformers; all her interests were bound up with the new doctrines, and from the moment of her accession, fears were entertained for the safety of the Catholic cause. De Feria, Philip's Ambassador Extraordinary, was received by the members of the assembled Council, as he afterwards wrote to the King, "like a man who came accredited with the Bulls of a dead Pope."* In his interviews with the Queen civil speeches were made on both sides, but the Spaniard was not deceived by appearances. "She is a woman extremely vain and acute," he reported to Philip, "very similar in her manner of proceeding to her father. I greatly fear that in matters of religion she will not be right, because I see her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics, and because the women about her are all so." And further on: "There is not a heretic or traitor in the country that has not risen as from the dead to come to her with great contentment."

He observed further that she spoke with acrimony of Cardinal Pole, and of the annoyances he had caused her. De Feria hereupon urged her not to entertain ideas of vengeance, but in all matters relating to religion to show herself, as all hoped she would, a lady of much goodness and a Catholic princess, adding that if she went away from God, God and men would forsake her.

A few hours after this interview Cardinal Pole passed beyond the reach of vengeance, and Elizabeth's first act as queen was to order all his effects to be seized in the name of the Crown.† Then followed her public entry into London, when it was observed that she paid more attention to the common people than to the nobles. The least sign from her was fraught with significance, and was eagerly watched by the assembled multitude. As an earnest of her attitude towards the Catholics she passed the first night after her arrival in the metropolis at the Charterhouse, from which her father had caused sixteen of the sons of St. Bruno to be led to the scaffold for their fidelity to the

* Simancas Papers.

† Simancas Papers.

Catholic Church.* White, Bishop of Winchester, was ordered to remain a prisoner in his house for the sermon he preached at Mary's funeral. This sermon has given rise to much misapprehension on the part of writers of history. Miss Strickland's account of the early part of Elizabeth's reign is replete with error. She represents Dr. White's discourse to have been delivered in Latin, in the presence of Elizabeth, who caused the bishop to be arrested as he descended the pulpit stairs. All these statements are incorrect. The sermon was in English, although, according to custom, the texts were given out in Latin; Elizabeth was not present, and the bishop was not arrested until he had returned to his own house. Miss Strickland affirms also that White defied the Queen, and threatened her with excommunication, for which she did not care a rush; that he was a prelate of austere but irreproachable manners, that he courted martyrdom, but that Elizabeth was far too wise to indulge him with that distinction, and that it was the words, "a living dog is better than a dead lion," quoted in the course of the sermon, which roused the Queen's anger. This may be termed historical romancing; it certainly is not history pure and simple. Reference to the sermon itself in Strype† shows that the words about the "living dog" had nothing whatever to do with Elizabeth, and could not have, in the sense in which they were used. The Bishop spoke honourably of the Queen, and his wish and efforts to provoke martyrdom have no grounds in history, for, according to Lord Burghley, Bishop White's manners were not austere, but of a courteous nature. The sting probably lay in the praise given to Mary, for not calling herself Head of the Church, and in the bringing in of the words "it is forbidden to a woman to speak in the Church."‡ Dr. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, saying Mass on Christmas Day in the Royal Chapel, was peremptorily ordered not to elevate the Host. He replied that the Queen might dispose of his life as she would, but that she could have no control over his conscience. Elizabeth rose and left the chapel at the offertory, but she abstained from any remark on the subject, until it should be seen how her withdrawal was received by Parliament. §

As the time drew near for the Queen's coronation, the question arose as to who should perform the ceremony. The death of Cardinal Pole having left the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury vacant, the duty would devolve on the Archbishop of York. The account of

* Spillmann, "Die englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth," p. 8.

† "Memorials," App. iii.

‡ "Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy," p. 70. The Rev. T. E. Bridgett and the Rev. T. F. Knox.

§ Camden, 32, 33.

his refusal, and the manner in which the rite was ultimately administered, is set forth succinctly in a Latin letter from Dr. Sander to Cardinal Morone, written in 1561.

The Archbishop (Dr. Heath) refused the function, having understood that in some respects it was intended to perform the ceremony in a schismatical manner. Many other of the bishops also refused, but at length the Bishop of Carlisle undertook it, not as a favourer of heresy, but lest the Queen should be angry if no one would anoint her, and so have a better excuse for overthrowing religion. Nor at this time were things so desperate but that some hoped it might still be possible to turn her from her purpose. The rest of the bishops assisted at the anointing.*

Elizabeth was resolved at all costs to be firmly seated on the throne. If she were not solemnly crowned and anointed as her ancestors had been, the day might come when her right might be questioned, and the overwhelming passion of her heart was to reign—to be a great and powerful queen if possible, but a queen at all events. The end, therefore, being of necessity, the means must be found.

The Bishop of Carlisle, deceived into thinking that “it might still be possible to turn her from her purpose, of upsetting religion,” consented, under the condition that all should be done according to the Roman ritual, and that she should communicate under one species. She accordingly took the usual oath of Christian kings, prescribed by tradition and by law, in the most solemn way, swearing to defend the Catholic faith, and to guard the rights and immunities of the Church,† and thus, says Fr. Spillmann, in his history of the English Martyrs, “was Elizabeth anointed Queen of England, with a false oath on her lips, and a sacrilegious communion in her heart.”

Elizabeth gave no greater proof of her capacity than in the choice of her Ministers. Ambitious, shrewd, and crafty as she was herself, hampered by no scruples, they were admirably adapted to second her views. As hers must necessarily be a fencing policy, demanding all the resources of an age teeming with novelties, tact was above all indispensable, to keep together the various important but conflicting elements which composed her Ministry, and tact she possessed in an eminent degree. There was not one of her counsellors but had shown himself facile in matters of religion. Cecil had been a zealous Protestant in

* Vatican MS., f. 258. This statement proves that Dr. Lee is mistaken (“The Church under Queen Elizabeth,” p. 23) in saying that none of the diocesan bishops who were in canonical possession of their sees were present, and that one and all deliberately and intentionally stayed away.

† “The Anglican Schism renewed under Elizabeth,” by the Rev. E. Rishton.

Edward's reign, and had supported the cause of the Lady Jane. He had signed the letter written by Edward's Council to Mary, reminding her that her father had declared her to be illegitimate, and calling upon her to submit to her "lawful sovereign." Later, when Jane had laid down the royal dignity, and Mary had ascended the throne, Cecil presented a letter to her in his own defence. It consists of twenty-one clauses, and lays bare the conscience of the man who is proved by his own words to be cowardly, mean, and untruthful.* With a curious absence of shame, he admits that when ordered to proclaim the Lady Jane, he "turned the labour to Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience, I saw, was troubled therewith, misliking the matter." After this it was inevitable that Cecil and Throckmorton should be enemies; Elizabeth could dispense neither with the one nor with the other, but she anticipated and prevented all friction by employing one as her *alter ego* at home, while Throckmorton was her all but ubiquitous spy-in-chief abroad. On Mary's accession, Cecil not only conformed to the Catholic religion, but had his son Thomas, afterwards Earl of Exeter, brought up in the same. In the Easter Book of the parish of Wimbledon, for 1556, the following entry occurs:—

"Sir W^m. Cecill and my lady Myldread his wyffe confessed and resaved the Sacrament of the Altre"—

the document in question being endorsed in Cecil's own handwriting. With Paget and Hastings he was sent to bring over Cardinal Pole, and although Mary mistrusted him too much to give him any official position, she generously forgave him, and he appeared frequently at Court, where he was careful to keep his friends in sight. One of his most able apologists, although unwilling to see the flaws in his character, cannot but admit, in admiring his brilliant attainments, that he was "an adept at fencing and doubling, and that his craft was unequalled."†

In a letter to his son, written in his old age, Cecil unconsciously reveals the springs of his own actions during a lifetime.

"Be sure," he writes, "to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often, with many and small gifts, and if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight, otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion to spurn at."‡

In the last year of Mary's life, true to his principles, he was

* Landsdowne MSS., Brit. Museum, 102, f. 2.

† "England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary," by Patrick Fraser Tytler.

‡ Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 47.

careful to turn his attention towards the rising sun, and Elizabeth was not slow in discerning the value of his magnificent talents. Thomas Parry, in a letter to the future statesman, delivered a flattering message from the future Queen: "Her Grace commanded me to write this: Write my commendations in your letter to Mr. Cecil, that I am well assured, tho' I send not daily to him, that he doth not, for all that, daily forget me; say indeed I assure myself thereof."

It would be idle to dispute that Cecil, Lord Burghley, was the foremost diplomatist, the greatest statesman of his age. He was neither sordid, nor wantonly cruel; but he was remorseless in the pursuit of his ends, and the blood of hundreds of innocent victims, including that of the Queen of Scots, lies at his door. "His maxims and his conduct were founded on that kind of morality of State, which considers virtue a felicitous compromise of opposed principles and extreme opinions, making everything legitimate that is expedient, and everything expedient that is advantageous to the policy of the individual or of the State."*

Of the other members of Elizabeth's Council, two had been banished the kingdom in the late reign, one had always been a zealous partisan of the Princess Elizabeth, two were connected with Cecil by blood and alliance. But there was a Council within the Council, composed exclusively of Cecil and his friends; these possessed the Queen's ear, and, through her, controlled every department of the State.†

It was clear to all that an alteration of religion was contemplated. Cecil had laid his plans carefully. Five new peers of decided Protestant leaning had been added to the Upper House, and a majority in favour of the Government, had been secured in the Commons, by sending to the Sheriffs a list of candidates out of whom the members were to be chosen. The Archbishop of York at once resigned his seals, which were transferred to Sir Nicholas Bacon. Thus packed, Parliament met on the 25th of January, 1559. It had been the custom for the abbot and monks of Westminster to receive the monarch with great solemnity at the door of the House on the opening of Parliament, but Elizabeth sent them word that she would dispense with this ceremony.

Bills were at once introduced for the supremacy of the Crown, and for the abolition of all foreign jurisdiction, for conformity of common prayer and administration of sacraments, for the restitution and annexation of first fruits to the Crown, others equally detrimental to the liberties of the Church, and one for restoring the Queen in blood.

* "Penal Laws enacted against Roman Catholics," by R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A., &c.

† Lingard, vol. vii. p. 252.

The bishops unanimously opposed all but the last, to which they offered no opposition. Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, alone of all the Marian bishops, betrayed his trust and took subsequently the oath of supremacy.

Henry VIII., in breaking with all the Catholic traditions of the country, had surprised and terrified the episcopate into submission, with the exception of the holy and learned Bishop of Rochester. Elizabeth, on the contrary, stood alone at the head of her Council, in opposition to the whole hierarchy, and with them were the great majority of the heads of colleges in both Universities, all the regular and by far the greater number of the secular clergy, besides a large contingent of distinguished Catholic laymen.

Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and Lord Mayor of London, protested in Parliament against the injustice and folly of abolishing, by means of a set of "beardless boys," a religion which was planted in the country in so marvellous a manner, and by such venerable and holy men.

John Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, from his place in the House of Lords drew a vivid picture, by analogy, of the new era then beginning :

In her late Majesty's reign [he said] your Lordships may remember how quiet and governable the people were. It was not then their custom to prescribe to authority, to run before the laws, nor disobey the proclamations of their sovereign. There was then no sacrilegious rapine, no plundering of churches, no blasphemous outrage and trampling the holy sacraments under their feet. It was none of their way to tear down the pyx and hang up the knave of clubs in its place. They did not hack and hew the crucifix, in those times. They were better observers of discipline than to eat flesh openly, and fill their shambles with butcher's meat, in the holy solemnity of Lent. In the late reign, the generality of the people, and particularly the nobility and those of the Privy Council, were exemplary for their public devotion, it being the custom to go to a church or chapel, to beg the protection of God, before they entered upon the business of the day. But now the face of things is quite otherwise.*

The Archbishop of York and Bishop Scott of Chester both made logical and incisive speeches against the Act of Uniformity.

First [said Dr. Heath] by relinquishing and forsaking the Church or See of Rome, we must forsake and fly from all General Councils.

Secondly, from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ.

* See Abbot Feckenham's speech against the Act of Uniformity, Bib. Cott. Vesp. D. XVIII., fol. 8 *et seq.*

Thirdly, from the judgment of all other Christian princes.

Fourthly and lastly, we must forsake and fly from the holy unity of Christ's Church, and so, by leaping out of Christ's ship, we hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed in the waves of schism, of sects, and of divisions.*

The Bill enjoining the new Prayer Book was passed by a majority of three, in the Upper House; eleven bishoprics had become vacant, and were carefully omitted to be filled up before the meeting of Parliament. It had been announced that the three estates of the realm were to be consulted before any change was made "in matters and ceremonies of religion;" but it is notorious that all the measures were carried in direct opposition to the bishops and the main body of the clergy. Of the laity, among others, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Montague, Lords Morley, Stafford, Wharton, Rich, North, and Ambrose Dudley had entered the lists for the upholding of Catholic Religion. †

Parliament rose on Good Friday, and during the Easter vacation the first step was taken to inaugurate the new liturgy, in the form of a religious discussion, held by order of the Queen in Westminster Abbey. Three subjects were named for the three days during which the dispute was to last. These were: The use of the Latin tongue in divine service; the right of churches to alter the ritual; and the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice, for the living and the dead. Eight combatants were appointed for each side. In defence of Catholic truth were the four bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, and Lincoln, and the Doctors of Theology, Cole, Harpsfield, Chedsey, and Langdale. Both Houses of Parliament were assembled to witness the combat. On the second day, Bishop White of Winchester rose to answer the objections brought by the Protestants the day before, against the use of the Latin tongue, but the Lord Chancellor Bacon objected that this was an infringement of the Queen's orders, and that the bishops should now bring forward their arguments in support of the second thesis. It thus became evident that Catholic arguments were not to have fair play, the last word in each case being allotted to the Protestant champions. The bishops, seeing that they were to be mere puppets in the show, and that it was already decided which side should prevail, refused to state the argument. They declared that they were the representatives of the ancient Catholic Faith; their opponents must present their difficulties which they would then answer. Bacon replied that they must keep to the prescribed order, or the

* Heylin, "Historical Collections," p. 162.

† D'Ewes, "Journal of both Houses."

dispute should come to an end. On the refusal of each to continue on these terms, Bacon summoned Abbot Feckenham to take up the discussion. He also having declined, the assembly broke up. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were at once arrested and sent to the Tower; the others were cited to appear before the Privy Council and ordered not to leave London.

At this juncture the one hope of the Catholics lay in Philip. He had in a ciphered despatch, dated Brussels, January 10, 1559, opened a formal negotiation for a marriage between himself and Elizabeth, "solely for the service of our Lord and the good of religion, with no temporal object."* The Queen must abjure all heresies, and seek absolution and dispensation from the Pope. De Feria was charged with the delicate mission of representing his master, in the light of a suitor who would not yield an iota of his conditions. Strangely enough, Elizabeth does not appear to have been offended by Philip's attitude towards her. She replied that Parliament must be consulted, but that should she marry, he might be assured he would be preferred to all others. But informed by De Feria of the nature of the Bills laid before Parliament, Philip wrote to him, charging him to press very urgently upon the Queen the very grave results which must ensue upon the reforms she was occasioning, directing him to tell her plainly that if these were persisted in, he could not treat of the marriage. Elizabeth replied that she wished to remain single; that she could not marry Philip, because she was a heretic; that she intended to restore religion as it had been left by her father; that she felt very scrupulous, as regarded the Papal dispensation; that Parliament had declared her legitimacy, and had denied the authority of the Pope. On the 7th April Sir John Mason arrived in London with the news that the King of Spain had signed the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, one of the conditions of which was, that he should marry Isabelle de Valois. Elizabeth, in spite of what she had said, was visibly annoyed at the loss of her suitor, and remarked to De Feria that his master could not have been very much in love with her, since he had not had patience to hope for scarce four months. De Feria retorted that it was her own fault, but she denied it, saying that she had never given a definite answer. To this he assented, but added that although the refusal was indirect, he had not sought so to press her as to bring her to the point of saying so roundly, to avoid all cause of anger between two such great sovereigns. In another letter De Feria says that a great number of English

* Philip to De Feria, Simancas Papers, 1559. *Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.*, publiées par M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 354.

nobles are favourable to heresy, but that the great bulk of the nation remain faithful to the Catholic Church.*

On the refusal of the bishops to take the oath of supremacy, they were deprived of their sees and committed to prison. Besides this, the Bishop of Lichfield was fined in 500 marks, the Bishop of Carlisle in £250, the Bishop of Chester in 200 marks. Dr. Cole was called upon to pay a fine of 500 marks, Dr. Harpsfield one of £40, and Dr. Chedsey one of 40 marks. Philip had placed a sum of 60,000 crowns at the disposal of the Spanish Ambassador, "to be economically employed in support of the Catholic cause." It was all swept into the royal coffers as payment of the above and other fines. It was the beginning of the unbloody persecution which extended over a period of ten years, to be followed by torture and bloodshed and every refinement of cruelty. During the latter years of Elizabeth's reign the rack was scarcely ever at rest. Meanwhile, whenever a priest refused to adopt the new Prayer Book, or spoke of it slightly, he was liable to forfeit a year's stipend for the first offence, and to be imprisoned for six months, without the option of bail. For the second offence, he was *ipse facto* deprived of his living altogether, and condemned to a year's imprisonment. For a third offence, he not only forfeited his goods, but was doomed to languish in prison for the rest of his days. A layman convicted of speaking publicly against the Book of Common Prayer, or of causing a priest to use any other prayers than those contained therein, either in public or private devotions, or of causing him to celebrate any Sacrament in a different manner to that prescribed in the Prayer Book, was liable to be fined 100 marks for the first offence, to be paid within six weeks under pain of six months' imprisonment without the option of bail. For a second offence, the punishment was a fine of 400 marks and a year's imprisonment; and a third offence sentenced him to life-long imprisonment, with the forfeiture of all his goods. The effect of this cleverly contrived engine had been foreseen, and the way in which it was worked was no less ingenious. At first, some indulgence was exercised. Men should be surprised into acceptance of the new service. Arrests were few and far between, and made chiefly for example's sake. The imprisoned bishops were even told that if they would but publicly conform to the Prayers of the Established Church, the oath of Supremacy would not be exacted from them.† All persons about to take orders, however, or to receive degrees in either University—all clergymen on their promotion to livings, all judges, magistrates,

* Documents from Simancas relating to the reign of Elizabeth, edited by Spencer Hall, F.S.H.

† Strype, A. i. pt. 1, 370, 372.

and servants of the Crown, were required to take it. It differed but little from that framed by Henry VIII., and the alteration of the term "Supreme Head" to "Supreme Governor" was a distinction without a difference. It ran as follows:—

I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things and Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm, and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Lawful Successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminencies, and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God and by the contents of this book.*

Nothing was spared to bring Elizabeth to a better sense. Pope Pius IV. wrote her the following touching appeal, to be delivered by the Abbot Vincent Parpaglia:

Very dear daughter in Christ, we send you greeting, health, and the apostolical benediction! How greatly we desire (our pastoral charge so requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honour, and the security of your kingdom withal, God who is the searcher of all hearts knoweth, and you yourself may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son, Vincentius Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well known to you, and well approved of us. Wherefore, we do again and again exhort and admonish your Highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counsellors, which love not you, but themselves, and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into council with you, and acknowledging the time of your visitation, would show yourself obedient to Our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels, and promise to yourself from Us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also, whatsoever you shall desire from Us, for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed unto Us by God. And if so be (as we desire and hope) that you shall return into the bosom of the Church, We shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing that the Father in the Gospel did his son, returning to him; although Our joy is like to be the greater; in that he was joyful for the safety of one son, but you, drawing along with you

* Gibson's "*Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*," p. 51, ed. 1713.

all the people of England, shall hear Us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a General Council, for the taking away of heresies, and so, for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation) fill the Church universal with rejoicing and gladness. Yea, you shall make glad Heaven itself with such a memorable fact, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare Our fatherly affection toward you; and We entreat your Majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches which you would to Ourself.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, May 5th, 1560, in the first year of Our Pontificate.*

The effect of this olive branch upon Elizabeth was remarkable. The Pope had solicited Philip's aid, and the Spanish ambassador in England, De Quadra, had in an audience with the Queen broached the subject of a Papal envoy. Elizabeth assumed a humble and penitent tone, declared that she was as good a Catholic as the ambassador himself, and called upon God to witness that her faith was the same as that of every Catholic in her kingdom. Upon being asked why, then, she had violated her conscience, and had committed so great a crime against her Catholic subjects, she replied that she had been compelled to act as she had done, and was certain that he would find excuses for her if he knew how she had been coerced. Before the close of the interview she was brought to declare that the Pope's legate should be welcome, and that it should not be her fault if religion were not restored to what it had been at the death of her sister.†

De Quadra, in his account of the interview, says that he weighed her words carefully, so that it should be impossible to her to give them another meaning if it should suit her purpose later on to do so. He was in no way deceived by the tone she affected, and the sequel proved that he was right when he said, "Her words are other than her thoughts," for no sooner was the Treaty of Leith signed and the French army withdrawn from Scotland, than Elizabeth again veered round, defied the Pope and forbade Pargaglia to set foot in England. At first, the great danger to the majority of English Catholics was the uncertainty as to whether they were bound to disregard the order to be present at the services of the new State religion. Their case was without a precedent. The Book of Common Prayer con-

* MS. Vatican, 2896, n. 214. Brit. Museum MS., Titus, c. vii. n. 11.

† Raynaldus ad ann. 1561, n. 51; quoted by Father Spillmann, "Die Englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth."

tained little to which a Catholic could object. The Psalms were the same as those to which they had always been accustomed, and most of the other prayers were beautiful Catholic petitions taken from the Missal. There was indeed much that they would miss in the new service; the chief act of worship, the Sacrifice of the Mass, had been swept away; but they did not look upon the condition of things as a permanent one, and meanwhile, was it not better for the ultimate triumph of their cause, to bend a little before the storm? Many had Mass secretly said in their own houses, and afterwards appeared at the parish church to escape the fines, but stopped their ears with wool, lest they should hear the sermons. Sir Richard Sherborne and his family were indicted for such practices. The penalty for non-attendance at the new service was £20 per lunar month for those possessed of means; the poor were simply thrown into prison. Even when his absence from Church had been compounded for, a recusant was liable to a year's imprisonment and an extra fine of 500 marks each time that he heard Mass; and when released from prison he was in danger of forfeiting his lands and goods for ever, for the crime of straying five miles from his own door.* Many rich and influential families were reduced to beggary, for the fines were relatively so enormous, that, to arrive at a just appreciation of their amount, we must multiply every figure by twelve. The year 1569 was a decisive one for the English Catholics. After the repeated attempts of his predecessor to soften Elizabeth's heart, Pope Pius V. judged that the time had passed when England might be saved to the Church by patience and longanimity. Henceforth, the faithful were in jeopardy, unless the bent and nature of the conspiracy were exposed. A generation was growing up in ignorance of Catholic teaching, and legislation was indispensable, in order that sincere and honest Catholics might not be in danger of wandering blindly from the Fold. Already, in 1562, De Quadra had written to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, praying that the question might be laid before the Pope, whether English Catholics might, without sin, take part in the Anglican service. "The case is a new one, and not easy to settle," he had said. It was laid before the Inquisition as follows:

May Catholics, living in a country in which the practice of their religion is forbidden, under pain of death, without danger of losing their souls, obey a law which orders them to frequent conventicles, where psalms are sung, passages from the Bible read out in the vernacular, and heretical doctrines are preached?

The answer was a plain and emphatic "NO." Although, it

* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 296.

was admitted, they would not be compelled to communicate with heretics, they would in appearance, at least, share their belief and expose their own faith to danger. This was indeed the very object of the law, in order that they might become Protestants by imperceptible degrees.*

The Emperor Ferdinand had interceded with Elizabeth, on behalf of the imprisoned bishops and the suffering people, but in vain; she had no intention of granting liberty of conscience to any of her subjects, and least of all, to the Catholics. On the 24th of February, 1569, the Pope signed the famous Bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, deposing Elizabeth, and releasing her subjects from obedience to her. But a year was still to elapse before it was made public.

Meanwhile, Cecil and his agents were more concerned to destroy the ancient worship altogether, than to enforce the utmost rigour of the law upon the worshippers. War should first be declared upon stones, and the relics and shrines of saints, and then, if the people still refused to bow before the golden image that Elizabeth the Queen had set up, flesh and blood must suffer. This policy played into the hands of the most violent among the heretics; greed and cupidity, sacrilege and fanaticism were rampant all over the country. Blasphemies expressed in the most revolting language, acts of barbarism that would have been disgraceful in South Sea Islanders were the characteristics of men modestly calling themselves "reformers." Smashing, hacking and defacing were signs of the "elect." Much of the damage to old altars, tombs, church doorways, windows, &c., dates from the second or third year of Queen Elizabeth. The headless statues, which we deplore, in the abbeys and cathedrals throughout the kingdom, the missals torn and "sold to pedlars to lap spices in," the holy water fonts turned into milk vessels, are eloquent of the early part of the reign of "Good Queen Bess." Rood lofts were then converted into weavers' looms or bedsteads, vestments were turned into bed-hangings, altar linen was made into shirts and smocks. Altar-stones were ordered to be inserted into the pavement, at the entrance to the churches, where all passers might trample them under foot. John Lord Sheffield, of Mulgrave Castle, had one altar-stone made into a sink for his kitchen; others were used as swine-troughs, or put to similar uses. Pyxes were given as playthings to children, or made into salt-cellar.† The feasts of Our Lady were abolished, and the Queen's birthday substituted. In

* Simancas Papers, *l.c.* vii. 24.

† Edward Peacock, F.S.A., "English Church Furniture: Reformation Period," pp. 29-171.

Grindal's "Articles to be Enquired of in the Archdiocese of York" for the year 1571, there occurs the following paragraph :

Whether in your churches and chapels, all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed, even unto the foundation; and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined whited over and made uniform with the rest, so as no breach or rupture appear. And whether your rood lofts be taken down, and altered, so that the upper parts thereof, with the sollar or loft, be quite taken down unto the cross-beam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same.

No one having studied these injunctions of Grindal's, the "Visitation Articles" for the diocese of Norwich (1561), the State papers relating to the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the works of Jewell and of Sandys, as well as the correspondence of Elizabeth's bishops with Cecil, can doubt that these mutilations and defacings were judicial acts of the new bishops, and not merely the wild freaks of infuriated iconoclasts. They were decreed with the distinct object of removing from the people's sight all that could remind them of their former devotions, so that they might be completely weaned from the old form of worship, and should in time learn to hate and revile that which they had before cherished and venerated. In the "Injunctions" for the See of Durham, the following entry occurs under *Connscilif*:

There remaineth in the church, the remnants of the rood-loft, untaken down. There remaineth in the choir, certain corbel stones which were sometime foot-paths for images, one on either side of the high altar. There remaineth yet one altar without the choir door, undefaced. The churchwardens to remove and certify.

In the "Injunctions" of Edmund Grindal for 1571 these words are to be found: "The churchwardens shall see that the altar-stones be broken, defaced, and put to some common use."

With regard to the "new men" who took possession of the "old acres," they were, for the most part, heretics who had fled to foreign countries in the reign of Mary, and who now returned to divide the spoils. Others were apostate priests, and of these there were not a few; for the new laws were great winnowers of men. Every worldly advantage was to be gained by adopting the Queen's religion; comfortable livings, riches, and security; whereas, to be a Catholic priest was to be an outcast, to be fined and imprisoned, reviled, and hated. Only too many fell away. Learning decreased. William Bennett, Prior of the Cell of Finchdale, a daughter of the great mother church of Durham, is a fair specimen of the priest who "conformed to the times." Choosing to consider himself released from his vow of celibacy,

he took to himself a wife, and became the first prebendary of the fourth stall of the newly founded cathedral of Durham. He became rich in silver plate and furniture, and his barns and granaries were well plenished; but at his death, his books were valued at only five shillings.* In his will he refers to his wife, then alive, as Ann Bennett, *alias* Thompson, according to a custom which became general for apostate priests and monks to proclaim the very dubious and uncertain light in which they regarded their helpmates. Instances such as this might be enumerated by scores, but our present business is not so much with those who failed in religion, as with those whose labours and sufferings merited that it should not utterly die out in the land.

In 1569 one supreme effort was made by the foremost English Catholics "to restore the crown, the nobility, and the worship of God to their former estate," and to liberate the unfortunate Queen of Scots from her unjust captivity. More than half the population of the country was still Catholic, and it was estimated that in the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland there were not ten gentlemen who favoured Elizabeth's proceedings in matters of religion.† The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland entered the city of Durham at the head of only sixty armed horsemen, but they met with so little resistance that they took possession of the city and caused High Mass to be once more offered in Durham Cathedral, in the presence of several thousand people. They ransacked the property of the Bishop of Durham and of the new ministers, but they put no one to death.‡ From Durham they marched through Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, and Ripon, restoring the ancient service as they went. At Branham Moor they mustered 1700 horse and rather less than 4000 foot, and, but for the want of a proper understanding with the Catholic population, would undoubtedly have succeeded. But their money was expended before they obtained Philip's promised help. The Duke of Alva failed to arrive with his contingent of men and money, and the cause was lost before it came to a serious battle. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were taken prisoners. The Earl of Sussex, who had set up the royal standard, numbered among his army a large body of Catholic gentlemen and their tenantry, who either misunderstood the nature of the rising, or who were impelled by interest to range themselves on the side of the Government. Many were still in doubt, not knowing that Elizabeth had been excommunicated. Her fury vented itself on the country people who had taken up arms in

* "Publications of the Surtees Society," vol. xxii. p. 48.

† Sadler, ii. 55.

‡ Grindal to Bullinger, Zurich Letters, First Series, Let. 87.

defence of their faith; and in Cecil and the Earl of Sussex she had most zealous agents. Sussex played the part of executioner, and was merciless in his anxiety to convince the Queen of his loyalty. He had been accused of dilatoriness in attacking the insurgents; he could not be convicted either of gentleness or pity in dealing with the vanquished. Cecil had advised that, in order to discover the guilty, a few inhabitants in each town should be apprehended, and "if nede be, should by lac of foode" be induced to disclose the names of those among their neighbours who had taken part in the rebellion.* On December 29, according to Camden, Stowe, and Holinshed, Sussex wrote to Cecil with regard to those who were to be sacrificed, "the number whereof, is yet uncertain, for that I knowe not the number of the townes; but I gesse that it will not be under six or seven hundred at the least that shall be executed of the comon sorte, besides the prisoners taken in the felde."

We hear much of the cruelties perpetrated under Queen Mary, and it is calculated that during her reign about two hundred persons suffered for spreading abroad heresy, and for conspiring against public order and safety. But, after this one attempt of the downtrodden Catholics in the North, to regain the liberty of worshipping God as their ancestors had done for centuries, the executions were incomparably more numerous. More than three hundred took place in the county of Durham alone, and between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not perish on the gibbet, as a warning to their fellows. The rest were pardoned, but on condition that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy.†

After nearly two years, spent as a prisoner at Lochleven, Northumberland was delivered into the custody of Lord Hunsdon. The wonderful strength and sweetness of his character so won over his gaoler, otherwise no friend to Catholics, that he himself applied to the Queen for a pardon. Elizabeth's only answer was a message to send him forthwith to York to be executed. Hunsdon replied that it was not his office to conduct noblemen to the headsman, and that he would rather be sent to prison himself than obey the command. The task was ultimately assigned to Sir John Foster, who had been enriched with Northumberland's confiscated estates. It was signified to the condemned man that his life would be spared, and that he should be restored to honour and fortune if he would but abjure his

* Sharpe, "Memorials of the Rebellion," 126.

† Camden, Stowe, Holinshed, *apud* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 51.

religion. But he replied that no greater honour could be conferred on him than the honour of a martyr's death. Even then heretic ministers were sent to argue with him, but he did not cease to declare that he would die in the holy Catholic religion. With a serene and joyful countenance he ascended the scaffold, on August 22, 1572.* There is no doubt that the Earl of Northumberland was regarded by his contemporaries as a martyr for the Faith.

Among the portraits painted by Circiniani, which have contributed so largely to the beatification of the English martyrs, is one representing the decapitation of a nobleman. It bears the inscription, "Quidam vir illustris capite plexus est," and Father John Morris has expressed the opinion that it is in all probability the portrait of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Nevertheless, as no name was affixed, there remained enough of uncertainty to prevent his being added to the list of beatified in the Papal decree of the 29th of December, 1886.†

Meanwhile, the Bull of Excommunication had been published. Its immediate result was to render Mary Stuart's captivity closer and harder; and the execution of her devoted friend, the Duke of Norfolk, was a foreshadowing of her own.

According to Lingard, a prisoner prosecuted by the Crown had small chances of a favourable verdict. The Duke of Norfolk was kept in ignorance of most of the charges brought against him till he heard the indictment from the bar. He was allowed the aid of no counsel, was debarred from all communication with his friends, and, after having been a close prisoner in the Tower for eighteen weeks, only received notice of his trial the night before his arraignment. Then, without notes, deprived of the use of books, he was invited to answer charges suddenly brought against him, and ranging over a period of three years.‡ Two of his servants, Barker and Bannister, were examined in the evidence brought against him. The examinations were conducted in a truly Elizabethan manner, as is shown by the following letter from the Queen. It is dated September 15, 1572:

If they shall not seem to you to confess plainly their knowledge, then we warrant you to cause them both or either of them to be brought to the rack, and first to move them with fear thereof, to deal plainly in their answers, and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, *and to find the taste thereof*, until they shall deal more plainly, or *until you shall think meet*.§

* Bridgewater, "Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia," fol. 45-49.

† "Die Englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth," p. 67.

‡ History of England, vol. viii. p. 87.

§ Letter of warrant from Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson to extort a confession from Barker and Bannister, MS. Cotton. Calig. c. iii. fol. 129.

Two days later, Sir Thomas Smith, writing to Cecil Lord Burghley, says :

I suppose we have gotten as much at this time as is like to be had ; yet to-morrow, we do intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get anything worthy that pain or fear, *but because it is so earnestly commanded us.*

On the 20th of September the same correspondent adds : " Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear thereof, we suppose to have gotten all."*

At the trial it was made to appear as if these confessions had been spontaneous. If such things had been done under Mary, how much righteous indignation would have been poured forth in condemnation of her cruelty ! Henceforth, to the end of Elizabeth's reign, the rack, with its attendant instruments of torture, was seldom at rest. Whole families of Catholics emigrated, and their lands and possessions were immediately seized by the Crown.† Elizabeth complained that the Court of Philip II. was the resort of all her enemies ; but at home every gaol in the kingdom contained recusants, so that it was sometimes objected that Protestant criminals, their fellow-prisoners, were in danger of being converted. A gentleman, whose name does not transpire, writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, tells him of a visit he has paid to two priests confined in Newgate. He thinks the prisons great nurseries of Popery, and advises that priests should either be banished or put into solitary confinement. He desires, therefore, the release of his kinsman, a zealous Protestant, who has been committed to gaol " for consenting to the stealing of the Queen's venison."‡

It does not appear whether the prayer was granted ; but it would have been no exception to the common rule. Justice was never worse administered. The judicial records of Elizabeth's reign form a long procession of trials with packed juries and verdicts that had been foregone conclusions from the beginning. A justice of the peace was defined in Parliament, as " an animal who, for half a dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen laws."

Thus, provided an accused person were not indicted for his priesthood, or for the harbouring of priests, for hearing Mass, or for being in possession of Catholic books, vestments, or *Agnus Dei*, he might with a little management easily secure a pardon. The following are a few instances taken at hazard from the records, which teem with documents illustrating the fact that murder was by no means an unpardonable crime, that forgery

* Ellis, II, 261.

† Strype ii. App. 102.

‡ Bib. Harl., 286, fol. 60.

was frequently condoned, and that libel was hardly esteemed an offence at all.

Thos. Webbe, of London, convicted of coining and uttering Elizabeth shillings, was pardoned, provided he depart into the Low Countries within forty days, and do not return without licence.*

Roger Orme, of Whittington, co. Stafford, committed for killing Thos. Pudsey, of Langford, co. Derby, was pardoned.†

Thos. Towley, yeoman, of London, imprisoned for burglary, was pardoned.‡

Close upon this follows another pardon for burglary, and another for George Bostock, of Holt, Denbigh, for killing John Rodon. A pardon was also granted about the same time for manslaughter, and another for burglary. Henry Goslin, Keeper of St. Edmondsbury Gaol, was pardoned for the escape of Francis Hexam, committed for felony and treason. The said Francis Hexam was also pardoned for the above offences and for breaking prison. These are followed by two more pardons granted to yeomen for manslaughter, and so on. The law, moreover, for suppressing and keeping in order alehouses was not enforced, whereby it is recorded great drunkenness, unlawful games, and other abuses were rife.§

At the same time, it was extremely difficult for a Catholic, much more for a priest, accused of any offence whatever, to obtain common justice. Thus, Thos. Wright, priest, arrested on suspicion of being concerned in Essex's plot, complains to Sir Robert Cecil, from the prison of the Gatehouse:—

I find it written in the forefront of vindictive justice, that no man be punished, especially with death, before trial and judgment; eighteen weeks have passed, since by your commission, I have been closed within four walls, and buried alive, for life, without the use of it, may better be termed a burial or a death, than a life, without examination or sentence. Pray give order that my cause may be tried, and if by law, I deserve death, let me rather die once, than every day a new death. If I cannot obtain so much, let me enjoy that liberty of prison granted to common prisoners, and not lie thus rotting in a corner. . . . If I obtain this through you, I will pray for you, if not, God be my judge.||

Those Catholics who enjoyed comparative liberty were far from leading a secure or peaceful life. At any hour of the day or night they were exposed to the danger of invasion and destruction of their property. Often, in the dead of the night,

* P. R. O. Dom. Eliz., vol. 249, July 1, 1594.

† *Ibid.* vol. 249, September 7, 1594.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. 250.

§ *Ibid.* vol. 260.

|| *Ibid.* vol. 266, fol. 23.

their houses would be suddenly surrounded with troops, while the sheriff of the district, accompanied by a band of soldiers, would demand admittance in the Queen's name. Then began, among oaths and blasphemies, the work of destruction. They tore down walls, pulled up flooring, in their brutal search for priests' hiding-places and contraband Church furniture. In the North, when a search was made, recusants fled to the Isle of Man or to Scotland. Some hid in caves; some took refuge on the Peak in Derbyshire, where Robert Eyre, a justice of the peace, whose brother was a recusant, gave warning at the approach of danger. They were relieved by shepherds, so that, as one of Cecil's spies wrote to the Lord Treasurer, "that country was a sanctuary for wicked men." The "wicked men" were such as Father Boast, a northern priest, who, in his examination before Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Wolley, and Richard Topcliffe, said he was sorry there were not twenty priests in the place of every one throughout the country, but declared that he loved the Queen, and would take her part, even if the Pope sent an army against her, but that if His Holiness proceeded against her as a heretic, he could not err, and that Catholics must obey the Church. For this statement Boast was declared to be "full of treason."* When brought to the scaffold, he wished to God that his blood might be in satisfaction for the Queen's sins.†

Lord Sheffield, very zealous against recusants, made an attack on Groman Hall, a house "notorious for receiving priests and fugitives from beyond the sea." One John Ferne, writing to Cecil, says:

The search at Groman Abbey was made as appointed by the intelligencer at 2 A.M., after St. Peter's Day. The recusants have so many eyes in this place that I could not take men enough to compass the house, and resist their violence, without discovering the attempt; therefore, I requested the assistance of Lord Sheffield, who has a sincere profession of religion, and was at Mulgrave Castle, three miles off. Your warrant coming to him at 10 P.M., he took the keys of his castle gates into his own hands, and came to the house with thirty-six servants. He left his horses half a mile off, and they compassed the place; the back doors were open, and there were the steps of a horse and man perceived. I believe the spy had discovered it, for he gave me a false plan of the house. He promised to conduct to the house, and remain near, to give advice where to search, but failed in both, and wrote contradictory letters about it. I hope you will punish him as a deluder. It is difficult to search in that country, for the recusants keep scouts day and night, that their cattle should not be seized, and they ride armed.

* Topcliffe to the Lord Keeper Puckering, P.R.O. Dom. Eliz., 1593.

† Challoner's "Missionary Priests," p. 250, supplement.

The case of poor ministers and Protestants is miserable. In the search, all things for furnishing a mass were found, and divers Popish books, but nothing else, though floors, ceilings, pavements, and double walls were broken up, and vaults of strange conveyance found out. At the stair-head was a post as thick as a man's body, on which the house seemed to bear, but it was really a removable hinge, locked from beneath, covering a hole, at which a man might descend. His Lordship took great pains, and would be much encouraged if his service were made known to her Majesty. I have done my uttermost, and am much grieved at the ill-success of this business.*

In a subsequent letter, the same writer intimates that there are not many like Lord Sheffield, ready to conduct a search in person, and that the Archbishop of York, and the Council of the North should have him appointed one of the Council, "to encourage him to spend part of the summer at Mulgrave Castle, and make himself a terror to these ungodly recusants."

In spite, however, of the prisons, teeming with human life, in spite of the rack, the "Scavenger's Daughter," and all the hideous paraphernalia devised to create suffering in every conceivable form; in spite of house-to-house visitation, and finally the scaffold and the knife, the Catholic religion was so deeply rooted in the country, that its growth was no sooner arrested in one part than it sprang up with renewed vitality in another. It took long years for the elaborate machinery of Cecil's policy of extermination to stifle its vigorous life; it took longer to foist upon the people a politico-religious system which appealed to no sympathy, corresponded to no need, and which checked every aspiration of the human heart.

In a report to the Council, on the condition of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1591, the difficulties which the Ecclesiastical Commission met with in those counties are apparent. The report deplored the emptiness of the churches on Sundays and holidays, the number of absentees being greater than ever. Preachers refrained from preaching for lack of hearers. The people so swarmed in the streets and ale-houses during service time, that in many churches only the curate and his clerk were present. They lacked instruction, most of the parsons admitted by the bishops to fat benefices being themselves unlearned and non-resident in their parishes. Their lordships' letters, commanding the justices to call before them all parsons, vicars, curates, churchwardens, and sworn men, and examine them on oath, as to the statutes of the 1st and 3rd of Elizabeth, were disregarded. Some of the coroners and justices, with their families, were denounced for their non-attendance at church, and at the next

* P. R. O. Dom Eliz., vol. 271, 71, July 3, 1599. York.

quarter session information was to be given with regard to all offenders against these laws. The report includes a list of fourteen justices in Lancashire, of whom three, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commission, were suspected of favouring Papacy, and many of them had not communicated at the Lord's Supper since the beginning of her Majesty's reign. The recusants, it went on to say, had scouts about the Commissioners, to give notice when anything was intended against them, and some of the bailiffs attending on the Commissioners allowed themselves to be bribed for that purpose, so that the recusants might "shift out of the way, and avoid being apprehended. Some example ought to be made of the bailiffs." It was hard, the report declared, for the Lord President of the North to keep Yorkshire in order, and the other counties adjoining, so long as Lancashire remained unreformed, and the law was powerless in that county. The decree for calling home of children sent to be educated in parts beyond the sea was also evaded.*

But although Catholics were in a majority in every county, except Middlesex and Kent, the powerful minority neither slumbered nor slept. Many incidents such as the following are to be found among the records of this time, illustrating the vigilance with which the ports were watched. George Huxley, son of a husbandman of Bunbury, who had been ruined by fines, "all his goods having been taken from him for Papistry," set out on his road to London, to be apprenticed. At Chester he fell in with a friend of his father's, named Thomas Stevenson. This man had been imprisoned for recusancy, and he advised the boy to go to France, promising to place him there better than he could hope to be placed in London. Huxley consented, and two other boys having joined him, they struck a bargain with the captain of a French vessel for their passage over. But Stevenson was overheard by a spy of Cecil's "to reprehend the religion used in England as false"; he also said that his object in helping Huxley over the sea was that he might learn the truth. The spy at once gave information, and two of the boys were captured and taken before the Mayor of Chester, who wrote the matter of their examination to Lord Burghley, praying to know what should be done with them.†

It will be necessary to examine at greater length than can here be done, the important machinery, spread like a fine network over all the designs of Burghley and Walsingham, for the eradication of the Catholic religion. A perfect web of treachery, deceit, and fraud, the spy system was one of the principal agents in the triumph of the Reformation in England.

J. M. STONE.

* P. R. O. Dom. Eliz., vol. 260.

† *Ibid.* July 2, 1595.

ART. VI.—CATHOLICISM IN THE WAVERLEY NOVELS.

IN the second folio of Shakespeare there appears a laudatory poem, ascribed to Milton by Coleridge, applicable in many points to Sir Walter Scott :

A mind reflecting ages past, whose clear
And equal surface can make things appear,
Distant a thousand years, and represent
Them in their lively colours, just extent ;
To outrun hasty time, retrieve the fates,
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of Death and Lethe, where confused lie
Great heaps of ruinous mortality ;
In that deep dusky dungeon to discern
A royal ghost from churls ; by art to learn
The physiognomy of shades, and give
Them sudden birth. . . .

The Waverley novels are prose poems. They contain distinct creations ; and no ideal creations, except those of Shakespeare, have ever succeeded so well in conveying to multitudes the impress of reality. Scott more than any writer, except Dante, has drawn his inspiration from Catholic times and Catholic models. Is his ideal the Catholic ideal ? I propose to answer this question in some measure ; and as doing so will involve occasional quotation of history, I will say at the outset, to prevent misunderstanding, that my intention is not to *refute* impressions—which would be a waste of time—but to show that the figure of Catholicism presented in the Waverley novels is only a blurred and jagged outline. Refutation is not possible when one has to do with creations of the imagination ; a poet is not a historian. The poet's function, however, has its limits ; if he is not compelled within the compass of his art to produce identity, he is bound to produce similarity. The veracity of a novelist is not the veracity of a photographer, he is not constrained in giving you the likeness of a man to give you the exact portrait of an individual, but he should limn the species, and not depict the thing that is not, and never was. Within these broad limits, and these only, do I mean to apply some critical observations to a few of the Waverley novels, in relation to my special subject—viz., the view which is presented, in these grand productions, of Catholicism generally.

The chivalric times of mediæval Europe had an absorbing interest for the mind of Scott. Chivalry was not the creation of

the Church; it existed in barbarous and pagan States widely separated; even the sun-worshipping Incas had their regular initiation and code of chivalry. What the Church did in Europe was to Christianise and humanise it, giving it at the same time loftier objects for the exercise of its prowess. Many of its virtues, and those the highest, were the offspring of Catholicism; some of its virtues, and all its vices, had their roots in man's capricious nature. Scott has presented us with a galaxy of sterling Catholic characters, nursed in the bosom of Holy Church; but for that Church itself which made them what they were he has few words of praise, for the priest who trained them he reserves the dimmest angle in his canvas. This is to be attributed chiefly to two causes: the Protestant public, for whom he wrote, and his own insufficient acquaintance with Catholic life, at least in his youthful days.

Early impressions were life-lasting with Scott. He says in "Marmion"—

And feelings roused in life's first day
Glow in the line and prompt the lay.

No kindly guide in childhood led him one single step on Catholic paths. His father was a strict Calvinistic Presbyterian, his mother was the same, but more liberal in her creed, and very fond of poetry. Lancelot Whale, his first schoolmaster, "a strange, uncouth-looking person, with a two-storied wig, blind of an eye, and withal the worst-tempered man in Britain,"* seems to have had little time and less inclination to make any impression for good or for evil on his pupil. His aunt at romantic Sandy-Knowe, with her interminable store of Border tales and ballads, influenced Scott more potently than any other human being. But she was not a Catholic. Constable† (later on destined to be his Jonathan Oldbuck) borrowed for him, from Father Pepper of the Scottish College at Ratisbonne, Adelung's German Dictionary. The loan of a German dictionary, at second-hand, was then the only early link between Sir Walter Scott and things Catholic.

But if he did not fall under Catholic influences, naturally he fell under others. He was brought up in his father's creed, and early showed his repugnance to its narrowness. He also found a tutor at the High School of Edinburgh, who interested him greatly, and in his diary he refers to him and his studies, in words so remarkable and shedding such a light on Scott's own character, that, although the passage is almost hackneyed, I will still venture to quote it. Scott describes his tutor as

A young man of an excellent disposition and a laborious student.

* "Life of Scott." Edinburgh: Allen. 1834.

† A brother of the famous publisher.

He was bred to the Kirk, but unfortunately took such a strong turn to fanaticism that he afterwards resigned an excellent living in a seaport town, merely because he could not persuade the mariners of the guilt of setting sail of a Sabbath.

From this young man he learned all his youthful stock of divinity and Church history, and he adds:

A great acquaintance in particular with the old books describing the early history of the Church of Scotland [*i.e.*, the Kirk], the wars and sufferings of the Covenanters and so forth. I with a head on fire for chivalry was a Cavalier; my friend was a Roundhead. I was a Tory, he was a Whig. I hated Presbyterians, and admired Montrose with his victorious Highlanders; he liked the Presbyterian Ulysses, the dark and politic Argyle; so that we never wanted subjects of dispute, but our disputes were always amicable. In all these tenets there was no real conviction on my part, arising out of acquaintance with the views or principles of either party; nor had my antagonist address enough to turn the debate on such topics. I took up my politics, as King Charles II. did his religion, from an idea that the Cavalier creed was the more gentlemanly of the two.

His German studies brought him acquaintance with Goethe's "*Götz von Berlichingen*," which work of the towering mind of the German poet awakened his enthusiasm to an incomprehensible degree, and stamped its effect indelibly on his literary career. Götz is an embodiment of feudalism, and Goethe himself has confessed that in writing it he was only following on the track of Shakespeare. "'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true" that Scott followed Goethe and not Shakespeare. In Götz there are pictures of an abbot and a bishop, both self-seeking, time-serving and voluptuous, such as might be expected from the author; Shakespeare knew better and described better the older Catholic churchmen whom he may almost be said to have seen, heard, and touched. Assuredly Shakespeare would have been the safer guide. But although Scott has followed Goethe in his bishops and abbots, and produced many a noble Götz, brave Georges, gentle Marys, and good Elizabeths—here, in justice, it must be said the imitation ceases. The faithless and wanton Adelheid, the perjured Weislingen, the accessories of the adulterous bed and the poison-bowl, these elements of the so-called higher tragedy find no place in the immortal pages of Scott. The tragedy of "*The Bride of Lammermoor*" lives without them, and will live as long as language lives, and the purest maiden may lay a wreath in hallowed Dryburgh on the tomb of Walter Scott, secure that, in honouring his ashes, she is honouring the memory of one whose magic power awakened many high passions, who kindled in cold modern breasts the

chivalric fires of a forgotten time, but never allowed one ray of his genius to illuminate the shrine of unholy love.

So far I have dwelt upon Scott's early training, in order to show that from his dawning intelligence the light of the Catholic Church was excluded, and that when in later days he sought his devious path through her crumbling ruins in these lands, and beside her fallen altars, he was guided by another light than that which blazes in her own glorious firmament. On his marriage he quitted Presbyterianism, and became an Episcopalian, casting aside at the same time the narrow Sabbatarianism of the Scottish people of his day, without vouchsafing one word of explanation to his friends, and without losing the esteem of his faithful countrymen.

The "Tales of the Crusaders" must naturally claim the first attention from Catholics, for the Catholic Church alone did and could give birth to the movement known as the Crusades, the rising tide of which was irresistible, the impetus so powerful, that two centuries died out before the shores of Palestine echoed the sobbing ebb. A history of the Crusades which omitted the First would be about as complete as the Bible without Exodus. Scott has no story of the First Crusade, only some fleeting allusions to it in "Count Robert of Paris," which its author did not reckon in the list of his "Tales of the Crusaders." Yet what heroes for a romantic tale did not that First Crusade present! Let us look at them as they pass: Godfrey de Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois, the good Knight Tancred, Count Raymond of Toulouse, the saintly Adhemar, warrior-prelate of Puy; the two Roberts, of Flanders and of Normandy; the two Baldwins and Bohemond, who led the Christian army through trial and triumph, in the face of Greek treachery and the teeth of fierce, exulting Mohammedan fanaticism, from the shores of the Bosphorus until they planted the Standard of the Cross upon the ramparts of Sion. Scott may have hesitated to tread the path which the muse of Tasso had rendered classic; but, whatever his excuse, I think it is indisputable that for Catholics his "Tales of the Crusaders" are lamentably inadequate.

By far the best of his stories of the Crusades, and one of the most fascinating and powerful of all Scott's novels, is "The Talisman." In scenery, character, motive, this work is one of the happiest emanations of his genius. The precedence of the English flag, the mutual jealousies of the leaders of the Third Crusade, and the efforts made to bring about a marriage between Saladin and the Lady Edith of Plantagenet, form the groundwork of the story. Historically, Scott is quite correct in the question of the precedence of the flag and the bitter rivalry of the Christian princes; and there is historical colour for the proposed marriage,

for Richard really endeavoured to marry his sister Jane, the widowed Queen of Sicily, to Malek-al-adel, brother of Saladin. Scott only uses the license of the poet in making the incident dramatic and romantic, by substituting Lady Edith and Saladin for the actual historical personages, thus giving him room for the play of his characters on a grand scale, in which his beloved countryman, David, Earl of Huntingdon and Prince-royal of Scotland, performs no insignificant part. The character of Saladin is so well portrayed that readers of history must almost stand aghast at the accuracy of the delineation, recalling as it does his marvellous power in this department of his art, so well illustrated in his life-like presentation elsewhere of Louis XI. It must also be admitted that his picture of the miserable dissensions in the Christian camp, which lost Palestine, are not one whit exaggerated. Still there are serious drawbacks in the estimation which Catholics must form of this novel which cannot be passed over, and the first is, the high level, in comparison with Christianity, to which Scott elevates Mohammedanism. The gross errors of this superstition are closely veiled, while everything adverse to the professors of Christianity is as carefully revealed. Scott must have known that Mohammed was an impostor, ignorant, licentious, mendacious, and bloodthirsty, who plagiarised from the Sacred Books of East and West, of Christian, Jew, and Pagan, to make up that contradictory and incoherent mass of doctrine called the Koran. Yet Mohammedanism shines in its glossiest coat in "*The Talisman*" to serve the purposes of romance. The mollah is put upon a level with the monk. Even the absurd fiction of Mohammed's ascent to heaven, upon which the creed of Islam rests, passes without rebuke.* But I may leave this question, as happily it is not, at this time of the world's history, a burning one; but the fact that Christianity and Mohammedanism are certainly in this novel placed in comparison not too favourable to the former, merits at least this passing notice.

It must have been remarked by even careless readers how indifferently the character of Richard Cœur de Lion is presented, giving the effect of neutral tints. This most terrible of all the actors in the Crusades, barely rants without acting in "*The Talisman*," and becomes a mere foil for Saladin. The name of

* Mohammed propagated a false story of his night ascent to heaven, where he declared he saw the scroll, the watchword of his sect, "*La Allah Ellalla, Mohammed resul Allah.*" Ayesbah, his favourite wife out of fifteen, not including four slave concubines, gives a contradiction to the impostor by leaving on record where he spent the night in question. Mohammed indiscreetly said he had, in his journey on the white mule, visited the Temple of Jerusalem. Abu Jehel demanded a description of the Temple, which Mohammed could not give until he whispered to Abubeker to help him out.

the Melec-Ric spread such panic in the Moslem ranks, that Eastern tradition still preserves the legend, with Oriental exaggeration doubtless, that even the horses' manes bristled with horror, were it only whispered. His single arm literally hewed lanes through the hosts of Islam, the Saracens fled in hundreds before him, until one can well picture their fiery visages contracted with impotent rage, as they muttered all the maledictions of the Koran on his long sword and Cyprus barb. One noble only of that haughty and, until the Crusades, deemed invincible race, dared to face Richard in single combat; the lion-hearted settled the fray with a solitary stroke, by which he swept the head, one shoulder and arm, clean from the trunk of the luckless champion of the Prophet. But Richard in battle may have seemed to Scott too sanguinary for romance, and so he puts him in bed, by choosing the period of his illness for the time of his narrative. I would put this forward as certainly the reason which guided the novelist, if it were not that he presents in "The Fair Maid of Perth," with a detail so ghastly as to be inartistic, the battle between the two rival Highland clans. Richard's prowess undoubtedly forced Saladin to temporise with the Christians, but he achieved little compared with what might have been the case had he subdued his pride, and understood and acted upon the policy of a great general. He was no general, and unfit to be a leader—he was simply a gigantic knight of high principle, daring valour mingled with cruelty, rejoicing with the simplicity of a North American Indian in his unsurpassed bodily vigour. Philip of France was a worse man, but a better politician. Still the sympathy of posterity will be ever given to the open-hearted Englishman in preference to the crafty Philip. The oath of this degenerate monarch was passed to Richard, to leave the territories of the latter in peace until the termination of the Crusade, yet Philip went to Rome on his way to France, and sought by every means—even by fraud—to obtain release from his oath at the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. I will here give the answer of the Pontiff to Philip, because Scott is exceedingly fond of representing the Popes as being ready for mercenary considerations to use the power of the Keys in loosing from even more sacred vows than was the one made by Philip, those who approached the Holy See with gold or an equivalent. "From that oath," said the Pontiff, "which you swore to the King of England for the preservation of peace until his return, which as a Christian prince you ought to maintain without an oath, we by no means grant you absolution, but approving its rectitude and utility, we confirm it by our apostolical authority." *

* William of Newburgh.

There is a quaint figure in "The Talisman," which must not be passed over: this is the so-called Hermit of Engaddi. He at once recalls Shakespeare's observation about "Nature's journey-men," whose creations imitated humanity so abominably. This hermit was a tall man, armed with a flail, and "clothed in goat-skins," who skulked behind trees, and skipped over rocks like the veritable goat itself. In all the histories of hermits there is nothing like him, except the goatskin, which on the authority of St. Paul we know these holy men sometimes donned. Scott unconsciously admits that his Hermit of Engaddi was, to say the least, an out-of-the-way character, for Kenneth, who was a devout Catholic, and from residence in the East must have known its solitaries, in external appearance, if no more,* mistook this worthy man for the devil. It will be in the recollection of readers of the tale, that when the Saracen was overthrown by this lusty anchorite, who nearly strangled him, he reproached Kenneth for not coming to his aid, to which the latter replied:

By my word Saracen, if thou wilt have it in plain terms, I thought that strange figure was the devil; and being of thy lineage, I knew not what family secret you might be communicating to each other, as you lay lovingly rolling together on the sand.

Well, then, we may take it as certain that this was no true hermit, neither was he a priest, as both Kenneth and the Saracen † testify. Yet in the fifteenth chapter this madman turns up as a grave Carmelite friar, and hears confessions as a priest before the story ends. Am I wrong in concluding that we have before us neither priest nor hermit in this ascetic libel, who represents no concrete existence of any period? There would be no anachronism in styling him a Carmelite friar, if there was any admitting him within the pale of men who lived, or might have lived; but the nuns of Engaddi of the twelfth century could not have been, as described, professed nuns of the Order of Mount Carmel. The Carmelite Order for women had no existence until the fifteenth century, when they were first instituted by John Soreth, the then General of the Carmelite friars. Equally anachronistic is the Exposition of the *Vera Crux*, which was then in the hands of the infidels, and were it not, with Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine,

* The early hermits wore an under-garment of linen, a goatskin jacket (*pera*), and over this the *cuculla*, a hooded cape.

† Kenneth remarks that he has heard the hermit is no priest, this the Saracen confirms by observing the want of the tonsure. If he was tonsured his solitary existence in the desert would be quickly terminated by the Mohammedans, who were strictly commanded to exterminate priests, by Mohammed's immediate successor, which command he transmitted to his general, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian.

we may be morally certain the True Cross would never be consigned to the keeping of nuns in a lonely, obscure grotto.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, a brave, pious, and long-suffering ecclesiastic, is represented in this novel as a schemer and a coward. Cowardice at least, or self-seeking, was neither of them a fault of the bishops of the Crusades. In the Chronicle of William of Newburgh we have the veritable account of Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), who in the midst of ambushes and perils, unaccompanied by Richard, "visited for himself and for the prince the sepulchre of the King of kings; and pouring out there a deluge of pious tears, and performing Mass, he accomplished equally his own and the king's vows, to whom he returned."

The renowned Order of the Temple receives great attention from Scott. It is rarely he paints his villains wholly bad, but he approaches this very nearly in his portraiture of the unfortunate but brave Knights of the Temple. Much is related of them in "The Talisman," yet more in "Ivanhoe," but little of good in either. I shall have to dwell upon the history of this Order longer than I could wish, because it is very prominent in Scott, because there were many stainless military Orders excluded from his canvas, and because even the Catholic apologists of the Templars have been obliged to make serious reservations in explaining the conduct of this celebrated body, which ended its brilliant career under the solemn condemnation of the Church. I will make this general observation, however, first, I have no desire to appear as an apologist for the Templars, but merely to set forth briefly and candidly the information I have collected and sifted concerning them, avoiding as much as possible the beaten paths of popular knowledge, which generally means popular ignorance. Another remark I will make, and highly pertinent to my subject: Scott habitually, I do not say with design, but on account of the environment in which he lived, depicts the weaker side of Catholicism, and always represents its system as corrupt and its cause a fallen one. Hence, he has many Templars, not one Hospitaller. But what will you have? Look at the exigencies of romance, what a poor figure a brave, pious Knight of St. John would make by the side of a bold, bad Templar. One only good character does he present of this Order, the Grand Master in "Ivanhoe," Lucas, Marquis de Beaumanoir, and him he makes a dotard and ignorant bigot. The Grand Master in "The Talisman" is a very demon, slain by Saladin in the flower of his crimes, covered with sacrilege and double murder, the murder of soul and body of his infatuated dupe. This has been believed, and treated as historical. Now, the Grand Master in the days of Saladin committed none of the acts alleged in the horrible charge

made against him, which is purely fictitious, and he was not done to death by Saladin. The knight whom Saladin slew was a free-booter, who outraged Christian and Saracen alike. He was not a Templar. After the battle of Tiberias in A.D. 1185, Saladin made this man, known as the Lord of Carac (his proper name being Reginald de Chatillon), prisoner along with Guy de Lusignan and the Grand Master of the Templars. Guy offered some sherbet to Reginald in the presence of Saladin, who thereupon declared the traitor should not drink in his presence. The Lord of Carac replied in hasty words, Saladin stabbed him, and his guards completed the assassination. The act reflects no honour on the usually chivalrous Saladin, for Reginald was unarmed; but does dramatic license go so far as to permit a writer to heap the ignominy of a disgraceful robber-knight upon the Grand Master of the Templars? Scott places the Templars outside the pale of Christianity and chivalry, it therefore becomes imperative, while not disguising their faults, to show that they were outside neither, as a body. Some of their number held loose doctrines, doctrines sufficient to procure the suppression of the Order, but not to drive them all beyond the Christian border. From the dictates of chivalry, I think we shall see they never swerved.

I will only glance at their history; to write it would be to write a history of the Crusades. They were established in A.D. 1118 by Hugo de Payens and Geoffrey de Saint-Aldemar, with nine other French knights. They protected pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and lived upon the alms collected in that duty, and therefore were generally called the "Poor Soldiers." Happy, indeed, would it have been for them and for Christendom had the slow poison of wealth been kept from them. Baldwin II. gave them a house within the Temple walls, from which they were called "*pauperes commilitiones Christi templique Salomonis*," later on the "*Ordo Templariorum*," whence comes the modern designation, Templar. Their confirmation as a military Order dated from the Council of Troyes A.D. 1127, and their Rule came from the spotless hand of the great St. Bernard. Their habit was a white robe,* symbolical of purity, on which was a red cross to remind them of their oath to be ever prepared to shed their blood in defence of the Christian religion. They took the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and swore perpetual exile with war to the death for the Holy Places. Their terrible oath engaged them to meet all combatants, never to retreat before any odds, however great, to give no quarter and to take none. They

* In "*Ivanhoe*" Scott describes, in one place, the robe as red and the cross white, probably by inadvertence.

were divided into three classes : *milites*,* or knights ; *armigeri*, or men-at-arms ; and *clientes*, who attended to domestic affairs. Their standard was the world famous *Beauceant*, whose floating folds for one hundred and seventy years carried tidings of horror and death to the heart of Islam. This flag was parti-coloured,† half black, half white, and inscribed with the words, "Non nobis Domine, non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam." Their famous war-cry came from the title of the standard, and their seal bore, in token of their poverty and humility, the figures of two knights upon one horse.‡ While all their vows were kept, their prowess was irresistible, and their name alone conquered hosts ten times their number. Those Saracen armies which they defeated were formed of men well trained in war, who mingled in their fierce characters the cruelty of the savage with the cunning of Eastern tribes, and the fanaticism of the Mohammedan superstition. Their deeds of daring in a chivalric age attracted to their standard the brave, the noble, and the wealthy, until the world marvelled at their increasing numbers, and kings trembled before the growing might of the unconquerable Templars. Good authorities have set down their annual revenue at four and a half millions, while the houses of the Order numbered in all the known parts of the world not less than nine thousand. They began to believe in themselves only, and as men do this their faith in the Divinity of Christ grows dim. It is the way of the world even now. For the Templars it was the way of destruction. Their humility vanished, their valour was unimpaired. Gaza, Tiberias, Damietta, Tyre, Egypt, and Acre, witnessed deeds achieved by them which no other body of men ever attempted. Scott does some justice to their bravery, but the quality is mingled with motives and means at once base and ignoble, which, in the protection of truth, let history rebut. Take one scene from their annals, at the close of their career in Palestine, when their Order must have been, if ever, degenerate.

It is a glorious morning of May A.D. 1291, and the rising sun mirrors on the Bay of Acre a line of warriors, four hundred thousand strong, under Sultan Chalil, extending from the mountain

* Scott seems to have been under the impression that the knights were all priests. This was not so—only the chaplains were priests, the rest were simply bound, as regards devotion, to hear Mass three times a week, recite a certain daily Office, and communicate thrice every year.

† Some writers attribute the name *Beau-ceant* or *Beauseant* to this circumstance, it being a term applied to a parti-coloured palfrey in the days of the Crusades.

‡ "Eodem anno (A.D. 1118) incepit (sic) Ordo Templariorum, qui tantae paupertatis erat primo, ut duo fratres unum equum equitarent, quod hodierna die ad humilitatem excitandam in sigillo sculpsit Templariorum."—Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes.

range of hoary Carmel to the walls of ancient Ptolemais. That is the host destined to blot out, even to its foundations, the devoted city on its front, and bury in its ruins the last vestiges of the kingdom set up in the Patrimony of the Crucified,* who has declared His kingdom was not of this world. Within the walls of Acre are only a few thousand knights and men-at-arms—a mere handful in comparison with the legions of enemies swarming at the gates. But the knights within the walls are nearly all Templars and Hospitallers—they will fight with the enemy, however great his numbers. All that long summer day the fight goes on, and at night the proud Saracen retires from the walls discomfited and disheartened. But the King of Cyprus, who commanded at St. Anthony's Gate, grows frightened, flies in the darkness, takes shipping in the bay with his recreant soldiers, and by morning's light is out of sight of Acre. Meanwhile, all that weary night wild tales are told of Frankish valour around the camp fires of the infidels. The army will engage no further with them; they are not mortal, say these Saracens, for when you slay a Frank another issues fully armed from his mouth. Chalil hesitates, but is encouraged to renew the siege by some Europeans in his camp. He does so accordingly on the 18th of May, the next day, and the last for Ptolemais. Fierce is the onslaught, more general, more desperate, more destructive than on the preceding day. Thrice are his forces driven back, but deserted St. Anthony's Gate gives him a point of vantage. Myriads of Saracens are pouring through it, but the Templars, quick to perceive this, turn thither all their force, and drive the invading army back. There is nothing left, however, to do but carry the war into the enemy's heart, and see what one mighty rush may accomplish to save the city. One daring charge is made by the Templars followed by the Knights of St. John, each headed by its Grand Master. A thousand to one their enemies are around them. They fight like lions, but they fall. The first slain is the Grand Master of the Templars, the Hospitallers are cut down to almost the last man. A small band of the fiery Templars alone are left, a deserted island in a vast and surging ocean; suddenly they wheel, and high above the sounds of three hundred mighty Syrian tambours borne on as many camels, piercing the air and echoing over the bay, rises for the last time on the plains of Palestine the loud war-cry *Beauseant!* So rapidly is death dealt out to every opposing Saracen, it would seem as if a sudden pestilence and not a small troop of knights had fallen on the Sultan's appalled array. In with the invading forces, scattering corpses right and left, go the invincible Templars through St.

* *Patrimonia Crucifixi*, often applied to Palestine in the Middle Ages.

Anthony's Gate, never drawing bridle until they have again entered within the walls of the Temple of Acre. Thither they dragged with them bands of Christians, to give them refuge from the worse than wolves outside. Fearful are the cries in that city, dread the despair as the invading hosts swarm within it, burning, ravishing, and murdering as they advance. At last they collect around and assault the Temple, but neither to numbers, rage, menace or blows will the undaunted Knights of the Temple yield. The enemy is driven to parley. Not for themselves, but to save those around them, the Templars at length surrender their swords, forgetful of their vow for humanity's sake, on condition that they and all under their protection are allowed to go free and unharmed. The Sultan accords the terms and would have kept his word, but his soldiers cannot be restrained, and on entering the Temple proceed to ravish the women found there. Unarmed the Templars rush upon the villain soldiery, regain their swords, and put to instant death the whole band. The enraged Sultan now turns all his forces and his engines on the Temple, but the heroic chevaliers still fight, until with thundering crash down falls the mighty tower of the fortress, burying them and those whom they defended in the ruins. So fought the Templars.

Now, it would seem to reasonable men only right that if an author chooses to paint only the black sheep of an institution, an age, or a nation, he ought not make them blacker than they really were. Another idea suggests itself: if the Templars were the black sheep in the mediæval Catholic fold, how pure, then, must have been the fleeces of the white! Indeed, one almost feels inclined to challenge the world and say: these dark Templars were our worst men; produce your most famous heroes; let us see if they were better, taking them "for all in all." In vindication of Scott, it must be said that in their later day the Templars had fallen upon an evil time, which bringsevil tongues. It requires no proof now to show that Philip the Fair of France, in seeking the destruction of the Templars, in order to get hold of their property, defamed the Order before Europe, and formed the tradition of evil attached to their memory, which Scott has but reproduced, not indeed in all its grossness, for Scott had too delicate a mind for that. There is a disposition too, I fear, in all of us to believe too readily a tale of evil. The philosophical Quaker who revenged himself on the dog that he caught lapping his butter in the market-place understood this. "I will not beat thee, but I will give thee a bad name." So, letting the animal loose, he cried, "Mad dog!" and the unthinking populace soon ended the creature's life. A bad name works wonders in all reformations, and Philip the Fair was one of the reformers before

the Reformation, who was ready to commit iniquity for a consideration, and certainly should have his place in any future history dealing with those interesting individuals. I will now draw this account of the Templars to a close by quoting a passage from Philip's letter denouncing them to Pope Clement V. in A.D. 1307. He charges them with following a disgusting ritual of initiation, denying Christ, spitting at and trampling upon the crucifix, worshipping idols, practising the most heinous immorality, and omitting the essentials in performing Mass. All these charges were made by two malefactors lying under sentence of death. Of course they received their pardon. They were two Templars, the Prior of Montfauçon and another, ejected from this wicked Order for—not worshipping idols? No; for heresy and immorality.* Philip ingeniously excuses to the Pope his renegade witnesses by suggesting—none so good to catch a thief as a thief. “*Quid nunquam capitur lupus,*” he says, “*ita bene sicut ab illis qui deferunt lupinum pellem.*” The Pope very sensibly declined to believe the charges made against the Templars, but ordered an inquiry, enjoining at the same time prayers to obtain the aid of the Holy Ghost. Philip did not wait for the inquiry; he burned fifty of the living knights, *pour encourager les autres*, put as many into prison and on the rack as he could reach, and finally seized their property. Pope Clement V., with the approval of the Council of Vienne, subsequently suppressed the Order, with great grief—“*Non sine amaritudine et dolore,*” are the words of the Bull. Philip was obliged by the Council to restore their property to other military Orders, and many of the much-abused Templars showed their sincerity by obeying the Pope

* The document to which I refer, however, is not usually quoted in the histories of the Templars. Dupuy has not got it, and therefore it may be interesting to give an extract: “*Nam confessi sunt et compertum est, quod illi, quando recipiunt aliquem ad Ordinem illorum, primo ad exequendum homines fideles illis, recipiunt intra Ordinem suum, amotis omnibus, exceptis fratribus ejusdem Ordinis, et adducunt illum ad locum privatum, et illum denudant totaliter, et tunc unus accedit ad illum, et eum osculatur in posteriori parte. Deinde induit et cingit eum corrigia de cambuco. Tertio, portatur crux, et ibi dicitur quod crucifixus non est Christus, sed quidam falsus propheta deputatus per Judaeos, propter delicta sua ad mortem; et faciunt ter spuere super illam. Et postea projicitur ad terram, et faciunt conculcari pedibus; et ista statuta et constitutiones suas observant inter se. Quinto ostendunt sibi caput cujusdam idoli, et illud cotidie adorant. Sexto, de vitio Sodomitico—quomodo statuunt quod nullus utatur mulieribus, sed quilibet utatur alterutro cum voluerint. . . . Item, nec Missa faciunt, nec alia, more Catholico.*” It will be observed from the foregoing, which I extract from the letter to Pope Clement, as given in Rishanger's “*Historia Edwardi Regis Primi,*” that the horrible practices referred to were ordained in the statutes and constitutions of the Order. This is a sufficient refutation in itself of the charges; but I may ask further why Philip, who seized the movable goods of the Order, and the persons of its members, did not produce these statutes?

and joining the Hospitallers. A certain scepticism as to the Divinity of our Lord, taught by some among their number, opposition to crowned heads and bishops, seem to have been the reasons for this decision. So much has been said in regard to the Templars that less may now be said respecting any other religious Order, for they form the weakest link in the long and brilliant chain of Catholic associations.

I have connected "Ivanhoe" with "The Talisman" in the remarks just made, and before proceeding to offer a few observations on "The Betrothed," which is entitled a "Tale of the Crusaders," I will complete what I have to say respecting "Ivanhoe." This famous tale, although not of the series referred to, deals with the period in question, and has had a larger circulation than almost any tale, in every European language, and has been profusely illustrated by noted artists. It is a tale great in conception, but faulty in execution. The melodramatic end of Front-de-Bœuf, the resurrection of Athelstane, the impossible feats of Ivanhoe, and the absurd performances of the Prior, Gurth, and Wamba, place "Ivanhoe" below the first rank of Scott's novels. Prior Aymer, of Jorlvaux, is a character from which a Catholic revolts. He is an abandoned, voluptuous debauchee and buffoon in the garb of an ecclesiastic. Scott spares us the disgrace of making him a hypocrite, and all must have noticed that of the many hypocritical characters Scott has so well exposed, not one is a Catholic.* This sad prior appears as the representative of the great Cistercian Order, at a time when that body was in the flower of its zeal and early purity, teeming, one may say, with saints. Fortunately Scott, by putting this miserable monk into the train of Prince John, quenches his existence. John hated the Cistercians for their devotion to his brother, and persecuted them equally with the Jews. They were foremost in raising money for Richard's ransom, and the Emperor offered them back three thousand marks, which their abbots unanimously refused as blood-money. In 1210 A.D. John levelled all the shafts of his anger at the Order, and so plundered and persecuted it, that the monks were reduced to begging their daily bread from door to door.†

The "Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst," a Franciscan, appears in this novel, and is one of the most humorous characters in all

* This statement may appear too sweeping when the characters of Louis XI. and Rashleigh Osbaldistone are recalled; but profound as these are in dissimulation, they are not hypocrites after the canting fashion of, say, Joseph Tomkins in "Woodstock."

† In hoc anno res inaudita contigit, scilicet, monachi Cistercenses et Judaei, necessitate compulsi, hostiatim sibi mendicabant victualia. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. See the same author for further particulars as to Richard's benefactions and John's hatred to the Cistercians.

fiction. He is so great an anachronism, for he is exhibited as flourishing about fifty years before the Order of St. Francis was founded ; he is so evidently an unfrocked priest, and therefore not representative of the Catholic Church, that Catholic readers have long ago pardoned Scott for fathering upon their religion this rogue of a hermit.

Still, before quitting this great historical novel, I am tempted to ask what would our Catholic predecessors have thought of this romance as a picture of them, their times, and their modes of thought?

I leave out of consideration the Jewish persecution, an inevitable corollary of the Crusades, for it would require an article to itself. Scott's delineation of the Jewess, Rebecca, is a faultless picture—beautiful, sympathetic, and dignified.

“The Betrothed,” as a Tale of the Crusaders, is peculiar, for it has nothing to do with any Crusade, the period of the novel being the reign of Henry II., while the scene is Britain, not Palestine. There is evidence of haste and carelessness at the very start, for Giraldus Cambrensis is referred to as being Bishop of St. David's, which he never was ; but much more important for our consideration is the unwarrantable representation of the Pope as being ready to oblige the Prince of Powysland, by granting him a divorce from his lawful wife to enable him to marry Eveline Berenger. The actions of the Sovereign Pontiffs in regard to divorce are written largely in history, and speak for themselves. Divorces *a vinculo* have only been granted in the well-known cases of non-consummation, and where the parties by mutual consent sought the cloister ; but even if history were silent down to the sixteenth century, might we not reasonably conclude that Clement III. would not have granted to Gwenwynwyn of Powysland what Clement VII. refused to the mighty and despotic Henry VIII. of England ?

It must be evident to readers of Scott that there was, beside the feeling that he wrote for a people anti-Catholic to the core, something radically wrong in his conception of Catholicism. He failed, it seems to me, in grasping the principles of the Catholic Church, and hence lost, or never found, the logical sequence which guides her actions from century to century. He is never irreverent, as many foreign authors are, and some of our own, when he has to describe Catholic exercises of piety. His knowledge of these must have been very widely extended ; he misses the right expression, it is true, at times, but his characters talk so naturally of the beads, exorcisms, confession, absolution, and he so well portrays the Catholic anxiety for the last Sacraments, that one is at a loss to say how far Catholic rites and practices had taken hold of his imagination. Especially is his reverence re-

markable when he has to refer to the Mother of God—"the pure and blessed patroness," as, speaking in his own person, he calls her in "The Betrothed." St. Thomas of Canterbury is spoken of very slightly, however, in this novel; and Archbishop Baldwin, though more charitably described, still lacks the Catholic ring. He is not the Baldwin Catholics knew, for the author could not quite grasp the influence of the Catholic spirit, even on men by nature haughty. He describes this prelate, too, as a legate *a latere*; of course, Archbishop Baldwin was, and only could have been, *legatus natus*. Father Aldrovand is a fairly respectable character, so one must conclude that Scott forgot for the moment that he was describing a friar. He, unfortunately, is also an anachronism; he figures as a Dominican while St. Dominic was still a schoolboy, and his famous Order, of course, unheard of.

There is scarcely one of the Waverley novels, I believe not one, without some Catholic character. Even in the least Catholic of these voluminous compositions—"The Heart of Midlothian"—poor Effie Deans, when she reforms, is represented as entering the Catholic Church. It becomes apparent, therefore, that nothing short of large, complete annotations of each volume could do justice to the Catholic theme, if I may so call it, which makes its presence incessantly felt under the hand of this greatest master of romance. I have only examined the stories of the Crusades, and one other of that period, but so inadequately that I can only hope the day will come when an edition of Scott, not expurgated but annotated, will issue from the press of some Catholic publisher. Scott belongs more to us than to any other Christian body; and though the old religion is dwarfed in his pages, still I venture to say that any reader of his works will rise from their perusal knowing more of doctrine and practices, Catholic and Roman, than he will of the Thirty-nine Articles. Except in the case of the poor, persecuted Covenanters, Protestantism seems to have excited no enthusiasm in the breast of Sir Walter Scott. He is always more at home in the shade of Gothic cloisters, with the abbots and the monks and the friars. If he makes the latter more jolly than a Catholic can admit to have been usual, let it be remembered that Scott's temperament was anti-Pharisaical, and a friar who could be a boon companion was none the worse friar in his eyes. He never believed that men worked their salvation out by grimacing at heaven, and pulling long faces. This is very important to remember. Scott loved a sly joke too at the expense of the clergy, of whatever denomination; but he was never bitter. Take the following examples, chosen at random. The first is from the Appendix *

* Called in some editions an "Introductory Epistle," and probably correctly so.

to "The Monastery," where full justice is done to the good Benedictine and the monks of St. Maur:

"Then the gentleman is a scholar, David?"

"I'se uphaud him a scholar," answered David; "he has a black coat on, or a brown ane, at ony rate."

"Is he a clergyman?"

"I am thinking no, for he looked after his horse's supper before he spoke o' his ain," replied mine host.

But although the Benedictine is so happily described in the Appendix, when his predecessors of Kennaquhair figure on the stage, in the text of the novel they receive less respectful treatment, and in "The Abbot" the tendency to jest gets the upper hand, as in the doggerel of Adam Woodcock, where we learn:

The friars of Fail * drank berry-brown ale,
The best that e'er was tasted;
The monks of Melrose made gude kale
On Fridays when they fasted.

I will but give one extract more illustrative of this side of Scott's character, and will take it from the Appendix to "The Monastery" above referred to, but the reader can find many in any of Scott's novels. Mattocks, the sexton, draws the Captain's attention to the Benedictine praying in the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and doubtful he may not have some other purpose than prayer, expresses an intention to watch him, as he could not understand why the monk remained "on his knees amang the cauld stanes."

"I stole back and beheld the old man actually employed as Mattocks had informed me. The language seemed to be Latin, and as the whispered yet solemn accent glided away through the ruined aisles, I could not help reflecting how long it was since they had heard the forms of that religion, for the exercise of which they had been reared at such cost of time, taste, labour and expense. 'Come away, come away,' said I; 'let us leave him to himself, Mattocks, this is no business of ours.'

"My certes, no, Captain," said Mattocks; 'ne'ertheless, it winna be amiss to keep an ee on him. My father, rest his saul, was a horse-couper, and used to say he was never cheated in a naig in

* Whether the "friars of Fail" had their ale so strong as to deserve commemoration, I will not venture to say, but if the allusion goes to indicate much wealth in their possession, it is not justified by the valuation about 1562 A.D. of their possessions. In Gordon's "Monasticon" it may be found, and was: £184 6s. 8d., 3 chalders of bear, 15 of meal, and 4 bolls, 30 stones of cheese, 10 sheep, 3 stirks, and 2 dozen grilse or salmon. I can trace the origin of the "gude kale" of Melrose to the Chronicle of this Abbey, where in an entry under A.D. 1261 "our venerable father Mathew, lord aubot of Melrose," is praised, because "it is through him that we have pittance loaves upon the Fridays during Lent, when we fast on bread and water."

his life, saving by a West-country Whig frae Kilmarnock, that said a grace ower a dram o' whisky. But this gentleman will be a Roman, I'se warrant.'"

The period of Scottish history illustrated by "The Monastery" and "The Abbot" may be taken to embrace about fourteen years from A.D. 1554 to 1568. It was the saddest period for the "Friars of Fail" and the "Monks of Melrose," as well as for the whole Catholic Church in Scotland, to be found in all the eventful annals of that land. "These are not the days of Peter the Hermit," Scott makes Morton remark, "when monks could march armies from England to Jerusalem." And truly they were not. The Lords of the Congregation would have had but short shrift from the stern Crusaders, whose faith appalled the fierce Moslem on his throne, for well the Saracen knew that the lowliest man-at-arms in the mighty Christian hosts, loved better a narrow grave in Palestine than a long life in the lordliest palace of Frangistan.

Friends and foes alike, of the old Scottish Catholic Church, admit that in the period treated of in these novels, very many abuses existed. These have been so ably and impartially exposed in Bellesheim's "History of the Church of Scotland," translated by D. Oswald Hunter Blair, O.S.B., that it is superfluous to here say more on this head. Dr. Bellesheim shows clearly that the system of making men bishops because their fathers were high and titled, not because they were qualified, of commendatory abbacies and the like, brought the first wave of ruin on the stately Scottish Church; the rest was easily done, first by the degenerate nobles, and for the finish, when sank the wreck below the waves of time, by Knox and his Iconoclastic accomplices. A strain of tender melancholy pervades both "The Monastery" and "The Abbot"; it has the solemnity of a requiem combined with sympathetic regret for the fall of the old Church. The public received neither work with real favour, and nothing but the singular fame of the author of *Waverley* could have procured readers in his day for either. The British public could then associate nothing with a monastery but dungeons, stripes, impurities and secret murders; it was therefore startled at finding the worst character to be only the ease-loving, careless and pompous Abbot Boniface. Abbot Eustatius—learned, energetic, pious and ascetic, a frail frame enshrining the spirit of a martyr—was utterly incomprehensible to an age steeped in the waves of that complexity of social errors which flowed in the enormous hollows, sunk deeply into the breast of civilisation by those three volcanic eruptions of error—the pseudo-Reformation, the pseudo-classic Renaissance, and the false glares of that liberty-extinguishing French Revolution. Yet Scott was more historic than ever he was in these two characters; Abbot Boniface, the picture of the indolent ecclesiastic

who hid his pound in a napkin and was condemned even out of his own mouth—type of too many on the eve of the Reformation—and Abbot Eustatius, the champion of the Church drawn on the pattern of Archbishop Hamilton, Bishops Reid or Dunbar, or him whom Scott intended he should represent, the famous and holy Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel. The sympathy of Scott, too, went out to these champions of the old faith, for in the degenerate days in which they lived, they were the bulwarks of patriotism in his own land, who fought to the last, as all their predecessors had done, even to blood at Pinkie, for the independence of old Scotland. When the nobles took the gold of Henry VIII., when preachers plotted murder at his bidding,* the much belied priests held aloft the old Scottish flag, and so they continued to hold it until the day when their queen, in innocence, gave herself and them to the “she-dragon,” who laid low for ever the royalty of Scotland.

Much could be written for which there is no place here on these two novels; many passages are not such as Catholics can accept, but many more gave high offence to their adversaries. One modern critic, in editing these works, attributes their tone to Scott's prejudice in favour of an aristocratic creed. There are blemishes, from the artistic point of view, more especially in “*The Monastery*,” that detracted from their value as literary productions. *The White Lady of Avenel* was considered too fantastic for a serious historical novel, and the public taste was offended by the prominence given to the idiotical coxcomb, Sir Piercie Shafton. There is good ground for both objections. *The White Lady* was evidently suggested by a passage in the “*Chronicle of Melrose*” where it is related that when Adam de Harcarres was Abbot, a monk of the house had a vision of Our Lady “clad in a most beautiful but an exceedingly delicate and seamless garment of the purest white.” Scott unfortunately does not make his lady either saint, angel, or demon, but a whimsical creature, half human, half fairy. The name Avenel occurs in the *Chronicle*, as also does the name Ingeram, which latter may have suggested the patronymic of Abbot Ingelram. In the days when “*The Abbot*” was written the fair fame of Mary Queen of Scots had not been vindicated, as it now happily is, and Scott deserves great credit for his tender and sympathetic presentation of this religious, beautiful, but unfortunate Queen. The cruel fanatic Knox he does not depict, but in Halbert Glendinning may be found many traits recalling Kirkaldy of Grange. The preacher,

* George Wishart was one of the party at whose head were the Earls Cassilis, Glencairn, and Marshall, who conspired with Henry's connivance to assassinate Cardinal Beaton.

Warden, is too subdued to be an accurate type of the fanatical gossellers of that period ; while the half profiles of the treacherous Moray and the murderous Morton reveal but little of their real characters.

The genius of Sir Walter Scott was cast in the anti-revolutionary mould ; he loved the ancient and the grand. He had the power of discerning the noble and the beautiful, and the rarer power still of transforming what he beheld, by the gift of ideality, into pictures of romantic fascination. But because of this very ideality, he was little qualified to produce in its angular precision the bold structure of history ; his fancy raised the plain roof into the soaring fretted vault, the simple tower he winged with buttresses, crowned its lofty brow with battlements, and raised upon its crest the graceful spire that seeks the firmament, leaving earth behind. Hence, in perusing Scott the mind insensibly feels elevated into a purer atmosphere. He possessed a profound knowledge of character, therefore his characters live—if some of them could have never lived elsewhere—in his pages, at least, they do live, and the firmness of his strokes in their delineation have made the creations of the Waverley novels immortal. For Catholics, of whom he has written so much, his works must ever retain a transcending interest, and if he has not always done them justice, they will still gratefully recollect that, like the good genius of a fairy tale, his mighty arm made the first breaches in the magic wall of evil prejudice that shut them away from their fellow-countrymen. He was not a Catholic, but as Moses on Mount Nebo saw with his dying eyes the goodly land he might not enter, so Scott when the end was near, looking on the last religious ceremonies he should ever witness on earth, cast his pleased gaze on the high solemnities of the Catholic Church ; and almost the last words on his lips were the hymns of her noble Latin liturgy. He sleeps, too, with the monks in ivied Dryburgh, and calling to mind our near associations with him in life and in death, it seems fitting we should remember him also, when we remember them—

Lacrymosa dies illa
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus.
Huic ergo parce Deus :
Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem.

THOMAS CANNING.

ART. VII.—EVOLUTION AND DETERMINISM.

The Philosophical Basis of Evolution. By JAMES CROLL, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Edward Stanford.

NOT many months have elapsed since the scientific world mourned the death of James Croll. An able and painstaking student of Nature, an eminent geologist, and a thoughtful philosopher, the author of several works, he made his reputation principally by an "Essay on Climate and Time," in which he attempted to account by astronomical causes for the secular changes of climate that have left their record on the Earth's surface; and though these form no part of our present subject, we may, perhaps, be permitted briefly to indicate their nature. There is a geological phenomenon which has to be accounted for in one way or another, and that is what is commonly termed the glacial period. A large portion of Europe, including at least the northern half of England, was at one time in a condition of climate more nearly resembling that of the Arctic regions than the equable and temperate state of things with which we are now so familiar. Croll's theory depends on certain undoubted astronomical facts, the only question being whether the inference drawn from them is sufficiently well grounded. The Earth moves in an orbit of elliptic form, but the ellipse in which (approximately speaking) it revolves, is subject to variation. The major axis is constant in its length, but it is steadily though slowly shifting its position in space, and moving eastwards, that is, in the same direction that the Earth is moving. The Earth itself also is slowly and gradually changing its position by a kind of reeling motion, which has been compared, not inaptly, to that of a spinning-top, a motion which causes the phenomenon known as the precession of the equinoxes; and these two movements combined have the effect of reversing the Earth's position with respect to the Sun in about 10,000 years; that is to say, instead of the Earth's nearest approach to the Sun taking place, as is now the case, early in January, in the midst of our winter in the northern hemisphere, it took place 10,000 years ago in July, at the height of our summer, and will again do so 10,000 years hence. That means that the northern hemisphere 10,000 years ago had a hotter but shorter summer. The difference between the summer half-year, counting from equinox to equinox, and the winter half is now eight days; and it is to be noted that (whether from this cause or some other) the cold of the Antarctic region is decidedly greater, so it is said, than that of the corresponding region in the north. But here comes the important point urged by Croll.

Owing to the action of the other planets on the Earth, besides the above-mentioned changes in position, there is one more variation—namely, one that affects the shape of the orbit itself. During a long period of years the orbit approaches more and more near to a circle, which, however, it never actually becomes, and then the reversed process commences, and it becomes again gradually more and more eccentric; thus there comes a time—so it has been more than once in past ages, and so it will be in the distant future—when the eccentricity of the orbit attains a maximum, and there may be a difference between the summer and winter half-years, not of a week or so, but nearly of a month. As long as this great eccentricity lasted, and we do not accurately know how many thousand years that was, the northern and southern hemispheres would alternately undergo the cold of a long winter, and that at a distance from the Sun much beyond anything of which the modern inhabitants of our globe have an idea. Then a huge ice-cap would be formed, spreading far down from the pole into the temperate zone, and the Sun, during the short, hot summer would only very partially melt it. There may thus have been several glacial periods in our own hemisphere.

Such was Croll's theory. It was, however, controverted by certain geologists and others, and he wrote another work in reply to them. It is worthy of note that Sir Robert Ball, the Astronomer-Royal for Ireland, at the recent meeting of the British Association, said that Dr. Croll had understated the evidence for his theory through some error in figures, meaning (as we understood him) that the periods of great eccentricity of the earth's orbit were spread over a longer series of thousands of years than Croll had supposed. Sir Robert Ball strongly shares his opinion about the glacial epoch.* We do not ourselves presume to give any opinion on the matter, beyond repeating what we have already hinted, that there must be considerable doubt as to the causes to which we have alluded being of themselves sufficient to account for this mighty ice-cap. Climate depends on various circumstances besides astronomical conditions, such as winds and ocean currents; and many geologists, we think, would tell us that the only glacial period of which we have distinct evidence occurred probably at a more recent date than would be compatible with Croll's theory.

We must now apologise to our readers for having dwelt so much on this topic, our object having been not to discuss a subject irrelevant to our present inquiry, but to show what a high reputation as a man of science the late Dr. Croll enjoyed; so that the

* It is perhaps worth remarking that a considerable discussion is now going on among scientific men on both sides of the Atlantic about the glacial period: we believe that the American geologists are rather opposed to Croll's theory, attributing the phenomenon to certain geographical causes.

work which we are now reviewing, apart from its intrinsic merits, may well deserve attention from the character of its author, who wrote it but a short time before his death—his final bequest to the world of philosophic thought.

The great object of the book is to show that evolution, of whatever kind, cannot be produced merely by matter, motion, and force; but that "the grand principle" of it is "Determinism." The author, however, explains that he does not use this word in the limited sense in which it is frequently employed to designate the doctrine that the human will is always determined by the strongest motive, and is, therefore, not truly free. He also guards himself against being understood to use the word "determination" in its ordinary sense of implying *action* :

Determination [he says], in the sense in which I have used the term, cannot be conceived to be of the nature of any act. It is not the act, but the adjustment of the way in which the act happens. It is not motion, but the particular direction of the motion, or the particular moment when the motion takes place.

He appears, we ought to say, to employ the two words *determinism* and *determination* indifferently. The great object of the author is to show, as against certain physicists, that force cannot determine force, or matter determine matter; but that there must be a determining principle apart from these to adjust the forces and to direct the motion of matter.

Questions such as these cannot be fully discussed without also considering the previous question—What is matter? and again—What is force? Now, in the work before us we have an account of various theories of matter, on which it is not necessary to dwell, and we would refer those readers who are interested in these speculations to the book itself. We may, however, observe that although it is easy to give a popular description of matter by defining it as that which may be cognisable to our senses, yet, as the further question might be asked—What are our senses? it is not at all easy to give a *perfectly* good scientific definition. Professor Tait, in his work on "The Properties of Matter," gives a list of definitions by different writers, including the one "whatever can be perceived by our senses, especially that of touch," no one of which is quite satisfactory. Then as to force, our author does not distinctly define the sense in which he employs the word. Whewell, in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," says: "The two conceptions, Force and Matter, are co-existent and co-relative"; and, "we adopt the term *Force*, and use it to denote that property which is the cause of motion produced, changed, or prevented." Dr. Croll, in the present work, quoting the opinion of Lange, says: "The ideas of matter and force, as applied to Nature, can never be separated."

Further on he adds: "Since, according to Lange, matter, as far as it can be analysed, is resolvable into force, and since that which cannot be resolved remains a *substance*, it is obvious that matter cannot be a determinator, whether viewed as force or substance. For, according to this theory, could we carry our analysis sufficiently far, the substance or matter remaining would become resolved into force." Professor Tait, in the work just alluded to, cautions us that the word Force (which he is often obliged to use) is not a term for anything objective, though "almost all, even of scientific men, still cling to the notion" of its being so. The definition of matter which he himself adopts for convenience sake, and as not being obviously incorrect, is this: "Matter is whatever can occupy space." The word Force is, perhaps, used by modern writers in a wider sense than that given by Whewell. We need scarcely say that we are speaking merely of physical force, and not of what is termed moral force.

To return to our author. His meaning with respect to *determination* will be made more clear by some of his illustrations. For instance, he takes the case of crystals. It is generally believed that the particles or molecules of which they are composed are of a certain definite shape; that they attract one another at certain definite points or along certain definite lines; that they cohere in a fixed and definite manner, and a figure in crystalline form is the result. Force, therefore (supposing the above-given theory to be true), does no more than draw the molecules, and hold them together in the crystalline state. The form of the crystal is not due to the force, but to the original "shape of the constituent molecules, together with the fact that they attract one another at definite points. Consequently that which determined the form of the crystal is not the force, but that something, be it what it may, which is the cause why the molecules have such a shape, and why their attraction is confined to the definite points on the surface of the molecules."

One of the best illustrations Dr. Croll gives is the parallelogram of forces. Some unwise opponent brought forward this well-known theorem as a difficulty for him to answer, and it is obviously a strong instance in his favour. Let it be remembered that here we suppose two forces bearing upon a point to be represented, so far as their magnitude is concerned, by the lengths of two straight lines; and that two other lines being drawn parallel to them, the diagonal of the parallelogram so formed represents the resultant force. Now our author says:

I have been asked—Is not the determination of the resultant force, in magnitude and direction, effected by the magnitude and direction of the components? The reply is: Certainly; the deter-

mination is effected by the *magnitude* and *direction* of the component forces; but this is simply saying that the determination is effected, not by the forces, but by the determination of the forces. *Magnitude* and *direction* are not forces, but certain determinations of forces. Magnitude is the *determined quantity*. Direction is the *determined path* taken by the forces. Consequently it is the determination of the component forces, not the forces themselves, that determine the resultant force.

Or, as we should rather state it, assuming forces of a given magnitude to be acting on a given point, the direction of those forces must be the consequence of some kind of determination, apart from the magnitude of the forces, and the resultant varies accordingly; as, indeed, any one who will take the trouble to draw a number of parallelograms in which the lines shall be always of the same magnitude, but the angles at which they meet different in each case, may ascertain clearly for himself.

Dr. Croll gives other illustrations of his meaning, and says that more might be given. In one place he takes the opportunity of answering Professor Tyndall's well-known objection to prayer for a change of weather, which he says arises from the misleading character of the idea that the forces of Nature are determined by force.

To ask for a change in the weather is, according to him [*i.e.*, Professor Tyndall] to ask for an infringement of the law of conservation, just as truly as it would be were we to pray that water might flow up hill. Now to give us fair weather for foul requires merely a different determination in the forces which now exist; and, unless force is determined by force, no new creation of force, not even an expenditure of force, is required. But, in addition, the objection is as far wrong in physics as in philosophy. All matter under every form is in motion. But no energy or expenditure of power is absolutely necessary to direct or deflect this motion either to the right hand or to the left. All that is required is that the deflecting force should act at right angles to the direction in which the particle of body is moving. Deflection to any amount can thus be produced without work. . . . All the alterations in Nature required to give us a change of weather may thus be brought about without any loss of energy.

We may, however, observe that the objection in question admits of being stated in another shape, more forcible perhaps than that here quoted. It may be urged that the weather depends on the wind, and that the winds are caused by the movements of bodies of air, apparently variable, but really following fixed laws; that to pray for a change in these is in fact to pray for a miracle—and this an ordinary Christian (putting aside the case of great saints and prophets) cannot without presumption do. Thus no one we suppose would venture to pray for the abolition of the trade

winds. The objection in this way stated might be made by a Theist, or even by a believer in Christianity. But we think it arises from an imperfect appreciation of the prescience and omnipotence of God. Whatever the laws may be on which the winds depend, they were ordained by an Omnipotent Being, who foresaw not only the results of these laws, but foresaw also every prayer that would be offered by His creatures as long as the world may last. With God we must remember there is an eternal *present*; the conditions and contingencies accompanying His laws are all known to Him before the laws ever come into operation. Whatever effect human prayer has had in modifying any of His laws, it had it countless ages ago, before Time (as we know it) began. It may however be added that we are not so sure after all that the laws on which the winds depend are fixed in that rigid sense in which (for example) the laws of gravitation are so. And this apparently is what Dr. Croll means in the passage we have quoted above. A somewhat similar answer was given, we believe, in the pages of this REVIEW some twenty years ago by the late Dr. Ward.

As before stated, our author proceeds to discuss the different theories of matter, into which we cannot here enter in detail, but his object is to show that "matter cannot determine matter."

What, then, is *determination* in the sense in which he uses the term?

It cannot [he says] be conceived to be of the nature of any act. It is not the act but the adjustment of the way in which the act happens. It is not motions, but the particular direction of the motion, or the particular moment when the motion takes place. Determination [he adds], by an act, whether it be an act of thought or an act of the will, is just as impossible and as inconceivable as determination by a force. . . . It is just as impossible to conceive the will being determined by an act, or the determination of the will being an act, as to conceive the motion of the cannon-ball being determined by the explosion of the powder. It is difficult to say whether in the physical or the mental world the distinction is of more importance.

He proceeds to explain that since a body cannot move without moving in some direction, but it may do so without moving in any one particular direction, and since there is in most cases an infinite number of ways in which an act may take place—determination (in his sense of the word) is the deciding which of all these possible determinations shall take place; and in the case of motion, which direction amongst the infinite number of directions in which a body can be moved, shall be taken. "The determinations which take place in Nature occur not at random, but according to a plan—an objective idea."

In the formation, say, of the leaf of a tree, no two molecules move in identically the same direction, or take identically the same path. But each molecule must move in relation to the objective idea of the leaf, or no leaf would be formed. The grand question, therefore, is : What is it that selects from among the infinite number of possible directions the proper one in relation to this idea ?

Though determination may be regarded as equivalent to *selection*, yet the latter word implies thought or choice, and he does not think it right to *assume* will or intelligence to be concerned in selection, this being a thing to be proved. Otherwise the word selection would convey the meaning well enough. Dr. Croll goes on to discuss determination in relation to the human will, and maintains that we must not confuse the act of the will with the determination of the act ; this, however, is the part of his work in which we find it most difficult to follow him, and we will recur to it later on.

He speaks with great clearness on causation :

This principle is unquestionably a first truth. . . . It is self-evident. . . . It is *à priori*, and not derived from experience. The principle does not affirm that everything must have had a cause. It simply affirms that everything which *began to be*, or *came to pass*, must have had a cause.

This reads as if it were put in to safeguard the doctrine of an eternal self-existing Being—that is, of God. After touching on the supposed exceptions to the principle of causation brought forward by Kant and by Mill, he comes to the subordinate principle, that “the same cause, acting under the same conditions, will always produce the same effect.” He says this, too, “is a necessary truth, not, however, primitive but derived.” It is plain that the only exception to this that we can imagine arises from human free will, and he does not allow that this is any exception.

“The principle of casuality,” he adds, “is of far greater importance and generality than that of the persistence of force.” This is in reference to opinions advanced by Mr. Herbert Spencer and some of his followers. He takes the First Law of Motion for an illustration, and maintains that it follows as a necessary consequence from the principle of causality :

The persistence of force will guarantee that the motion of the body will remain uniform, but it will not guarantee that it will keep the straight line. The principle of causality, however, guarantees both. . . . The mere *absence* of a cause to turn the body aside will make us more certain that it will keep the straight line, than if it were hemmed in on every side by walls of adamant.

Some of our readers will remember that the First Law of

Motion formed part of the discussion between Mill and Whewell, more than forty years ago, as to whether our knowledge comes entirely by experience, or whether there are certain primary truths which our minds intuitively perceive, and which (though perhaps taught us by our experience in the first instance) are in reality independent of all experience.

Mill denied this to be the fact, even with the geometrical axioms, and particularly with the one which seemed to be selected as a crucial test. "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space;" his great argument being that the mental pictures which we form to convince ourselves of this axiom, are in reality a kind of experience, and may properly be so considered; Whewell, however, remarks that he does "not deny that the activity of the mind by which it perceives objects and events as related according to the laws of space, time, and number, is awakened and developed by being constantly exercised," and he admits that "in this way experience and observation are necessary conditions and pre-requisites of an apprehension of geometrical (and other) axioms. We cannot see the truth of those axioms without some experience, because we cannot see anything, or be human beings, without some experience." He objects to the word *Induction*, as used by Mill, or others, and as applied to the process of mind by which we become convinced of the truth, the necessary and irreversible truth, of these axioms. The question in its various bearings has of course been discussed by other able writers besides the two just mentioned, and readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW cannot forget the powerful articles contributed to it by Dr. Ward during the period of his editorship, on the subject of necessary truths. Now, without going at great length into this matter, we may say that bearing in mind the qualification we have here quoted from Whewell's "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," and which it would be folly to ignore, we think it has been sufficiently shown that the geometrical axioms, and especially the one which states: "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space"—to which may be added certain arithmetical axioms—are not properly said to be inductions from experience, but necessary truths, such indeed as no amount of experiment ever could overthrow or modify. But it is otherwise when we come to consider that great mechanical law, which ever since the time of Newton has been known as the First Law of Motion.

Let us take it as thus stated, "Every body perseveres in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, except so far as it is compelled by forces to change that state." Now we may well admit that, given the law of causation, and given what we know from observation and experience of the laws of matter—it follows as a necessary and inevitable consequence. But, without

observation and experiment on the laws that regulate force and matter, it seems more than doubtful whether we ever could have arrived at it. The old idea that the force which propelled a body acted as a kind of impulse, driving the body on for a time, and gradually dying away—though we now know it to be false—has nothing intrinsically absurd about it. The ancients held it, and indeed it prevailed till the time of Galileo, who we believe was the first that seized the true doctrine on the subject, and that rather as a probable hypothesis than an undoubted truth. What is more, even now a vast multitude of men, including perhaps many well educated men, whose minds have been engrossed by other subjects, as well as others who might know better, are still ignorant of the true law. All experience of terrestrial objects pointed in the direction of the old and fallacious idea to which we have just alluded; everything that was put in motion by any force seemed to stop of itself after a time, and it was by a consideration of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and also by becoming more clearly acquainted with the action of such forces as gravitation, friction, and atmospheric resistance, that men of science acquired a clear conviction of the sound doctrine which teaches us that a body, when once put in motion by a force, continues for an indefinite time in its course, until a fresh force deflects or arrests it. We do not, therefore, think that we can consider the First Law of Motion as a primary or necessary truth, or that we can adopt Dr. Whewell's words when he says: "Though the discovery of the First Law of Motion was made, historically speaking, by means of experiment, we have now attained a point of view in which we see that it might have been certainly known to be true, independently of experience." Nevertheless, with the limitations and conditions already stated, we fully grant that it is certainly deducible from the law of causation. We have been led into something like a digression, but our readers must excuse it, considering the importance and interest attaching to the subject.

We now return to our author, who proceeds to inquire what is the cause of determination? That is, of course, in the sense in which he employs the word. He answers:

The immediate cause of determination is unquestionably the pre-arrangement or pre-adjustment of the antecedent conditions. . . . The state of the universe [again he says] at any moment was inevitably determined by its state the moment before. . . . The evolution of the universe may be regarded as consisting of a double process, the one the production of change or events, the other their determination. The two processes are inseparably connected, for a change cannot possibly take place without, at the same time, taking place in some *determinate* manner.

He devotes two chapters to Mr. Herbert Spencer and his theories.

Evolution consists [he says] of two grand factors (1) mind, matter, motion, and force; and (2) the determination of mind, matter, motion, and force. . . . Of these two, the latter is by far the most important.

Then, as determination is the more important, he calls it the right factor, and mind, matter, &c., the left factor.

The persistence of force is Mr. Spencer's fundamental principle, in fact the very keystone of his system. The universe is supposed by Mr. Spencer to be the conditional manifestation of an absolute power, a power utterly unknowable to us, an unconditional reality without beginning or end. . . . According to Mr. Spencer, all scientific conceptions, such as matter, motion, and force, time and space, rest ultimately on the insoluble. . . . Force he regards as the ultimate of ultimates. Mr. Spencer, it appears, concludes that the law of evolution is deducible from the persistence of force. The factors of this law are transformation and equivalence of forces; motion follows the line of least resistance, and motion is universally rhythmic.

To Dr. Croll, however, it seems that Mr. Spencer has got on an entirely wrong path, and that evolution is the result, not of force, but of the way in which force is *determined*. He says: "It is probable that all the energies and forces of Nature are the same in their essential nature, and differ only in their determinations." He illustrates the transformation of energy by the way in which heat may be evolved from chemical combinations, and mechanical power from heat. "Chemical combination will produce an electric current; the electric current will produce magnetism; and the magnetism will produce motion in a machine; and the machine will generate heat or perform work. Here we have the energy assuming in succession five or six different forms. . . . The difference lies, therefore, not in the force or energy itself, but in its *determination*." Mr. Spencer has urged that, where attractive forces are concerned, movement takes place in the direction of their resultant, which may be called the line of greatest traction. In the case of repulsive forces, motion again takes place in the direction of their resultant, which is usually known as the line of least resistance. And, where both attractive and repulsive forces are at work, motion will be in a direction which is the resultant of the whole. All this is obviously true in mechanics; and it may also be true that organic growth takes place along the lines of least resistance.

But [Dr. Croll asks] what determines the lines of least resistance in relation to the organism? If a tree is to be formed, the lines of least resistance must be all determined and adjusted in

relation to the objective idea of the tree, of the root, of the branches, of the leaves, of the bud, of the fruit, and of every part of the tree. But this is not all; the tree is built up molecule by molecule, each of which requires a special determination; and beyond all this, we have the structureless protoplasm, which must be differentiated according to the objective idea of the whole."

Our author devotes some further space to the consideration of Mr. Herbert Spencer's theories; and those who are interested specially in these will do well to peruse carefully his criticisms on them. We do not propose to dwell on them further ourselves; but we will proceed to the next position of the work, one of the most interesting in fact of the whole—that in which Croll considers "Determinism in relation to Darwinism." He goes so far as to say that "Darwinism is out and out a theory of determination, and in this lies the great secret of its power." We wonder what Darwin would have said if he had heard such a statement made. Dr. Croll, however, takes Mr. Wallace's work on "Darwinism" as giving the fundamental principles of the theory, and his comments on it are well worthy of attention. The theory of Natural Selection rests on two main classes of facts, the first being the enormous increase (in geometrical progression) possessed by all organisms, and the second the occurrence of individual variations, combined with the hereditary transmission of such variations. There is thus a constant struggle for existence, a vast number of organisms dying, and comparatively few living, which variation gives scope for the action of Natural Selection. If, then, by this means we have the existence secured of that variation which is best suited to its environments, and if such variation is hereditary, the consequence results that generation after generation the species will improve, and rise gradually to a higher platform. Now Dr. Croll maintains, granting all this to be true, that Natural Selection is in every case a process of determination.

It *determines* who shall live and who shall die. It *selects* who is fit and who is unfit to undergo the struggle for life. . . . Natural Selection is simply a part of that universal determinism which constitutes, not only evolution, but the whole process of Nature, organic, inorganic, mental, and moral. . . . There are certain fundamental facts or principles belonging to Darwinism which Natural Selection certainly cannot explain, because they are conditions to the existence of Natural Selection itself. . . . The principles to which I refer are (1) the multiplication of the offspring in geometrical progression, (2) the variability of species, and (3) heredity, or the transmission of variations. It would be reasoning in a circle to attempt to account for these by means of Natural Selection. . . . By Natural Selection the best will be picked out and preserved, while the rest will perish in the

struggle. . . . This is all that Natural Selection will do. . . . Nor can it even do this, for there is in reality no actual selection, no actual picking out of the particular forms to be preserved. . . . A mass of organisms are struggling with each other for existence. The greater part of these perish in the struggle, leaving those best fitted for the battle to possess the field. Natural Selection, when thus viewed, is simply the survival of the fittest.

Then, as to variability :

A question of primary importance is this: Is variability indefinite or definite? . . . The opinion now appears to be gaining ground that variability is definite, and is determined in certain directions rather than in others by conditions inherent in that which varies.

And he quotes Professor Huxley's words :

A whale does not tend to vary in the direction of producing feathers, nor a bird in the direction of producing whalebone.

Further on, however, he observes that the preponderance of opinion amongst Darwinians—we suppose he means Natural Selectionists of the pure type—is at present in favour of indefinite variation. Indeed, it seems to us difficult to understand how their system can hold its ground without indefinite variation.

After carefully reviewing the opinions of various naturalists, Mivart, Darwin, Wallace, Lange, and others, Dr. Croll states his own conclusion that "every result of Natural Selection is due to Determinism and Determinism alone." And further that "the personifying of Natural Selection tends to mislead." That Natural Selection is a necessary condition of evolution, but not the efficient cause of it. His argument on this head is most interesting, for he quite admits the fact of evolution, or at least does not dispute it, and his contention is against *Natural Selection* as an efficient cause. If, he argues, it is simply the survival of the fit from the destruction of the unfit, it is obvious that it can produce nothing. It may be a *condition* in the formation of an organ, but, from its very nature, it cannot possibly be a producing *cause*. He states briefly but fairly the case of the Natural Selectionists, but maintains, on the other hand, that at any rate "everything is produced by the inherent powers and forces possessed by the organisms themselves. . . . What Natural Selection does is simply to select the best specimens on which these inherent tendencies may act. . . . To supply the proper materials, by simply destroying the bad, and thus allowing the fittest to survive."

He considers Darwin's theory of the formation of the eye, and shows that although Natural Selection was a *condition*, and even a necessary condition, it could not have been an *efficient* cause,

of the evolution of the eye. Much no doubt was due to favourable variations, but these "must have arisen out of some inherent peculiarities of the individuals who transmitted the variations," or "in some cases to effects resulting from the influence of the environments." Having thus dealt with Natural Selection, Croll proceeds to consider Determinism in relation to theories of life. He divides these theories into two classes, one which supposes the phenomena of life and the changes that take place in organic nature to be the result of purely chemical and physical agencies, the other asserting that there must be something more at work, an agency that does not belong to the domain of chemistry and physics, to which the name of "vital force" has been applied. "In what respect," he asks, "is vital force supposed to differ from other forces? Does the difference exist in the force itself, or in the mode of its operation?" To answer this, he supposes all life on the globe, both animal and vegetable, to be destroyed, and vital force to disappear. If the vital force thus destroyed were to reappear as chemical or physical force, then there would be no difference between it and other forces of Nature; but if it disappeared entirely, which it would do on the supposition of its being an essentially different force from all others—then there would be a violation of the principle of the conservation of energy. We state our author's argument; but we venture to observe that, though the law of conservation of energy is undoubtedly true so far as all our experience of Nature goes, a question might arise whether it would necessarily be so if such a catastrophe occurred as the destruction of all life on the face of the Earth and that from the operation of some sudden cause; how can we be quite sure that the principle will then hold good? However, Croll maintains that the supposed violation of this great principle is opposed to the modern science of energy, and untenable. Vital force, therefore, is chemical force transformed. But it is quite another thing to affirm that all the energies of plants and animals are chemical or physical. He, on the contrary, holds that it is the *determination* of the forces which can alone account for the phenomena of organic nature, and here, indeed, his contention is a most powerful one, and one that we have no difficulty in following. He again calls our attention to the fact that we apply such names as chemical energy, heat, electricity, mechanical energy to the various modes of operation of the self-same energy. And he recurs to an illustration which has already been mentioned, but which we may perhaps be permitted to repeat, because it is such a beautiful and apposite one—namely, the leaf of a tree. He says it

is not moulded by some external agency into its particular shape. It is built up molecule by molecule. The form and structure of the

leaf are the result of the arrangement and disposition of the particles of which it is composed. The thing to be accounted for is not what moves the molecules or particles in its formation, but what guides, directs, or determines the motion of these particles. The leaf could not be formed did not each particle move in the right direction, and stop at the proper time and at the proper place. . . . What determines the motion of each particle along its particular path? The mere motion of the molecules is produced by force; but what directs or determines this force to move each particle along its special path? The mystery lies deeper still. Not only are the paths of the molecules different, but they must all be adjusted in relation to one another, for it is to the proper adjustment of the paths that the form of the leaf is due. . . . Further, the whole tree is built up of molecules, as well as the leaf. The molecules which form the branch must be differently determined from the molecules forming the leaves. . . . Each particle must be determined, not only in relation to the objective idea of the particular leaf or the particular branch to which it belongs, but in relation to the objective idea of the tree. . . . Nor is this all. The molecules must move and adjust themselves in relation to the idea of a tree of a special kind. The molecules forming, say, an oak tree must move in relation to one another in a different way from those forming a beech or a pine. And yet, however diversified may be the motions of the molecules in the different species of trees, nevertheless all must move in relation to the general idea of a tree. . . . Each plant, each animal, has not only its own particular form; it has the form of the species to which it belongs; and not only this, but the form of the genus to which the species belongs; and not only the form of the genus, but the form of the family, order, class, and kingdom to which the genus belongs. . . . The order and unity which the botanist and the comparative anatomist find pervading Nature owe their existence to the order and unity which exist among the determinations of molecular movements.

Again:

In Nature we have a unity of plan pervading the endless diversity that everywhere prevails, simply because the endless and almost infinite diversity of molecular movements takes place according to a unity of plan. . . . Natural Selection never can explain the objective idea in Nature, unless we suppose the selection to be made according to a design or plan. Mr. Darwin has developed a new and most important idea; but his theory can never, from its very nature, explain the mystery of the organic world. There must be a *determining* cause in the background of all natural selection working out the objective idea. But there is not merely a unity of plan to be accounted for, but also a unity of purpose. Things in Nature are not only related to one another in form, but they stand related as means to ends. . . . How, then, is all this order and unity, both of plan and purpose, in molecular motions to be accounted for?

To what has been said above, we would venture to add that the striking symmetry exhibited by the leaves of a tree, as well indeed as the beauty of the great majority of trees themselves, point to a determining cause, beyond the blind forces of Natural Selection.

We must apologise to our readers for making such large quotations verbatim from our author; but we hope that it will be admitted that the importance of the subject justifies us in allowing him to tell his tale in his own words.

He devotes a chapter to the discussion of Molecular Motion in relation to Unity of Plan; or in regard to *Form* of objects. He takes the example of human labour, and points out that the form of a building, for instance, is not merely due to the transport of the molecules and the energy which conveys the materials, but to that which guides and directs the energy. He remarks that we know heat and electricity to be modes of molecular motion, but we do not know with certainty what that mode is in the case of heat, and still less in that of electricity. Though great advance has been made in the study of molecular physics of late years, yet little light has been thrown on the cause of the determination of molecular motion. The advocates of the physical school fancy that at some future day we may be able to explain how organic nature can be built up by the play of the ordinary chemical and physical forces. "This is the cherished hope of modern evolutionists, and of the advocates of the physical theory of life. But it is a mental delusion, a dream which will never be realised. A little consideration might satisfy any one that chemistry and physics will never explain the mystery of Nature." And here, again, we have some words that deserve to be carefully weighed:

If one plant or animal differs from another, or the parent from the child, it is because in the building-up process the determinations of molecular motions were different in the two cases. . . . Here in this region the doctrine of natural selection and the struggle for existence can afford no more light on the matter than the fortuitous concurrence of atoms and the atomical philosophy of the ancients.

But molecular motion has further to be considered in its relation to unity of end or purpose. Croll illustrates this from the egg of a bird; and also from the formation of the human embryo (quoting in this latter instance Professor Mivart) and, after stating some interesting details, he observes that the whole process of development from the germ to the perfectly-formed individual is one of differentiation and determination. "Each cell is formed molecule by molecule." "What determines the molecules to take their proper position?" Natural Selection does not explain it,

for here there is no struggle for existence, no preservation of the fittest by the destruction of the unfit. It certainly, however, secures the continued existence of the fittest, and explains how it is, as a rule, that organisms suit the conditions in which they exist. It is this latter circumstance (he thinks) which has erroneously led to the belief that Darwinism is hostile or fatal to the Design argument.

Thus it is that our author leads us up to the great final problem of Determination in relation to Teleology :

Everything [he remarks] in organic nature is formed according to some definite plan, and is also subservient to some definite end. Whether the plan was designed or the end purposed many dispute ; but no reasonable person will dispute the existence of plan and end. Those plans and ends must, however, be referred to some cause.

Referring then to what has already been said about the molecules that build up organisms, it appears that the special form of the organism results from this particular determination of the molecules ; and that

teleology must follow as a necessary consequence since the special form of the organism stands in the relation of an end or final cause to the determination of its molecules. That something, whatever it may be, which determines molecular motion may be regarded as the Efficient Cause ; and the form according to which the motions are determined, may be called a Final Cause.

He then points out the error of supposing that Darwinism has given the death-blow to the argument from design.

Before natural selection can come into operation, organisms must be produced. If natural selection could form these organisms as well as select them, then it might be argued that this principle was hostile to teleology. But it has been proved that natural selection can do no such thing. . . . The grand, the difficult, and, as yet, unanswered question is this : " What guides the molecule to its proper position in relation to the end it has to serve ? "

It is, however, necessary to notice other arguments besides Natural Selection, which Evolutionists sometimes employ against Teleology : one, and a well-known one, being the great waste and destruction that are continually going on in every department of life, which they think points to the absence of an Intelligent Cause operating according to a wise purpose. This objection, especially as regards the animal kingdom, has been incidentally but ably answered in Wallace's " Darwinism." Croll's answer is this : " What conceivable advantage would be gained by a less abundance of life ? " Such a state of things is in effect no imperfection at all, but, on the contrary, highly advantageous. " If

a field produced no more seed than would simply be sufficient for next year's crop, the earth would soon become a barren wilderness." So, again, with respect to another objection—namely, the imperfectly-formed character of the great mass of organisms. The answer is that this follows as a necessary consequence of the great superabundance of life to which we have just referred; and it is not any real loss or disadvantage, for "it is this comparative imperfection that mainly gives to Nature its endless variety of forms, and imparts to it one of its principal charms." And as to the existence of rudimentary organs, which has been used as an argument against design, it is a presumptive proof in favour of Darwin's theory of natural selection, but no evidence against design; assuming natural selection, rudimentary organs must necessarily sometimes make their appearance, unless specially prevented by other means. After all, are rudimentary organs any great evil? What harm do they do?

The great fact we have before us is, that "in the attainment of ends, unity of plan, form, and process is always observed." When a new end is to be gained, it is almost invariably reached by a simple modification of the old process or plan of operation. "This is exactly what we might *à priori* expect in the action of an intelligent power observing the great law of parsimony." The apparent imperfections in Nature indicate the operation of a perfect intelligence which, in reaching an end, takes all things into consideration, and which acting according to one law, does not violate another.

"Evolution has shown that Nature progresses by imperceptible gradations"; but this ought not to have led men to the abandonment of the great principle of teleology, the foundations of which it rather deepens than widens.

Upon this principle Determinism throws a new light. The state of the universe at the present moment was determined by its antecedent states. We cannot suppose that one determination has resulted from another in an infinite regression without any beginning. . . . Indeed, one can hardly help feeling that many have been led too hastily to adopt the hypothesis of an eternal universe and an infinite series of events through the disinclination to admit the existence of a creative intelligence.

Again :

Our proof of the existence of God undoubtedly rests on the principle of causation. If something now exists, we know from that principle that something must have always existed. . . . Is it God or the Universe? One party holds to the former, and another to the latter view. The theory of an eternal universe is, however, burdened with the absurdity of an eternal succession of events. . . . There is more to be accounted for than eternal existence.

There is a succession of orderly events with a plan and a purpose running through them, and this cannot be explained by mere matter and motion: more is required. The other view is not burdened with the same difficulty. We do not, according to it, require to assume an eternal succession of events. All that we require to assume is an eternal God, infinite in all his attributes. For although we suppose the operations of the Deity to have taken place in time, yet we must assume that these operations were determined from eternity. Eternal matter and eternal force would be impotent to produce the evolution of an orderly universe. The matter and the force must be *determined*. Whence, then, could they have got this determination had there been no God? They could not have obtained it, as has been already indicated, from Natural Selection. Natural Selection cannot produce anything. It must have previously-existing organisms on which to operate. It must be regarded as simply an integral part or link in that succession of events which we are now considering. The whole, natural selection included, may be looked upon as a series or succession of determinations, the one resulting from the other. But this just leads us back to the commencement of the series for the rational grounds of the process, and evidently points to Theism: since eternal matter and motion leave the whole affair in utter darkness and confusion.

There is an appendix to the work, in which the author discusses Determination in relation to Free Will. We do not propose to follow him through the various points here treated; it is, we think, less satisfactory than other parts of his book. He writes as if he had a vein (subdued indeed, but still existing) of Scotch Calvinism in his nature. He denies the self-determining power of the will, but allows that we possess some self-determining power. We suppose that all persons who believe in the Catholic doctrine of Grace will admit that there is some factor in our spiritual and moral nature besides our own will, but will say that it so acts as to leave our will perfectly free. There is obviously a mystery in the whole process, into which mortal man cannot penetrate. And even our author, denying the full freedom of the will to a degree in which we are disposed to think no Catholic would follow him, admits that there is

a difficulty which it seems impossible to remove. How in this case [the supposition that those actions which we regard as free are in some sense predetermined] can responsibility be made to harmonise with the great law of causation? The only answer I can give is that "I cannot tell. It is to me an unsolvable mystery."

We would say one word to the deniers of the freedom of the will—define what you mean by a *motive*; surely a motive is not a physical force bearing down upon you like a gale of wind against which you can hardly stand; it is rather something which you

by your own will *select* to follow. And if this be so, the argument about inevitably following the strongest motives at any moment carries but little weight with it.

To return, however, to the more important part of the work before us. We have, as we have already observed, by means of quotations, which we fear may be considered as unduly long, allowed the author to state his case to our readers in his own language. We are writing in the strict sense of the word a *review* of his book, and not a critical essay. We may, however, be permitted to make a few observations on a subject of such profound interest. If we are to notice minor defects, we may say that there is far too much repetition in the book, giving a superficial reader the idea that it is a series of partly disconnected essays. But the real reason of this is probably that the work was begun at some considerable interval of time before it was finished. This we learn from a remark that the lamented author makes in another work, on "Stellar Evolution," published before that of which we have here been treating, where he alluded to this latter as one commenced but not completed. The repetition of principles and of arguments has at least one advantage, that of impressing more strongly on the mind of the reader the lesson that the writer seeks to teach.

Now, of course, there is nothing new in the endeavour to show that the evolutionary hypothesis, even in its full Darwinian shape, is quite compatible with a belief in God and His controlling Providence; various writers, Catholics and others, have pointed this out, laying stress also on the difficulty that every theory of evolution must have in accounting for the first beginning of organic life on the earth, and perhaps still more for the beginning of *conscious* life. But the present work does more than this, it tends to prove that not only is Theism compatible with the Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection, not merely is it the only satisfactory explanation of one or two difficulties, but that it necessarily underlies the whole system; that it is in fact the one true key that unlocks the arcana of Nature.

We need scarcely remind our readers that there are several schools of opinion among evolutionists; to a certain degree we suppose all biologists are evolutionists; no one we imagine would deny the development of species and varieties, but amongst the more advanced maintainers of the theory there are those, who, while claiming to be the legitimate interpreters of Darwin's doctrine, yet deny that natural selection will explain all biological phenomena, and introduce another factor which they term physiological selection; they fully agree with Darwin in holding that the human race have descended from some species of anthropoid ape (long since extinct), and to this man owes his origin

both of body and mind. We believe Mr. Romanes is the most prominent expositor of this view. There is then the opinion most ably represented by Mr. Alfred Wallace, who seems to hold that Natural Selection will explain almost everything, excepting the mental faculties of man, which he believes to have come from a supernatural source. A third opinion has its best exponent in Professor Mivart, who while fully admitting evolution as a fact, would greatly narrow the field of natural selection and would look to other causes of development to explain the evolutionary process. We do not know that the eminent biologist whom we have mentioned last, has ever given a decided opinion about the descent of the body of man, but he undoubtedly holds in common with Catholics generally that the soul with the higher faculties of the human mind must have been the supernatural gift of God.

We presume that Dr. Croll's work will be received in a different way by these various schools of biological science. The extreme natural selectionists will probably continue to maintain as they have done before that if the variation of organisms is indefinite, as many have supposed, and if time enough be allowed, natural selection may possibly account (they would doubtless say may *certainly* account) for all the phenomena of life. But as we have already seen variation is very probably not indefinite; and as to time, the enormous periods they require, such for instance as 200,000,000 years for the development of organisms, are almost appalling to contemplate. Some serious objections have been raised from an astronomical point of view against the possibility of life having existed on the earth for nearly so long a time; but as there is a difference of opinion about these, we must not press that line of argument too far. Croll himself, in his work on "Stellar Evolution," concludes (mainly on geological grounds) that 90,000,000 years have elapsed since the earth's crust became solid, and so in some sense fit for the existence of organic life. By an estimate taken from the date of the glacial epoch (Croll's favourite theory) the figures appear to come down to 60,000,000 years. This last named estimate, vast as it is, would we imagine not be considered nearly sufficient by the more ardent believers in Natural Selection, but it is not our purpose to discuss this question further; since in the present work Croll admits, at any rate for argument's sake, all the facts of natural selection, and takes his stand as we have seen, on the ground of Determinism.

In conclusion, however, we would submit to men of science the following question on the subject of teleology, that is in fact as to the truth of Theism:—Is not the very idea of Natural Selection, that is the survival of the fittest, based on the supposition of an *orderly Universe*? Let us imagine for a moment a chaotic or semi-chaotic world with everything in the condition of unstable

equilibrium—could we possibly say that the fittest would survive? Might it not be the case, that the higher an organism were in the scale, the more probably it would perish? Our author tells us that Natural Selection conduces to the order and harmony of that succession of events which has constituted the history of the Universe; and this may be quite true, but would Natural Selection operate at all in the way it does if there were not an orderly world in which it could work? The law of gravitation binds together the whole of the visible creation, so far as we know, and together with other laws, some of which we do not know, produces a system of stability instead of chaos, of order rather than confusion. We do not, of course, certainly know what goes on in the distant stars and nebulae, but we have every reason to believe that widely different as their present state may be from that of our own Sun and the planets of our system, they yet obey the same laws and form part of the same orderly universe.

All this points forcibly to the work of an Intelligent Creator, or as our author says, "an Eternal God, infinite in all His attributes." In his interesting book on "Stellar Evolution," he arrives at the same conclusion as in the work before us; and here we feel safe in pronouncing that those who may dissent from his views can scarcely refuse to recognise the philosophical knowledge, the ability, and the power which he has brought to bear upon this his last literary effort.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.



ART. VIII.—THE CULTUS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN AS CONTAINED IN THE SARUM BREVIARY.

IT is somewhat difficult for us, who live in another age and in very different times, to picture to ourselves the dignity and splendour with which the offices of the Church were carried out in this land of ours previous to the great catastrophe, or rather series of catastrophies, which finally ended in severing England from the unity of the Apostolic See. It is hardly to be realised, that barely three hundred and fifty years ago, thousands of voices, throughout the length and breadth of the country, were daily and nightly wont to re-echo the solemn official prayer of the Church, the sevenfold hours, in those vast cathedral and collegiate churches which still form the chief architectural feature of our market towns, and in the vaulted choirs of many an ancient minster or convent chapel, long since transformed into the fair home of some country squire, or whose crumbling ruins, deserted now and silent, save for the feathered songsters who find a welcome shelter in its ivy-mantled towers, lend a melancholy charm to many a spot in rural England. It may be that a like profusion of splendour in the recitation of the Divine Office is nowhere to be found at the present day, for the liturgical lamp now burns but dimly it would seem; the official worship of the Church has long since ceased to be the spiritual daily bread of the great mass of the people, and other forms of devotion have, to a greater or less extent, taken its place.

But at the time of which we speak, things were altogether different. The Englishman of that day was no stranger to the services of his Church; he knew them, and knew them well; so much so, indeed, that it was by no means an uncommon occurrence to hear even rude and unlettered persons interlarding their conversation with scraps of Latin, apt quotations from the Vulgate or from the Fathers, with which they had grown familiar in the services of the Church. For it must be remembered that, apart from the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the recitation of the Canonical Hours was the only form of public prayer known to our forefathers. It was on these two solemn acts of worship, therefore, that they lavished all their care and all their energy; striving not only to render their liturgies, as far as might be, worthy of the Divine end for which they were intended, but also to celebrate their ecclesiastical offices with becoming dignity and reverence. How far they were successful in the first of these endeavours we can judge for ourselves, for

many of the old service books are still extant, and reprints of more than one of them have, of late years, been given to the public.

Like the architecture of the period, the late mediæval liturgies are everywhere encumbered with a profusion, it might almost be said with a superfluity, of ornament; nor are these embellishments always in the best possible taste. Nevertheless, side by side with certain passages which might now be considered trivial and wanting in dignity, and which we could never wish to see reintroduced into the services of the Church, there is an inexhaustible fund of antiphons, sequences, hymns, etc., of surpassing beauty and merit, and from which much valuable material might well be drawn, either for the improvement and enrichment of our own local offices, or for such purposes as Benediction services, May and June Devotions, and so forth.

The various Uses followed in England, while differing from one another considerably in dignity of feasts, were almost identical in the structural form and order of their services; they one and all derived their origin from Rome, and differed from her contemporary liturgy much less than has frequently been supposed. In the details of the various offices, in the number and rank of the festivals observed, in such matters as these, divergencies may be found, but the framework, the construction, the skeleton, so to speak, of the English books is essentially Roman. And if we exclude the Ambrosian and Mozarabic, and perhaps also the monastic liturgies, the above remarks apply with equal force to all the contemporary rites of Western Europe. Dom Guéranger, in his "*Institutions Liturgiques*," cites as a proof of this, and also to show with what tenacity the reformers of our own breviary clung to the time-honoured traditions of the ancient Church of Rome, the fate which afterwards befell more than one venerable liturgy. He tells us how, at the time of the reform of the Roman Breviary by Pope St. Pius V., several French and Italian Churches, who had possessed a rite of their own for upwards of two hundred years, and who were thereby exempted from conforming to Roman use, did not choose to avail themselves of the privilege, but at once adopted the reform of St. Pius, contenting themselves with merely adding supplements for their own peculiar offices. For when the old service-books came to be revised, and the accretions of centuries to be cut away, it was found they so nearly resembled the new Roman Breviary that it was not considered worth while to go to the expense of reprinting them. And he tells us furthermore, that such revised editions of the old French liturgies as were actually issued by some of the more wealthy or conservative chapters, turned out to be so near akin to the restored Roman Breviary that, at the time of which we write,

though of course this was very far from being the case later on, almost all France may be said to have practically followed the Use of Rome. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that the old Gallican Rite had been entirely superseded nearly seven centuries before, though possibly some traces of it may have found their way into the Franco-Roman books which succeeded it.

Of all English breviaries the most celebrated, perhaps, was that according to the Use of "the illustrious Church of Salisbury," and it is of this work, or rather of a very small part of it—namely, some of those portions which relate to the cultus of Our Lady, that we would treat in the following pages. But first of all, it might be well, in order to clear the ground, to point out in what manner the Sarum festal office differs, so far as concerns structural character, from the modern Roman Use.

And here, be it observed, that the differences between the Sarum Breviary and our own, are not necessarily characteristic of England, similar variations are to be met with in comparing our modern Roman Breviary with the Roman Breviaries used in mediæval times, or indeed with any other mediæval service book.

To begin, then, with Vespers. The Psalms were sometimes said, as with us, each under its own antiphon, but at others, all under one antiphon. After the Little Chapter comes a responsory, similar to those which follow the lessons at Matins, and to this was occasionally added a sequence or prose, sometimes in place of, sometimes in addition to, the ordinary hymn. The variations at Compline are more considerable. The office was not preceded by prayers, as is ours, but after a Pater and Ave began at once with the *Ÿ* *Converte nos Deus Salutaris noster*; the Little Chapter followed immediately after the Psalms, the short responsory was wholly omitted, and the "preces" after the "*Nunc dimittis*" were said daily, even on double festivals, except from Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday and on All Souls Day.

There are but two points in which the Sarum Matins differed from those of Rome. The prayers "*Exaudi Domine*" "*Ipsius pietatis*" and "*A vinculis peccatorum*," which with us precede the Benedictions, are altogether omitted, and a ninth responsory is almost always inserted between the last lesson and the *Te Deum*. True, a rubric of the Great Breviary, printed by Claude Chevallon, in 1531, directs that an Ave Maria should be said after the Pater-noster, which at the Nocturns precedes the Benedictions, but as this is the only edition of the Sarum Breviary in which the direction is to be found, it is more than likely that the words, "*et Ave Maria*" were added to the rubric in error.*

* See reprint of Sarum Breviary issued by the Cambridge University Press. Vol. iii. appendix i, p. xxx.

The office of Lauds differed in no way from our own, but a variable *Ÿ* and *R* was prefixed to the opening sentences "Deus in adjutorium," &c. The Athanasian Creed was said daily at Prime except only on Maundy Thursday and on the days which follow till the end of Easter week; the preces, which were somewhat longer than ours, were also said daily, except from Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday, and on All Souls Day; and on certain feasts of Our Lady a lesson was added.

Tierce, Sext and None differed in no way structurally from the Roman Rite.

The above remarks do not apply to details, but only to the general structure of the offices, nevertheless it is worthy of note that the arrangement of the Sarum Psalter is almost identical with that of our own, and that in the sequence of the festal Psalms also, there is a very marked similarity.

The number of festivals in honour of the Blessed Virgin set down for observance in the Sarum Kalendar is seven. The Assumption, August 15; the Purification, February 2; the Visitation, July 2; the Nativity, September 8; the Annunciation, March 25; the Conception, December 8; and the Feast of Our Lady of Snow, August 5. To these was added later on, probably early in the sixteenth century, the Festival of the Presentation. This office is not found incorporated in the Proprium Sanctorum along with the other festal offices, but appears in the Great Breviary of 1531 after the Commune Sanctorum, together with several "commemorations," as they were called, or votive offices. It is preceded by the following curious note, from which it would seem that the observance of the Festival of the Presentation owes its origin to Francis I. of France:

In festo Presentationis Virginis Mariæ [hoc est die Novembris XXI. secundum Enchiridion Sarum 1530].

Nota quod dominus rex Franciæ facit quolibet anno celebrari in præsentia sua istam solemnitatem, et misit cuilibet magnarum ecclesiarum regni sui officium integrum, ut divulgaretur, et publicaretur, ac solennizaretur per totum suum regnum.

Misitque idem dominus rex prædictum officium domino Imperatori: qui cum magno gaudio illud recepit et fecit et faciet ut promisit quolibet anno celebrari et ubique publicari. Insuper idem dominus rex misit prædictum officium reginæ antiquæ Hungariæ: quæ valde honorifice illud recepit et solennizari fecit, et mandavit per totum regnum Hungariæ prædictum festum quolibet anno debere celebrari.*

* On the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (that is on the 21st of November, according to the Salisbury Enchiridion (Primer) 1530).

Note that the Lord King of France ordained that this festival should be annually celebrated in his presence, and that he sent a copy of the office with which it should be solemnised to each of the principal churches in his domains,

In addition to all these festivals, on one day in each week, if possible Saturday, if not, on any other vacant day, a votive office of Our Lady was appointed to be said, much in the same way as the Roman Breviary ordains the recitation of the "Officium B. Mariæ in Sabbato." The Little Office also was frequently recited, and it was so arranged that daily throughout the whole year some Matins and Vespers of the Blessed Virgin should be said, either in choir or out of choir; that is to say, that on all those days which were not festivals of Our Lady, or on which her votive office was not recited, Matins and Vespers of the "Little Office" should be said, in addition to the ordinary office of the day.

Of all the old English feasts in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the Assumption was that which was held in the greatest veneration, if we may judge from the fact that it alone was observed as a "Principal Double," the equivalent to our Double of the First Class. We shall consider it, therefore, somewhat more fully than the other festivals of Our Lady, notwithstanding that the offices with which several of them were celebrated are possibly more attractive.

We propose, however, to give, as it were, a rough outline of all, taking each service in turn, and calling attention in passing to some of the more salient features. A few details common to all the offices of the Blessed Virgin are also set down under this service; they will readily be perceived as we progress.*

Although the Festival of the Assumption held the same relative order of precedence as it does to-day, being observed as a first-class feast with an octave, the office with which it was celebrated differed very considerably from our own. The variable portions, indeed, which are exactly identical, can be set forth in a very few words.

At first Vespers, we have the Little Chapter, and the *Ÿ* and *℞* after the hymn; at second Vespers, the Little Chapter, the *Ÿ* and *℞*, and the antiphon to the Magnificat; at the Little Hours,

to the end that it might thereby be published and become widely known, and that thus the feast might be observed everywhere throughout his realm.

The same Lord King likewise sent the aforesaid office to the Lord Emperor; who gladly received it, and appointed the general observance thereof in all his dominions.

Moreover, the same Lord King likewise sent the aforesaid office to the Queen of Hungary, who received it with great honour, and commanded that the Feast of the Visitation should be annually kept throughout her whole kingdom.

* It may be well to note here that all Latin quotations are taken from the Cambridge University Press Edition of the Sarum Breviary, in which the quaint mediæval spelling of the Great Breviary of 1531 is almost invariably followed.

the antiphons and the Chapter at Tierce ; and at Matins, the Invitatory, the Hymn, the Psalms, the Gospel which forms the subject of the Homilies, and the 1st, the 2nd, the 4th, the 5th, and part of the 8th Responsories ; but the order in which they come is not quite the same as with us, the 2nd and 5th Sarum, being respectively the 3rd and 2nd, according to Roman Use. Lauds, on the other hand, with the exception of the collect and the *Y* and *R* after the hymn, is entirely Roman. The reading of the first part of the fourth antiphon, however, is somewhat different to ours, and the meaning is thereby strangely changed.

Instead of *Benedicta filia tu a Domino*,

O daughter, blessed art thou of the Lord,

We have *Benedicta a filio tuo Domina*,

O Lady, blessed of thy Son.

At the Vespers of the Vigil the Psalms are the ordinary Psalms which Sarum appoints to be said on the Eves of all great festivals—viz.:

1. Ps. 112. Laudate pueri Dominum.
2. „ 116. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.
3. „ 145. Lauda anima.
4. „ 146. Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus.
5. „ 147. Lauda Jerusalem.

The antiphons—for each Psalm was said under its own antiphon—are taken for the most part from the Canticle of Canticles. Though some of them are excessively long, they are nevertheless most happily arranged and of considerable beauty. Let the first serve as an example of the rest :

Thou art all fair, O my love, and there is no spot in thee ; thy lips are as a dropping honeycomb, honey and milk are under thy tongue, and the sweet smell of thine ointments is better than all aromatical spices : for the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers have appeared, the blossoming vines yield a sweet smell, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. Arise, make haste, O my love ! Come from Libanus, come and be crowned.

Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te : favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua tua, odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata : jam enim hyems transiit, ymber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt, vineæ florentes odorem dederunt, et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra.

Surge, propra, amica mea, veni de Libano, veni coronaberis.”

The responsorium after the Little Chapter is the same which follows the sixth lesson at Matins, and the collect is identical with that which the Roman Breviary sets down for use at Prime

(extra Adventum), in the Little Office of Our Lady : "Deus qui virginalem aulam," &c.

The hymn, by an unknown author, and of somewhat unusual metre, each strophe being made up of four similar verses, of one syllable less than an Asclepiad, and, like the Asclepiad, receiving the metrical accent on the third, the seventh, and the tenth syllable, and the cæsura after the sixth, is of great beauty. It was not peculiar to England, but was very generally sung almost everywhere in mediæval times. We give it *in extenso*. The chant has been transcribed by Dom Pothier, and is to be found in his "Mélodies Grégoriennes."

O quam glorifica luce choruscas,
Stirpis Daviticæ regia proles :
Sublimis residens, virgo Maria,
Supra cæligenas ætheris omnes.

Tu cum virgineo mater honore :
Angelorum Domino pectoris aulam
Sacris visceribus casta parasti :
Natus hinc Deus est corpore Christus.

Quem cunctus venerans orbis adorat :
Cui nunc rite genu flectitur omne,
A quo nos petimus te veniente
Abjectis tenebris gaudia lucis.

Hoc largire Pater luminis omnis :
Natum per proprium Flamine Sancto :
Qui tecum nitida vivit in æthra :
Regnans ac moderans secula cuncta.

AMEN.*

* The following translation, though only approximate, will, I hope, give the general reader some idea of the original:—

O with what radiant light dost thou glister,
Paling the stars in thy course through the heavens,
Royal descendant of prophets and princes,
Mother, with virginal honour resplendent.

Lo! for Christ Jesus, the Lord of the Angels,
A shrine thou preparest so holy and pure, that
From thee He takes flesh to ransom His people,
Mary thou Virgin who givest Salvation.

He, whom the whole earth duly adoreth,
To whom the Universe offereth homage,
From whom we seek, through thine intercession,
Light after darkness, the glad light of Heaven.

Hear us, O Father of Lights, we beseech Thee,
For Jesus Christ's sake, Thy Son, our Redeemer,
Who with the Paraclete, and with Thee, Father,
Liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. AMEN.

Although, as we have already mentioned, the Sarum office of Compline was very similar in structure to our own, the antiphons, hymns, &c., were not, as with us, always the same, but varied very considerably according to the season or festival, as the case might be. The Great Breviary of 1531 sets down no less than twenty-two different methods of saying Compline, and gives as many as seven different Compline hymns—viz.: “Te lucis ante terminum,” “Salvator Mundi Domine,” “Christe qui lux es et dies,” “Cultor Dei memento,” “Jesu Salvator seculi,” “Jesu Nostra Redemptio,” and “Alma chorus Domini, nunc pangat nomina summi.” This last is more properly speaking a sequence than a hymn; it was appointed to be said on Whit Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. The following extract from the Sarum Breviary gives the proper office for the festival which we are now considering :

COMPL. XXI.

In Visitatione et Assumptione ejusdem (B. Mariæ) ad Completorium super Ps. Ant Sancta Maria Virgo, intercede pro toto mundo, quia genuisti Regem orbis. Ps. cum invocarem (p. 222) Cap. Tu in nobis. Hymnus Salvator. V. Custodi.

Ant Glorificamus te Dei genitrix, quia ex te natus est Christus : salva omnes qui te glorificant. Ps. Nunc dimittis.

The hymn “Salvator mundi Domine” was not especially reserved for feasts of Our Lady. Our space being limited, therefore we refrain from giving it here, and proceed forthwith to Matins. All the antiphons at this office are taken from the Canticle of Canticles, and are arranged with no little skill and appropriateness. They are conceived in much the same spirit as the antiphons at Vespers, but are considerably shorter.

The Sarum Breviary, like the Dominican, contains special lectional Benedictions for feasts of Our Lady. There are two sets, the first to be said, the rubric directs, “in festis et commemorationibus Beatæ Mariæ per totum annum;” the second, “cum fit servitium de ea infra octavas tantum.” These Benedictions are rhyming couplets, similar in character to our own. There is a certain quaint beauty about some of them.

Quæ peperit florem :
Det nobis floris odorem.

for example, or again,

Stella Maria maris
Succurre piissima nobis.

None of the lessons are taken from Scripture. The first six are attributed to St. Jerome, and are certainly to be found among his works. They are, however, believed to be from the pen of

Sophronius.* The last three, forming the homily on the Gospel for the day, are by the Venerable Bede.

It may be convenient to mention here, while we are on the subject of lessons, that a further lengthy portion of the above-mentioned epistle of Sophronius (?) was directed also to be read at Prime. "*Ista sequens lectio,*" runs the rubric, "*legatur ad Primam in capitulo : et sic fiat quotidie per Octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ tantum.*"

As for the responsories, the first, the second, the fourth, the fifth, and part of the eighth, as we have already seen, are still to be found in the Roman office. Of the remainder, the seventh and the third are arranged from the Canticle of Canticles, the ninth, "*Felix namque es,*" is identical with the last responsory of our Little Office (extra Adventum), and the sixth is an adaptation of the passage from Wisdom vii. 10, "*Super salutem*" &c. The opening sentences at Lauds before the "*Deus in adjutorium*" are the same as the *Ÿ* and *R* which we sing after the hymn, "*Exaltata es Sancta Dei Genitrix,*" &c. These are not again repeated, however, but another *Ÿ* and *R* is substituted in their place, "*Elegit eam Deus et prælegit eam, et habitare eam fecit in tabernaculo suo.*"

The following collect was said, not only at Lauds, but also at the Little Hours and at second Vespers. It is the same as that which the Dominicans still use on the Feast of the Assumption.

ORATIO.

Veneranda nobis, Domine, hujus diei festivitas opem conferat sempiternam : in qua sancta Dei genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, quæ Filium tuum Dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum. Qui tecum vivit.†

Of the Little Hours, the short responsories and the chapters at Sext and None alone remain to be described. The latter are formed from that portion of the passage from Ecclesiasticus which we read at Sext, divided into two parts; while the former are not proper to the festival as ours are, but made up, for the most part, of various short sentences still to be

* See Cambridge University Press edition of Sarum Breviary, vol. iii. p. 687, note.

† COLLECT.

Grant, we beseech Thee, merciful Lord, that the adorable solemnity of this day, on which Mary the Holy Mother of God, who brought forth Thy Son, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, underwent the pains of death, and yet nevertheless could not be bound by its fetters, may confer on us Thy continual succour, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

found scattered up and down the Roman Breviary, such as "Post partum Virgo inviolata," &c., "Speciosa facta es," &c., "Elegit eam Deus," &c., and so forth. The office of second Vespers is far more interesting. The Psalms, the same which we use on Christmas Day, were all said under one antiphon, the first of Lauds. The responsorium which follows the Little Chapter is in part an adaptation from the Canticle of Canticles, and is made up of four verses, three hexameters and a pentameter.

R. Candida Virginitas paradisi cara colonis.
Ortus conclusus, florenti cæspite vernans.
Cui merito mundus celebrat Præconia totus.

Ÿ. Quæ meruit Dominum progenerare suum.
Cui merito, &c.
Gloria Patri, &c.
Præconia, &c.

In place of a hymn we have the following beautiful sequence, said to have been written by Saint Bernard. The ancient melody to which it was sung, was at one time popular all over Europe, a transcription of it from the "Salisbury Gradual" has been published by Messrs. Novello & Co. in Helmore's "Hymnal Noted."

Lætabundus exultet fidelis chorus Alleluya.
Regem regum intactæ profudit thorax res miranda.
Angelus consilii natus est de Virgine, sol de stella.
Sol occasum nesciens, stella semper rutilans, semper clara.
Sicut sydus radium, profert virgo filium pari forma.
Neque sydus radio, neque mater Filio fit corrupta.
Cedrus alta Lybani conformatur ysopo valle nostra.
Verbum ens Altissimi corporari passus est carne sumpta.
Esayas cecinet, synogoga meminit: nunquam tamen desinit esse
cæca.
Si non suis vatibus credat vel gentilibus, sibilinis versibus hæc
prædicta.

Infelix propera.
Crede vel vetera.
Cur damnaberis gens misera?
Quem docet litera.
Natum considera.
Ipsam genuit puerpera. AMEN.*

* The following beautiful translation, by the late Dr. Neale, is inserted by the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Novello Ewer & Co.

HYMN.

Full of gladness, let our faithful choir be singing, Alleluia,
Monarch's Monarch. From unspotted maiden springing: Alleluia,

We next come to the Feast of the Visitation, observed on July 2; it ranked as a Sarum Greater Double, which corresponds to the Roman Double of the second class, and was kept with an octave. This feast was first instituted by St. Bonaventure, and extended to the whole Church by Urban VI. in 1389.* It seems, however, to have taken nearly a century to reach England, for it was not till 1480 that the Archbishop of Canterbury received from the Prolocutor a proposal to order the observance of VI. Non. Julii as a fixed feast of the Visitation, "sub more duplicis festi secundum usum Sarum. Cum pleno servitio" (Wilkin's "Concilia," iii. 613.) †

The Sarum Breviary contains, in the second and third lessons of the day, a curious account of the reasons which induced Urban to institute this festival, and of the indulgences which he granted to those who duly observed it. The Church was in the very throes of that great Western schism, which, beginning in 1378, was not healed till 1417. Cardinal Robert, Count of Geneva, whom eleven years previously the French party in the Sacred College had set up as Pope, in opposition to Urban, and who had assumed the title of Clement VIII., had succeeded in obtaining the obedience not only of France, but also of Naples, Savoy, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Scotland, and Lorraine. Then it was that the true Vicar of Christ turned his eyes towards the Virgin Mother of God, and in order to obtain her intercession against that "pestilent virus of schism," by which "the unity of the Church Militant was being rent asunder," promulgated the general observance of the Festival of the Visitation.

Speravit idem pontifex (nec falli potuit) quod contra virus pestiferum scismatis introducti, quo Christianæ plebis communio

Him the Holy Virgin bore, wonderful and counsellor, sun from star had spring;
 Sun that never knoweth night; star for ever shining bright, ever glittering.
 As a star a ray most fair, thus the Virgin also bare, like in form, the child;
 Nor the star by that its ray, nor the Virgin any way by the birth defiled.
 Now conforms the cedar tall to the hyssop of the wall in our vale of tears;
 He, God's Word and Essence, came to assume our mortal frame, and with man
 appears.

Though Isaiah had foreshown, though the Synagogue had known, yet the
 truth she will not own, still remaining blind,
 If she do her prophets wrong, if she will not hear their throng, still she may
 in Gentile song, seek the deed, and find.

Turn Judæa and repent, credit thine Old Testament; why upon destruction
 bent, miserable race!

Whom its oracles foretold, born to save the world, behold; Him a Virgin's
 arms enfold, full of truth and grace. Amen.

* See Alzog's "Universal Church History," vol. iii. p. 155.

† See Cambridge University Press edition of Sarum Breviary. Vol. iii.
 appendix ii. page lii. note a.

dissoluta est et ecclesiæ militantis unitas rumpebatur, acceptior mediatrix apud Deum esse nequivit quam ipsa quæ Deum genuit : ut dum festum visitationis ejus a clero et populo devotis celebratur officiis dignetur ejus pietatis congrua prece afferre remedia statum ecclesiæ reconciliando in fide et gratia salutari.

Ut autem devotius et attentius ad idem festum celebrandum invitaretur plebs fidelis, præfatus pontifex Romanus auctoritate apostolica statuit diem solemnitatis sexto Nonas Julii per singulos annos celebrandum, concedens piis hujus festi cultoribus speciales indulgentias perpetuis temporibus duraturas.

Unde omnibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis qui Matutinali officio, seu Missæ, aut Vesperis ejusdem festivitatis in ecclesia præsentés affuerint : centum dies.

Eis vero qui Primæ, Tertię, Sextæ, Nonæ ac Completorii, officiis interfuerint : pro qualibet ipsarum Horarum quadriginta dies.

Illis autem qui per Octavas ejusdem Matutinalibus, Missæ, Vesperarum, ac prædictarum Horarum officiis interessent : singulis diebus centum dies de injunctis sibi pœnitentiis misericorditer relaxavit.*

The office with which Sarum celebrated this feast, if we except the Psalms, the Gospel, and one or two versicles, is totally different from that which we use to-day. The antiphons are all rhyming couplets, and some of them are replete with mystic beauty. Take, for example, the second at first Vespers, where Our Lady is spoken of as "the sweet-scented lily of the valley, bearing a heavenly blossom," and as "making lovely the track across the mountains."

Lilium convalium fragrans in odorem,
Iter ornat montium ferens cœli florem.

* The same Pontiff (that is Urban) was of opinion that against the noxious poison of schism, by which the Communion of Christian peoples was being dissolved, and the unity of the Church broken, there could be no more acceptable mediatrix with God, than she who had herself brought forth God ; he, therefore, had great hope that, moved by her prayers, the Lord would be pleased to put an end to the ills by which his Church was afflicted.

Moreover, in order that the faithful might be incited the more devoutly and attentively to celebrate that feast (the Presentation) the aforesaid Roman Pontiff by his Apostolic authority ordained that it should be kept every year on the 2nd of July, and granted to all those who piously observed the same, special indulgences, available in perpetuity.

Namely, to all those, who having confessed their sins, and being truly contrite, should be present in Church on the day of the Feast at Matins or Mass, or Vespers, a hundred days.

To those who should be present at Prime, Tierce, Sext, None and Compline, for each of those hours, forty days.

And for all those who throughout the whole octave should be present at Matins, Mass, and Vespers, as well as at the offices of the aforesaid hours on each of those days, he mercifully relaxed a hundred days of the penances enjoined to them.

Or the following, which tells us how "Paradise bestowed the heavenly fruit, which filled the unborn babe with joy."

Paradisus cœlicum fructum efferebat,
Gravidæ qui puerum gaudio replebat.

Or again the fourth : "The Lord kindled the lamp of true light, whereby He found and delivered the groat which we had lost."

Lucernam veri luminis Dominus accendit,
Quo dragmam nostram perditam salvans apprehendit.

Take again the fifth antiphon at Matins. Here we are told that Mary is the tabernacle of God, which He Himself hath made holy, from whence He hath drawn the river of life which giveth drink to all nations.

Dei tabernaculum quod ipse sacrauit :
Ex te vitæ fluvium cunctis derivavit.

Or the first at Lauds, in which allusion is again made to the journey "into the hill country":—"The dawn of grace breaketh o'er the mountains, shining with the light of heavenly glory, bringing to the righteous the Sun of righteousness, and a day of new found joy."

Scandit montes aurora gratiæ
Luce fulgens cœlestis gloriæ,
Justis ferens solem justitiæ
Diem monstrat novæ leticiæ.

The "Responsoria" are likewise very beautiful, and they too, are all conceived in rhyming verse. The second at Matins, which is also said at first Vespers, is typical of the rest. In this exquisite little mystic poem we are told how, filled with the prophetic spirit of Elias of old, the unborn precursor of the Saviour, recognising the presence of his God, leapt for joy, and how St. Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost, was made the partaker of his marvellous prophecy. Here the theme is, as it were, interrupted by an ecstatic outburst of admiration, borrowed from the rich Oriental imagery of the Canticle of Canticles, a triumphant act of faith, so to speak, in the power of the Virgin Mother of God : "The approach of Mary is flowing down with heavenly delights." Then, by way of assent, "Yea, it was through Mary, the ark of God, that the Lord blessed the house of Zachariah, and for this we give glory to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for doth not heaven ever rain down blessings at the Visitation of Mary !

R Exultat infans gaudiis
In spiritu Helyæ :

Cujus mater mirabilis
Fit compos prophetiæ.
Cœli manat deliciis
Introitus Mariæ.
Propter archam Domini
Benedixit domui
Deus Zachariæ.
Cœli manat deliciis
Introitus Mariæ. Gloria Patri, &c.
Cœli manat, &c.

There are three proper hymns to this office. It is not certain to whom they are to be ascribed, but all of them are of great beauty; their length, however, debars us from giving them *in extenso*. The first, that sung at Vespers, is written in a trochaic metre, similar to that of the "Pange lingua," and is composed of six strophes, each in their turn made up of six verses.

The poem begins by calling on the faithful to celebrate the festival of their "Glorious Mother," to implore her intercession:

Festum matris gloriosæ
Plebs sancta concelebrat,
Pietates viscerosæ
Gratiam expostulet,
Quam cognata copiose
Sensit hic Elizabeth.

And goes on to tell of the meeting of Our Lady and St. Elizabeth, in that concise and pithy language so characteristic of mediæval hymnody. The second Elias, yet unborn—he who afterwards described himself as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness"—is for our poet "the voice which speaketh not," the silent voice; and two lines suffice to tell the story of his sanctification:

Vox non loquens exultavit
Ad verbi præsentiam:
Lo! the speechless Voice exulted
At the presence of the Word:

The hymn concludes with a prayer to the Triune God, to Him who is almighty and all merciful, and reigneth for ever and ever, that through Mary's prayers, He would vouchsafe continually to protect and guard His people, that, having thus safely passed through the troubles and trials of this life, they may finally attain the eternal felicity of the next. The hymn at Matins is conceived in the same strain. The poet again directs our gaze to the Virgin Mother of God. "See!" he cries, "the world's salvation coming forth with her heavenly burthen; guileless in gait, pure in heart, arrayed in dazzling beauty."

He gathers together some of the types by which Our Lady is represented in the Old Testament. She is the burning bush which was not consumed, the rod of Aaron, the fleece of Gideon, the valiant woman whose children shall rise up and call her blessed, for hath she not crushed the dragon's head?

After making mention of various others, he thus continues :

Sic in mundo præter morem
Notum fecit Dominus,
Castis mater Conditorem
Circumdat visceribus :
Terra gignit Salvatorem
Nubibus pluentibus.

He then sings of the wondrous charity which induced the expectant Mother to take that journey into the hill country to visit St. Elizabeth, and of the blessing which she brought on the home of Zachariah, and finally concludes with a doxology.

The hymn at Lauds is written in Sapphic verse, and is, in its way, no less beautiful than the two former. The poet begins by invoking that "bright and guiding ocean star which brought forth the Sun of Righteousness."

O salutaris fulgens stella maris,
Generans prolem veritatis solem
Mater bonorum clemens famulorum
Suscipe votum.

"We fain," he continues, "would raise our feeble voices to hymn thy joy and honour, thou rose of the morning, whom charity constraineth to fill the mountain passes with thy fragrance; but what tongue of mortal man can hope to tell of all thy glory?"

He then again betakes himself to intercession; "O most mighty Queen," he cries out, "from thy lofty throne in Heaven, bend down thine ear to the voice of Rachel weeping for her children, and harken to her supplication;" and goes on:

O mediatrix, orbis reparatrix,
Laus angelorum, salus infirmorum,
Flos feminarum, hostem animarum
Reprime sævum,

and brings the poem to a close with a doxology.

The Festival of the Purification was also observed as a greater double (Sarum). In many respects the office greatly resembles our own. The first four antiphons, the Little Chapter, the *Y* and *B* after the hymn, and the collect at first Vespers, the Invitatorium, the hymn, the Psalms, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th responsories

at Matins, the 1st and 3rd antiphon, the chapter, the hymn, the *Ÿ* and *R* afterwards, and the collect at Lauds, and, finally, the antiphons and collects at the Little Hours, which of course were taken from Lauds, are all identical with those which we still use.

Nor does the similarity end here. The seventh responsory at Matins is our sixth in an abbreviated form, while the *R* of the eighth is the same as the *R* of our seventh. The *Ÿ* however, which follows it, is different and well worthy of notice, "*Symeon in manibus infirmitatem, accepit: sed majestatem intus agnovit et dixit. Tu es vere,*" &c. The fourth and part of the fifth lessons are taken from that portion of St. Ambrose's commentary on the gospel for the day, which forms our seventh and ninth lessons. The antiphon to the Benedictus is the same which we say at first Vespers at the Magnificat; while the single antiphon, under which all the Psalms are said at second Vespers, is identical with our first antiphon, and the antiphon at the Magnificat is the same as that which we say at the Benedictus. The rest of the office is altogether different from ours. The antiphons at Matins form a sort of amplification or commentary on some verse or verses of their Psalms, and some of them are very happily conceived. Take, for instance, the second, on the words "*Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei in sole posuit tabernaculum suum,*" &c.

*Cœli reginam Maria te jure fatemur;
Ex cujus thalamo processit justitiæ sol.*

Or the fourth, on the Psalm "*Eructavit cor meum,*" where the antiphon takes the form of a salutation addressed to the Mother of God. "*Heavenly Grace is poured abroad in thy lips*" are the words which the Church of Salisbury here puts into the mouth of her choir,—"*Heavenly Grace is poured abroad in thy lips, O Mary, most chaste Virgin, thou who dost repair the ills of the whole earth, and therefore the King of Kings hath blessed thee for ever, and hath made thee, clad in glorious apparel, to sit at his right hand.*"

Take, again, the third, on the Psalm "*Domini est terra,*" where we are told that "*the Virgin Mother of Him who created the heavens and the earth, in that she hath clean hands, and a pure and blessed heart, hath been deemed worthy to go up into the fertile mountain of God.*" Or the sixth, on the Psalm "*Fundamenta ejus,*" where Our Lady is invoked as "*the tabernacle of God, the glory of Holy Purity, the gate of Sion, whose foundations are of sapphires ever shining, who alone was found pleasing to the Lord Most High.*"

Aula Maria Dei casti titulusque pudoris ;
 Porta Syon rutilis semper fundata saphyris,
 Quæ sola ex cunctis placuisti casta Tonanti :
 Suscipe servorum miserans pia vota tuorum.

There is a proper hymn at first Vespers, which was also sung at second Vespers when the festival occurred within Septuagesima. In other years St. Bernard's sequence "*Lætabundus*" was sung instead, as on the Feast of the Assumption. It is uncertain who is the author of this hymn. It is written in Sapphic verse. We give it *in extenso* :

1. Quod chorus vatum venerandus olim
 Spiritu Sancto cecinit repletus,
 In Dei factum genitrice constat
 Esse Maria.
2. Hæc Deum cœli Dominumque terræ
 Virgo concepit peperitque Virgo:
 Atque post partum meruit manere
 Inviolata.
3. Quem senex justus Symeon in ulnis
 In domo sumpsit Domini gavisus :
 Ob quod optatum meruit videre
 Lumine Christum.
4. Tu libens votis petimus precantum
 Regis æterni genetrix faveto :
 Clara quæ celsi renitens olympi
 Regna petisti.
5. Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,
 Sit salus perpes, sit honor perennis,
 Qui poli summa residet in arce
 Trinus et Unus.

AMEN.*

* That which in times gone by, filled by the power of the Holy Ghost, the glorious choir of seers hymned, is, at length accomplished, in Mary the Virgin Mother.

A Virgin, she conceived ; a Virgin, she brought forth ; a most pure and stainless Virgin she ever remained.

Her Child is God of Heaven, and Lord of all the Earth ; and Him the aged Simeon, in God's Holy Temple, enfolding in his arms, proclaims with joyous gladness. Lo ! he cries, the Christ, the Desire of mine eyes, the longed-for light !

O Mother of the Eternal King, thou, who clad in shining brightness now dwellest in Heaven above, bend down thine ear to the voice of our supplication.

While to Our God, who reigneth on high, in Heaven's lofty citadel, the Three in One, be all honour, glory, majesty and power, for ever and ever.

AMEN.

A somewhat unusual feature about this office, is that a sequence or prose, which we give below, was inserted at second Vespers between the responsory and the hymn. It is still sung by the Dominicans on the Feast of the Purification, but at first Vespers instead of at second.

Inviolata integra et casta es Maria
Quæ es effecta fulgida cœli porta.
O Mater alma Christi charissima,
Suscipe laudum pia præconia.
Nostra ut pura pectora sint et corpora,
Quæ nunc flagitant devota voxque et corda
Tu da per precata dulcissima
Nobis perpetua frui vita.
O benigna quæ sola
Inviolata permansisti.

The Festival of the Nativity was observed as a Greater Double (Sarum), and with an octave. There is much in this office in common with our own. The Psalms, with the exception of those at first Vespers, the hymns, the antiphons at Lauds, the Gospel, the fourth and fifth responsories, and the beginnings of the first and second are all Roman, while the antiphon to the Magnificat at first Vespers is the same as that which we sing at second Vespers.

As to the rest of the office, the antiphons at first Vespers, and those at Matins, are written in much the same style as the antiphons at Lauds. They are all beautiful, and several of them most appropriate, the second at First Vespers especially so: "O blessed race from whence Christ was born! How glorious is the Virgin who brought forth the King of Heaven."

Beata progenies unde Christus natus est:
Quam gloriosa est Virgo quæ cœli regem genuit.

And again, the third at Matins, where we are told that "When the most Holy Virgin was born the whole world was filled with light." And then there follows, as it were, a cry of exultation, "O happy race from whence she sprang! O Holy stock and blessed fruit thereof!"

Quando nata est virgo sacratissima tunc illuminatus est mundus,
stirps beata radix sancta, et benedictus fructus ejus.

The invitatory at Matins is worthy of notice. In substance it is much the same as ours, though the wording is altogether different:

Corde et voce simul
Christum regem veneremur.
Virginis et Matris
Jubiletur nobilis ortus.

Of the remaining responsories, the seventh and eighth are written in the same style as our own, while the third, sixth, and ninth are rhythmical. Let it suffice as an example of the rest to quote this last, which is particularly striking: "To-day hath arisen Mary, the Star of the Sea, she who is to bring forth the Sun of Righteousness, the Lord of the Universe. Rejoice, ye faithful, to behold the divine light."

- R. Solem justiciæ Regem paritura supremum,
 Stella Maria maris hodie processit ad ortum.
 V. Cernere divinum lumen gaudete fideles.

The Festival of the Conception was observed as a Lesser Double, the equivalent to our Duplex Major. The whole office, with the exception of the first six lessons, and that the words *conceptio*, *concepta*, &c., are substituted for *nativitas*, *nata*, &c., is identical with that of the Nativity.

The Annunciation was also kept as a Duplex Minor. There is little in the Sarum office appointed to be said on this feast which is identical with the corresponding portions of that contained in the Roman Breviary, much, however, which is very similar. The Psalms, except those at first Vespers, when the Ferial Psalms were said, the hymns, the little chapters at both Vespers, at Lauds, and at Tierce, the antiphon to the last Psalm at Lauds, the Gospel and the Collect, are all exactly similar to those contained in the Roman Breviary. Moreover, the second antiphon at Lauds is the same as our third, while the third is what we sing at the Benedictus, the chapter at Sext is our chapter at None, the short responsories at Sext and None are respectively what we say at Tierce and Sext, and the second responsory at Matins, though with a different ending, is the same as our third.

The rest of the office, though conceived in much the same spirit, is different. One antiphon at Matins, the first of the third nocturn, is identical with that which the Roman Breviary appoints for the second antiphon to the same nocturn on the Feast of Our Lady's Expectation.

The ninth responsory, also said at first Vespers, is well worthy of remark. It takes the form of a most beautiful invocation to Our Lady. Animated, doubtless, by that dramatic spirit, so dear to the liturgists of mediæval times, the author places himself in the presence of the Maiden of Nazareth, and beseeches her to consent to become the Mother of God, and thereby deliver the world from sin. "O Virgin," he cries out, "O Virgin, most dear to Christ! Thou who dealest in mighty actions, bring help to the wretched. Come to the assistance of us who continually cry to thee. For we are hard pressed by the burthen of our iniquity, and there is

none to deliver us." Then follows the *Ÿ* and *R* before Lauds, in which the same idea is continued. "Send forth thy Lamb, O Lord, the ruler of the universe, from the rock of the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Sion."

R. Christi virgo dilectissima virtutum operatrix : opem fer miferis. Subveni domina clamantibus ad te jugiter.

Ÿ. Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur : et non est qui adjuvet.

Ÿ. Emitte agnum, Domine, dominatorem terræ.

R. De petra deserti ad montem filiæ Syon.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at second Vespers is equally beautiful. Here Our Lady is invoked as "the Virgin Mother of God, from whom the eternal light hath vouchsafed to shine on us."

Ant.—Virgo Dei genetrix ex qua lux oriri dignata est æterna, intende supplicum tuorum preces servorum : et per tua sancta suffragia possidere mereamur regna cælestia.

The Festival of Our Lady of Snow, kept on August 5, took rank, according to Sarum use, as a Simple with nine lessons, and a triple invitatory, that is to say, it was what we call a semi-double. The office is almost identical with our own. It will be sufficient, therefore, merely to call attention to those points in which it differs.

None of the lessons are taken from Scripture. The first six contain a somewhat lengthy account of the beautiful legend told in our breviary in the lessons of the second nocturn, while the last three, as with us, are by the Venerable Bede. They are rather longer than ours, however, and the reading is not always quite the same. The third responsorium at Matins, which is altogether different from that which we use, is somewhat curious, and deserves notice.

R. Continet in gremio
Cælum terramque regentem
Virgo Dei genetrix,
Procures comitantur herilem.
Per quos orbis ovans
Christo sub principe pollet.

Ÿ Virgo Dei genetrix
Quem totus non capit orbis
In tua se clausit
Viscera factus homo.

Much more might be written on this interesting subject ; and without some account of the Little Office, the weekly Saturday Commemorations, and the daily Memorials of Our Lady in the

Divine Office, the task which we had intended to fulfil is far from complete, but we have already presumed far too greatly on the patience of our readers, and would not put their good nature to a still further trial.

The above sketch of the Sarum festal offices of the Blessed Virgin is perforce but cursory; nevertheless, enough has been said, we would fain hope, to afford the Catholic some idea of the manner in which the feasts of Our Lady were celebrated here in England in Catholic times, and also to show those Anglicans who declaim against the "Mariolatry" of the "Italian Mission," that the *cultus* which the modern "Romanist" still offers to the Virgin Mother of God, is identical, both in thought and feeling, with the official homage paid to her by the "Church of England" before the Reformation—in the days when this land of ours gloried in the title of Mary's Dowry.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.



ART. IX.—HOW TO SAVE THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

1. “WHAT do you think of the Education Bill, now that you have had experience of it?” is a question frequently asked. We think it will render two great services: first, in that it is good; and secondly, in that it is perilously dangerous. It is good because it has brought seasonable aid to thousands of poor folk, to whom the school-pence made all the difference between anxiety and ease, between want and comparative comfort. It is good because it has set teachers free from the worry of collecting fees, while it has freed scholars from being sent home again because they had come empty-handed. In the South of England especially it has brought aid to managers, enabling them to spend a little more on their schools. In the North of England, where school-fees are higher, it has brought considerable relief to parents and even to managers, who have legal power to charge the difference between the old fee and the fee grant. In many districts the average attendance has increased sensibly through the relief thus given to poor parents, as in one mission where it rose 176 within three weeks. In a school, which the managers had declared free, with a prospective loss of £200 a year in fee money, the average attendance has risen to such an extent that the anticipated loss has been actually turned into a profit. Another school within the month ran up its average attendance by 206 new-comers. Many schools have made smaller strides, and none have lost in numbers. We believe that in the North of England, where it was expected that the Catholic schools would lose, they have gained rather than lost in attendance and even in fees.

It was thought by many that free education would bring about poor attendances. The principle that people only care for what they pay for, and the examples adduced from America by Mr. Fitch and others, that free schools mean irregular schools, were considered to have established foregone conclusions. But two things were left out of sight: first, that the attendance officers and the Courts have taught worthless parents that there is a power by their side which they cannot set at nought; and secondly, that a public sentiment exists among the poor in favour of education. Had the country begun with free education, bad results would have accrued; but as assisted education has come in upon an established system and a tradition in favour of schooling, the results follow the tradition rather than the principle referred to and the American example. As yet, however, it is too early to form a decided judgment. As to free education in itself, we regard

it as a blessing. It is no use discussing this question at present. It may suffice to say that the Catholic Church was the first to declare education and learning free. In the Middle Ages, free schools were opened all over Europe, and the Roman Pontiffs were emphatic in declaring that knowledge ought to be imparted without charge or price. Free schools and free libraries were first introduced by the Catholic Church, and down to the latest date the universities, elementary schools, and libraries of the Papal States were free to all the people.

But, having said this much, we must add that the present Bill, giving practically free education, is fraught with a great danger for the future. This very danger, however, will be serviceable, if it rouse us to a sense of the situation and awaken our dormant faculties. There is now but a single plank between us and the deep sea. Before our people slept in a certain security, now they rub their eyes and say the next educational measure may draw the bolt, and we may all be hopelessly plunged into one common national system, and drift by chance we know not whither.

We have now to take a brief survey of the peril before us, and then to consider how we are to brace ourselves up to meet it. We believe that the training, the mental bracing, the hearty exertion that must be called forth will turn out to be most serviceable. We do not court the dangers, but since we are confronted with them, we should put forth all our strength, and by so doing we shall become stronger than ever before.

2. Two dangers are ahead, as indirect effects of the new law : the one, usurpation by the State of the rights of parents ; the other, acquiescence by parents in their own spoliation by the State.

A large number of Englishmen of the Radical school are perfectly prepared to give over the whole control of education to the State—not to the State as represented by the Education Department, but as represented in each locality by the ratepayers. Decentralisation of power is the order of the day ; the people who hold votes must be flattered ; the ratepayers are to exercise supreme power in the matter of education, as in everything else. Demos is young and hungry, and appeased he must be.

The National Liberal Association has just issued its programme. In it occurs the following : “ *Education: Establishment of representative school authority in each district council area, working in concert with elective boards of managers in each parish. Free education from top to bottom in all elementary schools receiving public grants, together with popular representative control.* ”

The time is past when any one would dream of placing in the hands of an educated, responsible central department of the State the tremendous powers involved in the proposals for local control.

No one would trust a department, however enlightened, however much under the eye of Parliament, with the detailed powers to be placed in the hands of local boards. There is a wholesome dread of entrusting too great an authority to the Government. There is no desire to allow Government to interfere with or curtail the liberty of the subject beyond a certain limit. But it is not simply dislike of despotism which dictates the jealousy. The new policy is one of despotism, of the most hateful and hopeless kind. It parcels out the country into little areas, and declares that the majority in a contest at the poll—the one man majority—shall rule and control the whole population within that area in the vital matter of education. It shall determine whether any religion, and, if so, what religion, or what phase of religion, be it part of an old religion or the semblance of a new one, shall be taught in the public schools, at which attendance shall be compulsory.

There never was a despotism or a usurpation of a more detestable character. Julian the Apostate thought he could extirpate Christianity by settling the question of education; but Julian's measures were child's-play compared to the engines of destruction which the Liberals and Radicals are prepared to invent and to plant all over the country. The peculiarly odious character of this policy consists in this, that it will train the people in despotism, that it will set the population up in arms in every area, after having divided them into factions. They are to fight it out amongst themselves, and the victor is to possess *parental* rights in the matter of education. He is to take the place of the family, and to dictate and determine the education to be given to each and all. This form of despotism goes down with the public at present, because it is labelled "popular control." Its ultimate results will be hideous.

At present the Voluntary Schools are 76 per cent. of all the schools of the country. The Church of England, with the *National Society* and the *sanior pars* of the Anglican clergy, will no doubt fight for their own hand, and, if yield they must, will yield only one position after another. But the Church of England is not to be trusted. It is honeycombed with clergymen and laymen who are affected by rationalism and the advanced liberalism which is for nationalising education. Multitudes are churchmen only in name, and are prepared to sell anything for ready money. Many so-called High Churchmen would delight in any measure that might deal a wound to the Catholic Church, and they would probably sacrifice their own religion, if by so doing they could stab ours. *St. Matthew's Guild* is not a very authoritative or a very powerful body, but it contains between two and three hundred members, of whom seventy-five are clergymen of the Church of England.

This association has recently issued a manifesto on "The Duty of the Clergy towards Board Schools and Elementary Education."

The following paragraphs exhibit the spirit which is at work, and may be quoted as one of the signs of the times in which we live :

As a rule we say, when School Boards are established, let the "voluntary" Church schools be given up, and the money now spent on them added, say, to the small stipends of the assistant clergy [*sic*], or devoted to some Church work. And the buildings, which if they are not claimed by the Church now may soon be confiscated by the State, could well be used for the education of the adults, and for the organising of the Church in the parish. . . .

To get rid of the religion which is established and endowed in the Board Schools at present, which is a positive hindrance to the spread of the Catholic faith, and the teaching of which out of the rates and taxes is a gross injustice to all Catholic citizens. And to get the duty of the parent and the priest to train the child in the elements of the faith again recognised.

The common school, secular, universal, free, is what all English Catholics look forward to. It involves the disestablishment and disendowment of Protestant dissent, and will be the severest blow which can be struck against the influence of the anti-national Italian mission in England.

A vigorous debate followed upon the proposal of this manifesto, but it was carried by two-thirds of the meeting.

What we observe about this is: (1) That there is a movement within the Church of England in favour of universal Board Schools which shall exclude all the claims of God upon the soul; (2) that its despotism goes just one degree beyond that of the doctrinaire Liberals, inasmuch as it refuses even to the ratepayers a right to say whether they will have any religion taught within these Board schools; and (3) the professed motive is to "dish" the Nonconformists and the Catholics—the former now getting what religion they want in the Board schools, and the Catholics getting what they require in their own P. E. schools.

The main view of these holy Churchmen is, therefore, professedly to enrich their own poor parsons, and to injure the religion of Catholics and of Protestant Dissenters. Their testimony is valuable, so far as it admits that the destruction of Voluntary Schools will be "the severest blow" to religion.

It is, therefore, manifest that doctrinaires like Mr. L. Stanley can count upon an alliance with a certain fanatical class of High Churchmen, as well as with Broad Churchmen, so far as a universal compulsory system of Board schools is concerned, and that the number of these allies is likely rather to increase than to diminish. The appeal put forth in the manifesto is direct and

personal to so many—"the money now spent on Voluntary schools to be added to the small stipends of the assistant clergy!" The thought of the poor wives and the multitude of little starveling children at once silences any rising objection. How kind, tender, and humane!

These men, then, are ready to play into the hands of the State, and to strengthen the politicians and Nonconformists, who declare without hesitation or misgiving that education is simply a function of the State, State authority overriding parental and domestic rights in the matter of education.

The other danger referred to is lest parents, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, should by degrees be wheedled out of their paternal rights, and, worse than this, lose the elementary sense of those inherent rights.

The State, by degrees relieving parents of all payment, of all thought for the instruction of their children, makes the path very smooth and easy. Surely the parents will be tempted to say: "It is fair; we have no trouble and no expense, and the child gets admirably taught, he has beautiful and costly rooms to sit in, every kind of advantage in physical exercises, games, and prizes, is offered to him. If he is clever he has all the world before him, like other children, and if he is dull they will do the best they can for him. There is no cruelty, no harshness, no bullying. If the State, or the local authority, does exceed its power a bit, if it is not quite right, as the clergy state, to make over education entirely to the State, we must put up with something. We can't have everything our own way. We are getting a great deal for what we give up. All expense and trouble are taken off our hands."

The argument is moderately specious, and will be certain to win assent unless a vigorous appeal be made to faith, and to the religious sense of parents; and unless, moreover, the parents become thoroughly committed to the Voluntary system, by obtaining a place on the committees of management, and by the habit of making some voluntary sacrifices for the maintenance of their own schools.

The argument drawn from the elementary principle of nature, that parents have a right and a duty to educate their children, will be met by the assertion that they approve of the education offered by the State or by the local authority—they will say it is precisely the education we desire for our children.

The argument that the State has usurped parental rights, that the desires of the minority are subordinated to those of the majority, that a dangerous despotism is being established, which, by interfering with parental and domestic rights, may at last ruin the liberties of the people, &c., will be largely discounted by

the thought that we are a practical people, that we are all working together, and that if we go a little too far we can reform whenever the need of reform is seen. Trust the people, they will say.

The really telling argument is the religious one. It is this alone that will give nerve, backbone, and determination to our people. It is the argument that is moving the Church of England and a section of the Wesleyans, who hold denominational schools. The Church of England have, in addition to this, a political argument—their schools are bound up with their existence as a State Church. Their political motive may be as strong with them as their religious one.

The deepest conviction which presses Catholics to fight for their own schools is this: that the glory of God, the salvation of the soul, and a happy eternity far outweigh any temporal or material consideration; that these are objects worth fighting for, and that unless we are prepared to contend for them, we might as well give up religion altogether, and conform to what may be the pagan civilisation of the day. With Catholics it is just a question of heaven or hell, and they know that the best chance of gaining the one and avoiding the other after death is a good Catholic education. Catholics are convinced that instruction in religion and the affairs of salvation must go *pari passu* with secular instruction, not that they need take up the same amount of time for instruction, but that they ought to accompany it. Besides the daily teaching of Christian doctrine, another work must be accomplished, the will and disposition must be habitually trained to act upon religious motives: these motives must pervade the whole school life of children, if they are to become so deeply set in their nature that they shall somehow or other survive even after years of youthful neglect and sinfulness. It is well known that a child that has been deeply and thoroughly grounded in religion during ten or twelve years of childhood, will always in later life have a pole star to which the needle of his intention will naturally turn. Thus a good Catholic education may at last be the salvation of those who have gone most utterly astray. It is the very best gift a parent can give his child, turn he out ever so ill. But what will be its effect upon others? It will have kept them straight through life, it will be their armour in the midst of the world, it will secure their virtue and their happiness here as well as hereafter.

Catholics understand that character is worth more than learning, even in this life; and that the character of their children cannot be formed upon the Catholic type except in Catholic schools.

In non-Catholic schools, frequented by all sorts of children,

what security is there for Catholic faith, Catholic morality, either from the influence of teachers or of scholars. It is impossible to speak of the depravity and impurity to which Catholic children are exposed when they mix with children who have been steeped in sin, and who scarcely know virtue from vice, and are brought up without religious principles.

Again, what can make up for the influence of religious teachers, whether Brothers or Sisters, of mistresses who have gone through the careful religious training of Notre Dame, or of masters who have been brought up to consider their religion to be the chief object of their thoughts and affections?

Now all of this, and all that this implies, would be hopelessly lost were Board Schools to take the place of Voluntary Schools. This, then, is our supreme, our fatal danger, a danger threatening us in the near future—that Catholic public Elementary Schools will be abolished, and universal State or Board Schools established. There are persons who never see, never look beyond their noses. They will say that our prognostication is a nightmare—that the English people cannot desire to bring about such evils; that we may safely go on as we have done, that the old ways are safe and easy, and it is troublesome to make changes.

We quite believe that the English people do not desire to bring about any evils. The devil himself does not always show his hand. A great party of the English people desire to improve education, to establish a national system, to rid it of all unnecessary encumbrances, and they do not desire to inflict what they would call an injury on any one.

3. But let us look certain things in the face. The mass of the thinking English people argues thus: "Whatever may be said of the advantage of denominational education—and very much must be said for it—there is an economical matter which must be adjusted in a business-like manner. The country is now spending out of the Exchequer five millions a year upon public Elementary Education. It is impossible to entrust so large a sum of money to the one-man-management which is now practically universal in voluntary schools. The priest or the parson, of course, has a couple of dummies who are styled co-managers, and give their signatures when asked for; but they mean nothing. To place so large a sum in the hands of private individuals is contrary to business habits, and to the whole system of public administration. Here is the whole nation decentralising, establishing everywhere local control, teaching the people more and more to manage their own affairs, and can it be expected that the nation will tolerate much longer the anomaly, whereby a certain number of priests and parsons shall each singly in his locality dispense their people's share in some five millions of

education money? We cannot allow 76 per cent. of the popular education of the country to remain in the hands of private individuals, of self-constituted managers. Be they ever so estimable, they are mild-minded despots in the midst of a national system of popular and representative government and administration. They are a survival, no longer in harmony with the times."

If the Voluntary and Denominational Schools are closed or fused into a national Board School system, this will be brought about—not upon the plea of hostility to religion, but—upon the economical and administrative plea, by those who clamour everywhere for popular control.

Indeed, if you were to carefully examine the speeches, the papers, the programmes of the Liberal or Secularist party you will find that their main popular cry is for local control. The last Education Bill—which has placed between two and three millions more of the public money in the hands of the priests and parsons—is admitted by the Conservative party, in fact, by every one, to be an additional reason for some kind of local control. We may take it for granted that the one-man-management system is doomed, and nothing on earth can be done to strengthen or commend it. However well it may have worked in its own time, we can no more return to what we were fifty years ago, than we can return to the Heptarchy.

The question which managers must put to themselves is this: Shall we stand as we are until the advancing waves of the popular movement have not only licked our feet, but have risen to our waists, and carried us away into the wide ocean with every mark and sign of our existence? or, Shall we set to work at once, and meet the popular demand by moulding and establishing a system of local control, so reasonable, so real, and so effective, as that it shall satisfy—not the extremists, who have hidden and unavowed aims to gain—but the great mass of fair-minded, sensible English men and women?

Of course there are heroic Conservatives among the clergy and laity, who prefer to be carried out to sea, and to become as broken spars, that may here and there make their mark in a percussion, until they are broken into fragments, and have been lost in the countless wrecks which disappear at last we know not where. These men are too good for this world, too good to live!

Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

For ourselves, and in this we may speak for the overwhelming mass of Catholics, clergy and laity, we must look to the practical way of saving souls, without the compromise of any Catholic principle. To place the fate of education in the hands of a local

authority, created by ratepayers will be an intolerable surrender of Catholic principle, and of the law of nature. But to place the education of children in the hands of a local authority created by parents and by their representatives would be in perfect harmony with Catholic teaching, and with the natural law.

In other words we are prepared to accept the principle of "local control," only it must be "local control by the parents" who have direct and personal rights over the children, not "local control by ratepayers," who have no more rights over other peoples' children than they have over the birds of the air or the fishes of the sea—the utmost they could claim would be an assurance that their money had been rightly expended, and nothing more. The reasonableness of this view has obtained a wide acceptance. It has not only been approved and adopted by a number of the Catholic Bishops, but it has found a widespread, even a national acceptance, outside the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. Indeed, it is absolutely necessary that it should become a national view of the case, if it is to prevail; and there would be little practical good in attempting any remedy, however excellent in itself, unless there were a chance of its national acceptance.

Now this kind of local control, founded upon the rights of parents instead of upon those of ratepayers, is just that fair kind of compromise which alone can save the Voluntary Schools. Happily it is not the invention, the fad, of any individual, however well intentioned or high placed. It is the *veritas quaerens intellectum*, it is the popular feeling seeking acceptance. This came out with remarkable force while the Education Bill was passing through the Committee of the House of Commons. It is quite worth while to bring together various testimonies which justify our actual contention. Here are extracts from speeches in the House of Commons.

Mr. COBB, speaking for the agricultural districts, said there was nothing the people so much desired as that there should be *some element of popular control* over the schools to which they sent their children.

Mr. WHITBREAD said that, as an ounce of practice was worth a ton of theory, he would relate his experience as a member of a Voluntary Church of England School Committee at Bedford. There was considerable friction, not among the members of the Committee, but in the working of the school. Constant complaints were made by parents on matters mostly of a trivial character, and the friction produced was most detrimental to the interests of the school and of the children. *The parents met and elected two representatives*, and from that day to this there had been no complaints whatever (hear, hear).

Mr. S. SMITH shared the belief that, under existing circumstances, *a moderate system of representation by the parents* would really meet the practical necessities of the case.

Mr. J. B. ROBERTS objected *not to religious education but to denominational control*, which meant *the control of the clergyman of the parish*.

Mr. TOMLINSON said that he was sure some solution of the question might be found in the association of *a few representative parents in the management of the schools*.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said that any voluntary arrangement by which *parents or subscribers could be represented more largely than they were at present in the management of the schools would be gladly welcomed by him and by those who thought with him*.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, if you have popular representation you must have some sort of election, and I say *it would be better to associate parents with the School Boards, as has been suggested, and as has been already done under the present system*.

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN thought the time had come when further public money ought not to be granted to perpetuate the present system unless the principle of popular control were introduced. Large numbers of schools were going to be supported entirely by Government money, yet the Government were going to hand over the management of those schools *to the clergyman*, and one or two people in the parish of his own way of thinking, *without any popular control whatever*. He entered his protest against such a course.

Mr. EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE said that as to the question of local control, he believed it to be an absolutely vital question so far as the existence of Voluntary Schools in the future was concerned. *Unless the difficulty of the managers of the Voluntary Schools being the nominees of the clergy was got over the voluntary system must collapse* (hear, hear). *The Government might possibly get over the difficulty by substituting "parental control" for "popular control"* (hear, hear). He thought it was absolutely essential to the future of voluntary schools that the parents should have some voice in the management of the school which their children attended (hear, hear). He would venture to urge the Government as strongly as he could to devise some simple machinery by which the parents might be fairly represented in the management of the voluntary schools. In his opinion that would go a long way towards getting over the difficulty, that a clerical despotism, however kindly, was not in accordance with the instincts of the age, and was not therefore likely to conduce to the stability of the voluntary school system (hear, hear).

Mr. BRYCE hoped that the Government would admit the justice of the claim that there should be *some kind of popular representation on the managing Committee of the voluntary schools*.

In the debate on the Bill which took place in the House of Lords, similar opinions were expressed as to the advisability of giving parents a place on the board of management of Voluntary Schools. But we need not quote.

A short time since the Archbishop of Canterbury speaking at a large conference of the clergy and laity said :

I cannot see why in any single school there should not

be a beginning made in associating parents, chosen or elected, with the management (cheers). The one-manager-system has produced most excellent results. But, then, this is not a country, this is not a time in which we could put into any practical working the often asserted truth, that of all kinds of government the best and the most effective is that of a beneficent despot; and as we should not think in any of the departments of life of recommending the rule of the beneficent despot as the best that could be adopted, so neither can we, I am certain, in the management of a single school. We are not living in a time or country in which the beneficence of despots will do what the goodwill and combination of the church people of England will do (cheers). Therefore I think that the advice of Mr. Talbot upon this subject and the evidence given on the subject by Dr. Springett will have very considerable influence here and throughout the diocese. . . .

It was very much urged in the House of Commons that they should allow something like representative managements in these schools. Representative management was especially urged from the parents' point of view. It was politic, it was wise, it was right to make the basis of their schools as wide as possible, and to give as many persons as possible as great an interest in their schools as they could. He most earnestly urged on all managers, lay and clerical, to remove any cause of offence which might exist. If there were present any of the one-manager race of persons that had been pointed at with a finger of scorn in the House of Commons, he could not help saying, and saying it plainly, that they would do wisely for the sake of the cause they had at heart to associate with themselves managers to represent the parents. He was very glad himself to welcome the assistance of parents where it could be given by voluntary arrangement.

In the Upper House of Convocation, the Bishop of London thought that some representatives of the parents ought to be on all committees of school management. Such an arrangement, he believed, would tell very much on the efficiency of the schools, and it would put the Voluntary Schools on a very much firmer political foundation than at present, and make them very difficult to be assailed in the future. It would increase the general interest, and though there might be some friction at first, it would in the end do good. The Bishop of Norwich said *there was a general feeling in the country in favour of such boards of management*. Finally a resolution was passed declaring that *in all cases* it is desirable that parents should elect representatives on the committee of management.

The National Society of the Church of England fairly represents the mind of the Church of England when it says:

We very strongly urge upon these schools that they should enlarge the management to the utmost, and that they should associate with

themselves in their school committees one or more representatives chosen from among the parents of the children attending their schools. We do this upon the double ground that the presence of parents on school committees will lead to greater interest being taken by parents generally in the welfare of their "own" schools, and that committees so constituted will supply a powerful argument to be used whenever any renewed attempt is made to insist upon so-called representative control.

The abundant testimony we have cited shows that the idea of substituting the principle of "parental control" for that of "popular control" represents a widely spread desire. Its adherents are increasing in all parts of the country. Our opinion might be still further strengthened, if needed, by communications which we have received from Government inspectors, politicians, and statesmen.

4. Catholics see their own interests, and are not behindhand. Some of the dioceses have already taken the question of school management in hand, and others are preparing to do so. By way of illustration, in one Diocese, a *Diocesan Board of Education* has been created, consisting of fifteen members, lay and clerical, chosen and presided over by the Bishop. This Board in some way corresponds to the Education Department, and superintends the elementary educational work of the diocese. It forms a Court of appeal when difficulties and disputes arise, and its members sit as assessors with the Bishop. The Board issued, as its first act, the following :

REGULATIONS AND CONDITIONS

For the Election by Parents of Two Members for the Committee of School Management in Catholic Public Elementary Schools, within the Diocese of —.

1. None but Parents and Guardians whose children are actually attending the School shall have a right to vote at this Election.

2. None but Catholics (not being paid teachers in a P. E. School) shall be eligible to serve as Managers of a Catholic School.

3. Notice of the election shall be given in the accompanying form at all the Masses on the Sunday preceding the Election. A notice of the Election should likewise be given in the Schools at least three days before such Election.

4. Before proceeding to the Election, the Rector, or his representative, who will preside at the meeting, shall ask for the names of the Candidates for election.

The Candidates, whose number is not limited, must each be proposed and seconded by persons entitled to vote. The Election shall then take place by a show of hands, or, if a ballot be demanded, by ballot.

The two Candidates having the largest number of votes shall then be declared by the Chairman to be the Managers chosen by the Parents.

Their term of service shall be for three years. The Managers shall meet at least once a quarter, and as much oftener as summoned.

5. A person may be removed from the list of managers by an act of the Diocesan Board of Education, upon reasons adjudged by the Board to be sufficient, after due inquiry.

6. The foregoing shall be the rules and conditions for the Election of Managers and their tenure of office, until they be otherwise changed or modified by an act of this Diocesan Board of Education.

7. Communications intended for the consideration of the Board must be directed to the Hon. Secretary.

*Signed by the Chairman
and the Secretary to the Board.*

NOTICE.

A Public Meeting of the Parents and Guardians of the children attending the Public Elementary Schools of this Mission will be held in _____ on _____ at _____ o'clock, to elect two Catholic Members on the Committee of School Management.

Only the Parents and Guardians of children actually attending the Schools are entitled to a vote at this Election.

The election of the school committees proceeded upon these lines, to the great and universal satisfaction of the parents and people generally. Should friction and difficulties arise, as, of course, they may, full power is retained by the Diocesan Board of Education to examine and settle them. Indeed, it appears that the Board has authority to interpose and dismiss any manager whose conduct may prove to be injurious or detrimental to the interests of the school, and it is upon this condition that the managers are elected.

There is one danger ahead which may wreck the provision made by the establishment of committees of management to safeguard our schools against the clamour for popular control—viz., that the committees may become merely nominal and useless. It has been well pointed out by a practical statesman that this form of local control will be carefully watched, and that if it turns out to be a sham, if the members never meet, if the

beneficent despot conducts the whole business of the school as heretofore, without any communication with his co-managers, the public will become informed, and the cry will be raised that the clergymen are simply incorrigible; that, like the Bourbons, they can learn nothing and forget nothing, and that the only way of dealing with them will be by removing them, and giving over the schools and the public money to local authorities established by law, and brought in under a Liberal Government.

But a very practical objection may be raised by our best and most intelligent school-managers. It may be said, with truth, that in mission after mission four thoroughly competent men are not to be found besides the priest, in matters of education. This is perfectly true. But the answer is clear. We must by degrees create what we stand in need of. And when we said that we considered that the law will render a great service in that "it is perilously dangerous," we meant precisely this, that it will lay a pressure upon the clergy, that it will constrain them by the strongest motives of conscience, by the need of saving Catholic education from destruction, to create and form fellow workers among the laity.

We are very much in the position of a nation that has never had an army of its own, but which finds itself suddenly exposed to the dangers of annexation and absorption by a neighbouring kingdom. It has never been engaged in actual warfare. It has neither soldiers nor officers, and no military tradition. If it is not prepared to forfeit its liberty, and to lose its nationality, it must prepare to resist and to fight. It will call out such men as it possesses; it will drill and encourage them; its leaders will devote themselves night and day, sparing no pains to make up by zeal and attention for the want of years of experience, and for all deficiencies. It will be a hard time for the captains, but the occasion requires sacrifice. They must meet with many disappointments, and may find themselves for years inferior in skill and power to their long disciplined neighbours. But if their hearts are in the cause, they will create what will become at last an efficient army out of their raw material.

The Catholic community in England is precisely in this state. The battle to be fought against those who would absorb or annihilate us must be fought—not by a handful of officers, but by a trained people. At present our people are not trained and educated to the level of their opponents. Many congregations are composed almost entirely of the working class; their education is of the most elementary kind, and there is very little choice among them. Among the Protestants there is everywhere a business-like middle class to draw upon, and therefore their Sunday-

schools and their other lay organisations are well equipped. Their strength lies entirely in this. We have comparatively no middle class, and in this is our weakness. But what is this confession but a motive to set us to work to create a staff of workers out of such material as we have? While the whole national movement is to place administrative power in the hands of the people, we are bound to conform to the movement, or to become overwhelmed by it. We must either find or make school-managers out of the best men in our congregations, or our schools will be taken away from us. The nation will make no exception on behalf of Catholics. If we persist in the one-man management, because no one else can manage the school but the priest, the nation will let us know that they can do better, and will form their own local authority out of the ratepayers. "You have had your chance," they will tell us; "you persisted in the mild despotism of the priest manager. We can stand the anachronism no longer; the public money must be spent under a public and popular control, and you must now surrender and submit." These are hard words—may they not come true! Any one who can discern the times must admit the danger of the situation.

It is surely a fatal mistake to complain of our material. We must make the best of what God has given us, which obviously means that we are not to make the worst of it, and to pity ourselves and discourage every one under us by lamentations from the standpoint of our superior enlightenment.

To encourage, cheer on, strengthen, bear with, teach, and hold together the best of what we have, this is the way to win confidence and to elicit hidden powers—hidden probably because they have never been drawn forth. But all this requires humility, patience, and zealous charity, not a little. There is, however, no other road to victory.

The formation of the elected committees of school management is destined, not only to satisfy the country, but to interest the parents in the schools. It was debated whether the subscribers ought not to have an equal voice with the parents in the election of managers. It was decided in one diocese at least, and we think wisely, that the election should rest exclusively with the parents. To give the vote to the subscribers would not define the rights of parents, and it would appear to condone the principle of management by ratepayers. The object we ought to have mainly in view is to preserve and emphasise by every means in our power the parental right to provide for the education of the children. The persons elected need not be parents, they may be subscribers or others having the parents' confidence. Nor ought subscribers to feel aggrieved in having no right to vote: if they

are interested in the main principle which is at stake, parental control as against ratepayers control, they ought gladly to acquiesce.

Another way in which we consider it important to stimulate the interest of parents in education is by requiring them to pay in support of the schools. The Committees, of course, will everywhere be obliged to raise voluntary subscriptions, and to appeal probably and properly to all the Catholics in the mission for help. But the parents, *quâ* parents, ought to contribute. We consider that those managers who have declared their schools free, and have filled the minds of the parents with the idea that there is nothing more to pay, have been very ill advised.

That education will in time become absolutely free from any legal fee whatever, is certain. It is of very little use, therefore, to impose a small legal fee on the parents, where this can be done for the present. The money may be useful, but it may be obtained otherwise. What we need is to provide against the day in which all legal fees will be abolished, and to prepare betimes. This can be done by taking up the old habit of bringing the school fees on Monday morning, not any longer as a legal school fee, but as a voluntary contribution. It may be of smaller amount than the old fee, but the tradition of bringing the money should be preserved. There are many ways in which the parents' voluntary contributions may be collected. Some collect them from house to house by a monthly, some by a fortnightly, and some by a weekly collection. This method has many obvious disadvantages. The best plan that we have heard of is this: The managers have a number of strong envelopes or little paper purses made, with the name of the school, and the words, "parents' voluntary school contribution," and "Mr. or Mrs. ——" printed on the outside. These purses are taken home on Friday by the children, and they are brought back with the contribution enclosed in the adhesive purse on the Monday morning. No trouble is given to the teacher beyond receiving the purses, one of the managers opens them, and puts down the amount to the name of each contributing parent. If nothing be returned, one of the managers takes an opportunity of visiting the parent, and inquiring the reason, unless he is satisfied that the person either cannot well afford to give, or that he or she has deliberately decided to contribute nothing. It is not wise to give schoolpence to the children to carry unless the pence are thus enclosed in an adhesive envelope, as it puts temptation in their way.

Our hope of the future is in our schools, and our schools can never become self-supporting. The idea that we in England could ever venture to throw off State aid and maintain effective schools, such as the Government would recognise as efficient, out

of our own private means, is a mere chimera. We must work to establish a nationally recognised right that the local or popular control shall be by parents and not by ratepayers. But we must go before the nation and show the system in actual working. For this the parents must be allowed to elect their representatives by a free and open election; they must be trusted. The managers must then be taken into confidence by the chairman, who will usually be the priest. They must be taken over the school from time to time; they must meet and sit together to discuss matters connected with the school, both financial and scholastic; they should show themselves to the inspectors, so that their existence may be perceived and reported on.

The parents need educating upon the whole of this school question, both from its political and religious side. They ought therefore to be brought together from time to time and duly instructed.

Finally, we must prepare to save the Voluntary schools by two lines of defence: the one by the establishment of a system of local control, such as has been pointed out; and the other by having so trained and interested the parents, and the whole Catholic body, in the existence of our schools, as that, when a political contest comes, all will be forearmed, thoroughly prepared, and trained to fight to the last for the rights and independence of the Voluntary schools.

EDITORIAL.



Science Notices.

Prominence Photography.—For many years past, the methods of solar research have received no important accessions. The improvements made in them have been along lines previously struck out, and steadily pursued; there has been a total absence of successful pioneering expeditions. Now, however, at last, through the initiative of a young American, Professor George E. Hale, of Chicago, a new track has been opened, which seems likely to lead far afield. Needless to say that it takes the direction of extending still further the already large and continually growing powers of the camera.

The remarkable appendages to the sun known as “prominences” were *effectively* discovered during the total eclipse of July 8, 1842. Not but that glimpses of flame-like surroundings had been caught on earlier occasions of a similar nature, but it was then that their extraordinary appearance first challenged general attention. They show to the eye when freed, by the interposition of the moon, from the dazzling effect of direct solar radiance, in the semblance of vast pillars, or clouds, or trees of fire, erected or floating above the obscured solar limb; and the spectroscope explains their vivid crimson tint as due to the large ingredient of glowing hydrogen contained in them. The whole of their materials, moreover, are proved to be in a state of vaporous incandescence; and hence arises the possibility of viewing them spectroscopically without the aid of an eclipse. For the glare of sunlight impeding their direct visibility can be indefinitely attenuated by prismatic dispersion, which, on the contrary, has no weakening effect upon the isolated rays emitted by ignited gases. The bright lines accordingly forming the spectrum of the prominences gain, with every increase of dispersion, relatively to the background of continuous light upon which they are projected, and at last, when its fading has gone far enough, emerge distinctly to sight. This device, hit upon simultaneously by M. Janssen and Professor Norman Lockyer in 1868, has been practised ever since with enormous advantage to solar physical science. By its means, for instance, the agreement in periodicity of prominences with sun-spots has been ascertained. The numbers counted of each kind of phenomenon wax and wane together every eleven years, whereby they are shown to be only varying phases of the same fundamental disturbance. Further, the prevalence in the sun of tremendous eruptions or explosions of gaseous matter, has compelled a notice it would otherwise have escaped. Thus, pinnacles of flame may with the spectroscope be seen to tower upwards to heights of a quarter of a million of miles, or more, from the sun's edge, their explosive

shattering and dispersal into fading fragments at still greater elevations not unfrequently ensuing. A recent example of this sort of occurrence was afforded by a prominence watched by M. Jules Fényi at the Haynald Observatory, on June 17 last, which attained, in three minutes and a half, an elevation of at least 63,000 miles. The ascent of the glowing tenuous stuff composing it must accordingly have been effected at the all but incredible rate of 300 miles a second, or fifteen times that of the earth in its orbit; while another part of the same torn and agitated structure gave a measured velocity in the line of sight of no less than 520 miles a second. But for the power of continuous observation conferred by the spectroscope, it is unlikely that the rushing of these unimaginable hurricanes of fire could ever have been detected and registered, the probabilities being very great against their occurrence during the transient moments of solar eclipse.

Now it is obvious that if prominences could be photographed when the sun is not eclipsed, the facilities for their study would be indefinitely increased. And, indeed, the desirability of attaining the power to do so has been felt from the first. Nor would there be any difficulty in getting prints of the blue images of them displayed by the spectroscope, but for the rapid "fogging" of the plates through the strong actinic action of the diffused light around. An experiment made by Professor Young in 1870 was thus too little successful to encourage repetition, and a method for accomplishing the same purpose, described by Dr. Carl Braun, S.J., in 1872, obtained at the time no practical realisation. Re-invented and perfected by Professor Hale seventeen years later, it proved, nevertheless, thoroughly feasible. Its fundamental principle consisted in the building up of a complete picture of the prominence to be portrayed out of successive sectional impressions of it secured by the travelling of the object, under the guidance of properly adjusted clockwork, in front of the narrow slit of a spectroscope. The instrument employed at the Kenwood Observatory is a 12-inch equatorial, to which a large solar spectroscope is rigidly attached. A Rowland's grating gives the necessary dispersion.

Professor Hale's most striking results, however, depend upon a circumstance which he was the first to turn to account for promoting the end in view. It is this: Part of the light given by the prominences consists of a pair of violet rays due to intensely heated calcium, and known respectively as H and K. These, as derived from prominences, are sharp and bright, while the dark reversals of them in sunlight are broad and hazy; owing to which exceptional relationship, the violet-coloured prominence-images are shielded by wide rims of absorption in the atmospheric spectrum, from the competing glare which elsewhere renders it difficult to secure the necessary amount of contrast. The presence of this natural shadow has enabled Professor Hale to photograph prominences in full sunshine, not, as before, piecemeal, but all at once, through the jaws of a well-opened slit. And the prints thus obtained, as many persons in

England can testify from ocular inspection, leave absolutely nothing to be desired.

But this is not the whole of what may be expected from this happy invention. Besides the ordinary "red prominences," certain "white prominences," have, during some recent eclipses, claimed notice, and raised curiosity. Very little is yet known as to their origin and composition, and their investigation from day to day has hitherto been precluded by the continuous quality of their light. The spectro-scope finds, as it were, nothing to lay hold of by which their forms can be accentuated amid the dazzle of ordinary daylight. But it very probably may be found possible to photograph them. For, although the hydrogen constituent of red prominences is wanting to white ones, the characteristic violet lines of glowing calcium are conspicuous in their spectra, and will serve, in Professor Hale's opinion, for the registration of their images on the sensitive plate. The success of the experiment, shortly about to be tried, must throw open a most promising field for future investigation.

In a paper on "The Ultra-violet Spectrum of Solar Prominences," read before the British Association at Cardiff, the Chicago astrophysicist detailed some new and important results bearing upon the chemistry of the sun's surroundings, and he proposes to extend his method to researches into the spectra of sun-spots as well. These various additions to the resources of solar physicists are especially welcome just now, when, with the approach of a maximum of solar agitation, phenomena of particular interest may be expected to stimulate their industry and reward their zeal.

New Nebulæ in Cygnus.—The photographic discovery of new nebulae has become an almost every-day occurrence. Custom has taken the edge off of wonder at the marvellous extension given to human faculties of observation by the circumstance that rays too faint to excite, even when concentrated by great telescopes, the slightest optical sensation, are nevertheless able, by accumulated tiny impacts, to shake salts of silver free from chemical bonds, and so limn out a picture, true in all its details, of the remote objects emitting them. But these pictures are not only wonderful in their mode of production, they are also, in many ways, most curiously communicative. They have already told us a great deal about the structure of nebulae; and they go far towards proving the very significant fact that there are no nebulae without structure. It may at least plausibly be inferred that mere inert, amorphous aggregations of cosmical material do not exist, when the vaguely terminated, widely spreading phosphorescent drifts, termed by the elder Herschel "diffused luminosities," display themselves on photographic plates, after prolonged exposures, as curdled, spiral, or streaky.

One of these, situated in Cygnus, was photographed at Heidelberg, in May and June last, by Dr. Max Wolf. The self-delineated formation was virtually new. That is to say, only its brightest portion had been catalogued by Sir John Herschel, the ramifications, stretching thence to vast distances, remaining unnoticed. Yet it is not so

much their novelty as their striking relationships which give them a claim to especial remark. For they seem, in the opinion of Dr. Wolf, confirmed by a photograph to which he gave *thirteen hours* of exposure, September 9 and 10, to connect some of the brightest stars in the constellation— α and γ Cygni among the number—with the throngs of minute stars forming the cloud-like masses of the Milky Way in that neighbourhood; and it is evident that, if the same wreaths and folds of nebulous matter which condense round large stars are really intertwined with groups of small ones, then large and small must co-exist in the same region of space, and constitute one system equally heterogeneous with that of the Pleiades.

Such a conclusion, if substantiated, would inevitably lead to the remodelling of the whole of our ideas about the form and arrangement of the sidereal universe. Its scope could not be restricted to one district, but should be extended to every mixed group in the great round of the Milky Way. There has long been a practical certainty that their misty effect to the eye was not, in any sense, of geometrical production. The nearly exclusive occurrence within the galactic zone of gaseous nebulae, gaseous and temporary stars, sufficed indeed of itself to dispose of the Herschelian theory of a disc-shaped system, projected through the effect of perspective foreshortening into the aspect of a milky ring. The milky ring, it was evident, had a physical existence; real stellar condensations, and not simply optical crowding, could alone fitly be invoked to account for it. Its nebulous affinities, moreover, have, with the growth of the photographic method, become more and more accentuated; and if further inquiries should, in accordance with the indications of Dr. Wolf's negatives, demonstrate these nebulous affinities to be common to the brilliant emblazoning orbs of the Galaxy and the "star-dust" strewn around them, then the proof of clustering on the grandest scale will be complete. The view that the shimmering streams and patches of the Milky Way embrace both lucid stars and star-dust is not, indeed, now heard of for the first time; it was put forward many years ago by Mr. Proctor, and has of late been ably advocated by Mr. Ranyard. Its establishment would involve the dominant presence in galactic formations of relatively enormous suns—suns thousands of times more brilliant than the multitudinous bodies circling near them. But disparities of this magnitude cannot be deemed impossible, since they have, in particular cases, been fully proved to exist. The star α in the Great Bear, for instance, has a small close companion, discovered by Mr. Burnham, and shown by his recent measures to be almost certainly revolving round it, so that the two must be at about equal distances from ourselves. Yet one is nearly four thousand times brighter than the other. As to the absolute magnitude of the stars—large or small—composing the Milky Way, we are still entirely ignorant. Nor can we learn anything on this point until we are in a position to form some satisfactory estimate of their remoteness. A further development of the methods for determining stellar distances is thus urgently needed, and would

constitute a step of the first importance towards the disclosure of some few of the many secrets of sidereal construction. With so sublime a prospect to stimulate inventiveness, it may be hoped that the step will soon be taken.

Lunar Heat.—Two papers on this subject have recently been published. One emanates from Ireland, the other from America. Dr. Boeddicker, Lord Rosse's astronomer, discusses, in the first, a series of observations on the varying heat of the moon during the total lunar eclipse of January 28, 1888, made by him at Parsons-town with the three-foot speculum of the Birr Castle Observatory. The second, by Mr. Frank W. Very, of the Alleghany Observatory, U.S.A., is an essay to which has been adjudged the prize offered by the Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences for the determination of the changes with lunar phase of lunar heat. The observations it is based upon were executed with a Langley's bolometer—an instrument of unrivalled refinement for measuring radiant energy—and they include a short series for which the lunar eclipse of January 16, 1889, furnished the opportunity. It is satisfactory to find the results obtained by these able and careful workers in what may be called perfect accord, regard being had to the excessively delicate nature of the phenomena they studied. Both detected symptoms of a slight storage of heat by the moon. Our satellite, in other words, is a thermal radiator, as well as reflector. The heat rays poured upon its surface by the sun are not all instantly returned, like the shorter undulations constituting light. A sensible though small proportion are appropriated for a time, and serve to warm up the lunar peaks and circuses to a temperature high compared with the temperature of space, though possibly not exceeding that of freezing water. One sure proof of this slight retention of heat is the retardation of the heat-minimum during eclipses. Thermal do not disappear with the same promptitude as luminous radiations. After the moon has completely entered into the earth's shadow, it nevertheless continues to send out a minute portion of heat, evidently derived from previous accumulations. A rather conspicuous delay, however, in the recovery of heat-power after the full light had returned, ascertained by Dr. Boeddicker to have ensued upon the eclipses both of 1884 and of 1888, remains an unexplained and very curious anomaly. Mr. Frank Very's were the first experiments directed to the study of the distribution of heat, bit by bit, over the disc of the moon, and they brought out local variations, absorptive as well as reflective, which cannot be neglected in future attempts to deal as a whole with the problem of lunar thermal energy.

Metallurgy at the British Association.—At the late meeting of the British Association at Cardiff, the presidency of the chemical section was entrusted to Professor W. C. Roberts-Austen, who fittingly confined his opening address to that department of chemical science to which he has devoted his labours, and which he has himself enriched by discovery. The main purport of his address on Metallurgy was to urge the importance of connecting the more

practical art with the investigations of the science. To quote his words: "In no other art have the relations between theory and practice been so close and enduring. . . . In reviewing the history of metallurgy, especially in our islands, it would seem that the two classes of workers, the interpreters of nature and the practical men, have for centuries sat in joint committee, and by bringing theoretical speculation into close connection with hard industrial facts, have carried us nearer the essence of truth."

But he thinks the union may be made still closer. To this end, he urges a more extended teaching of the subject by specialists; an ordinary college course of chemistry does not, in his opinion, fit a man to be a practical metallurgist, so subtle and complex are the chemical actions and reactions involved in many of our modern metallic processes. To effect the necessary transformations, often requires the utmost skill and patience. To take the case of the preparations of silver from cuperiferous compounds, it may happen that operations, commenced at a temperature of some 500° , are completed at 700° , within a range of 200° . All may depend upon the judicious stir and delicate adjustment of temperature. To carry out such operations successfully requires an operator not only to possess a finesse of touch, and acuteness of colour perception so as to associate the tint of a streak with the stage of operations, but also scientific knowledge of a very high order, since he has to contend with the disturbing influences introduced by the presence of unexpected elements or untoward variations in temperature. The Professor maintains that if an ordinary observant, chemically trained student visited a silver extraction works, and possessed enough analytical skill to detect the chemical changes that occur, he would see many facts before him that his training had not enabled him to predict, and he would establish a series of reactions to the nature of which his chemical reading had hardly given him a clue.

The importance of these remarks will be realised if we apply them to such an important class of works as steel manufacture. A piece of brittle steel may find its way into the axle of a railway carriage, a vital portion of a viaduct, and the disaster following the collapse of either may be traced to unskilful operations in the preparation of the metal.

Professor Roberts-Austen also complains of the pooriness of the laboratories attached to many of our works. They are often "mere sheds placed, say, behind the boiler-house. When may we hope to rival the German chemical firm which has recently spent £19,000 upon its laboratories, in which research will be vigorously conducted?"

The Professor pointed out that in metallurgy chemical analysis should be pursued with a nicety not always to be found in its students. Sufficient importance is not given to the estimation of "traces," an analysis being considered to be satisfactory if the constituents found add up to 99.9, although a knowledge as to what elements represent the missing 0.1 may be more useful in affording

an explanation of the defects in a material than all the rest of the analysis. In practice, the addition of a trace of some foreign matter in some particular metal will induce in it remarkable allotropic changes. In the case of iron manufacture, elements whose atomic volumes are smaller than that of iron, delay during the cooling of a mass of iron from a red heat the change of the hard variety to the soft variety. On the other hand, elements whose atomic volumes are greater than that of iron tend to hasten the change of the hard variety to the soft variety.

The Professor adds that the fact that nickel-steel is now found so suitable for armour-plate, is an example of the influence of the atomic volume of an added element on the mechanical properties of iron. We are told that silicon and aluminium elements, very dissimilar in their properties, but having almost the same atomic volume, affect iron in the same way. The molecular condition of nickel-steel seems to be very remarkable. Dr. Hopkinson has shown that the density of steel containing 22 per cent. of nickel, undergoes remarkable changes when subjected to low temperatures. When cooled to -30° , the density is reduced to no less than 2 per cent. Professor Roberts-Austen points out that such a property would have curious effects on a vessel built in a temperate climate of ordinary steel and clad with some 3000 tons of nickel-steel, if it were transferred to the Arctic regions. The shearing which would follow the expansion of the armour by the Arctic temperature would destroy the ship.

The alloying of metals would seem to open out a new and magnificent field of inquiry. The existence of many new metals have been discovered, but a use for them has yet to be found. To take the example quoted in Professor Roberts-Austen's address, vanadium and thallium are pretty widely distributed in nature, but we know little of the value of the action of any of these metals when alloyed with others which are in daily use.

A point upon which the Professor lays stress is measurement of very high temperatures. This is a subject in which he has himself done service to the science, as he has, after a course of investigation, produced an appliance for obtaining, in the form of curves, photographic records of the cooling of masses of metal. By the aid of such a pyrometer it is easy to tell "what thermal changes take place during the cooling of molten masses of alloys, and it is possible to compare the rate of cooling of a white-hot steel ingot of definite positions situated respectively near its surface and at its centre, and thus to solve a problem which has hitherto been considered to be beyond the range of ordinary experimental methods."

While Professor Roberts-Austen in his address said much to stimulate fresh scientific investigation, and to urge a vigorous training in our future metallurgists, he did not ignore the enormous progress that has been made of late years in the metallurgical art. Such progress, he asserts, can be principally traced to theory. He tells us that, only sixteen years ago, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, then Director of Naval Construction, wrote: "Our distrust of steel is so great that the

material may be said to be altogether unused by private shipbuilders, and marine engineers appear to be equally afraid of it; the question we have to put to the steel-makers is, What are our prospects of obtaining a material which we can use without such delicate manipulation and so much fear and trembling?" It is scientific research that has changed all this, for, side by side with improvements in the quality of steel which is a result of the open-hearth process, elaborate experiments have proved what is the best mechanical and thermal treatment for the metal. In the year ending on June 23 last, no less than 401 ships, of three-quarters of a million gross tonnage, were being built of steel in the United Kingdom. Or, to take a very matter-of-fact sign of progress, the price of steel twenty-five years ago, was £55 per ton. Now it is £5 per ton. This statement alone shows that both speculative and practical faculties have been well at work in the art of metallurgy, even if they have not yet reached the ideal fusion Professor Roberts-Austen is striving to bring about.

The Faraday Centenary.—The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Faraday was celebrated during the month of June at the Royal Institution in a twofold manner: firstly, by conferring honorary membership on several foreign savants, many of whom were present in person to receive the diploma of membership; secondly, by giving the public the opportunity of hearing two discourses on the achievements of the "master." The first of these was delivered in the theatre of the Institution by Lord Rayleigh, the present Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and dealt chiefly with Faraday's physical researches. The second discourse, dealing with his chemical work, was entrusted to Professor Dewar.

To estimate the influence of the intellectual giant of whose simple life and vast achievements we have lately been reminded, would be a difficult task. His researches and teachings are reflected not only in that electrical industry of which we see the beginnings while we cannot predict the development, but also in much of the pure scientific investigation which is going on at the present time. To take one or two examples: the dynamo-electric machine is but the elaborate exaggeration of his famous laboratory manipulations of a bar magnet and a coil of wire by which he discovered magneto-electric induction. The electrical transformer now so widely used in our large electric installations, by which a powerful and dangerous current can be instantly converted into one that is mild and innocent, is the direct outcome of the old laboratory induction coil which was the embodiment of Faraday's great discovery, that an electric current in one circuit can induce another current in a neighbouring one. Very beautifully was this research illustrated in Lord Rayleigh's memorial lecture at the Royal Institution. An incandescent electric lamp, placed in a circuit in which there was no source of power provided, being actually lit by the current induced by a neighbouring circuit which was in connection with a source of electric power. The doctrine of the connection of the sciences so enforced in the teachings of Faraday, is at the root of all real progress in the

applications of electricity. It is vividly exemplified in such an instrument as the electric storage battery, wherein we store up chemical energy to be at will converted into electrical energy. To pass to his influence on scientific research now being conducted, the whole of the brilliant investigations of Dr. Hertz, which seem to prove the identity of light and electricity, and which have already been noticed in this REVIEW, may be said to have been foreshadowed in his remarkable experiments on the magnetisation of light. To him must be awarded the palm of having first connected forces seemingly so different as light and magnetism. Amongst the hopes of Faraday was the attainment of liquid oxygen. He never himself realised this expectation, but its production formed one of the chief features of Professor Dewar's lecture on the chemical work of Faraday, an appropriate illustration showing that his work is being continued by his successors in the same spot where so long he laboured and made his home. In this experiment the liquid oxygen was exhibited boiling at a temperature of about 200 degrees. This was accomplished by the combination of very low temperatures produced by ethylene and high pressure.

Lord Rayleigh pointed out in his lecture that, besides the greater and well-known discoveries of Faraday, there were many matters of minor interest mentioned in his works which have not obtained much general notice, but of decided value. Faraday drew attention to the fact that an antidote to suffocation in an atmosphere of smoke, was to give the lungs a preliminary preparation by a number of deep inspirations and expirations. By so doing, the blood is so aerated as to allow of holding the breath for a much longer period than would be possible without such a preparation. Doubtless many lives might be saved in cases of emergency by adopting the practice of Faraday's prescription. Not least of Faraday's achievements was his marvellous power of diffusing knowledge by means of his experimental lectures. In those eloquent discourses he loved to disclose the great truths of science in the ordinary surroundings of our daily life, and the impression he made was so lasting, even on the minds of non-scientific audiences, that it was a mark of individual power which alone would place him in the ranks of epoch-makers.

Photography by the Electric Spark.—Lord Rayleigh has lately shown that in the rapid duration of the electric spark we have a valuable method of photographing phenomena which pass so quickly as to elude ordinary observation. The magnesium flash light has for long been used as a means of obtaining so-called instantaneous photographs. But rapid as appears the magnesium flash, it subjects the plate to quite a long exposure compared to that obtained under the electric spark. This is made evident, as Lord Rayleigh has shown, by causing a magnesium flash light and electric spark in turn to illuminate a disc composed of white and black sectors, and which is revolved rapidly. The magnesium flash is not instantaneous enough to resolve the grey tint of the revolving disc

into its components, but the electric spark causes the white sectors to be apparently stationary.

The manner in which photographs can be taken by the electric spark is very simple. The sparking arrangement is placed inside an ordinary projection lantern. The electric sparks are condensed by the lantern condenser on to the lens of the photographic camera. The object to be photographed is then placed in front of the lantern condenser, and the plate is exposed to the spark when it passes. One of the rapid actions which Lord Rayleigh has successfully registered is the breaking of the film of a soap-bubble. Several difficulties had to be overcome before this result was obtained. It is not easy to rupture the film of a soap-bubble neatly. If a shot is allowed to fall on a soap-bubble, it will pass through the bubble without making a hole in the film. Lord Rayleigh, however, moistened the shot with alcohol, and found that such a modification of the experiment secured the desired rupture.

In the arrangements for photographing the action, it was necessary to ensure that the spark should take place simultaneously with the breaking of the film. This operation was accomplished by two falling balls, one to break the film, the other to determine the spark. These were held by springs, which were released by the action of electro-magnets. The ball which determines the spark is allowed to fall between two fixed ones, submitted to certain electric pressures, and in connection with the sparking arrangement in the lantern. The moment the falling ball is between the two fixed ones, the spark in the lantern takes place. The following fact shows how extraordinarily rapid the breaking of the film is. Lord Rayleigh found that the whole difference of being too early and too late was represented by a displacement of the falling ball through less than a diameter—viz., $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The drop given was a foot. The speed of the ball would be then about 100 inches per second; therefore the whole difference of being too soon and too late is represented by $\frac{1}{300}$ second. Lord Rayleigh concludes from his experiments that the velocity of the rupture of a film is about sixteen yards per second.

Photography in Colours.—There seems to be some difference of opinion amongst the members of the Photographic Society as to whether the experiments lately carried on at Paris by M. Lippman are likely to lead to a process for fixing objects in their natural colours upon the photographic plate. At any rate, M. Lippman claims to have produced the photograph of the prismatic spectrum. The colours in his photographs seem to be better distinguished when viewed by transmitted than by reflected light. The specimen exhibited at a late meeting of the Photographic Society was not one of M. Lippman's best examples—it was, in fact, taken by one of his assistants—and so indistinct were the colours in it that no one uninformed would have associated them with the colours of the spectrum. The right way to view M. Lippman's work appears to be when the image is cast on a screen by means of an optical projection lantern.

An eye-witness states, in the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, that when M. Lippman thus exhibited a specimen at a recent soir  e in Paris, the spectrum was nearly perfect, being about two feet long and four inches broad. All the colours, excepting the yellow, were satisfactory, though not brilliant. Some of the best negatives that Professor Lippman has taken extend beyond the blue, right into the indigo and violet; in fact, it is stated that some of the extreme violet rays which the human eye is incapable of appreciating are recorded by the more sensitive photographic plate. The yellow and orange, however, fail especially to stand out like the other colours. The idea of obtaining the photographic image of the spectrum is not new. About 1838 Becquerel made experiments on the spectrum colours. He dipped a silver plate in chloride of copper, and connected it with the positive end of a battery. Then the plate was heated, and exposed to the spectrum. Some result was certainly obtained. M. Lippman states that the results obtained by his method are due to the interference of light waves. He covers the surface of a glass plate with a coating of iodide of silver. The plate is placed on the surface of a mercury bath arranged in a vertical camera. The mercury bath acts as a mirror. The rays of light falling on the surface of the metal are reflected back, and interfere with the direct rays. This produces intermittence of light and darkness, according to the well-known laws of the interference of wave-motion. These interferences are registered upon the photographic film in its thickness, and give rise to numerous films after development, of which some are black, and others corresponding to the obscurations are white. According to the action of the rays of different colours the eye perceives the colour answering to each number of waves that make it up. At the discussion at the *Photographic Society* it was suggested that the results obtained were not owing to any specific action of colour, but that since M. Lippman exposed his plates to the influence of a powerful arc light for a considerable time, he so roasted the film that iridescent colours were produced in every variety. According to this opinion, M. Lippman's process would be nothing more than a trick of photography.

With regard to the idea of obtaining photographs in natural colours, some experiments were recently tried by Mr. Warnecke that are worthy of note. He constructed a coloured screen with strips of coloured glass, red, orange, dark and light green, yellow, blue, and violet. He caused light to pass through this screen and fall on albumenised paper, the albumenised side being in contact with a mercury trough. After exposure a very strong and distinct image was obtained, visible not only on both sides of the paper by reflected light, but still more distinctly by transmitted light, the colours being the same as on the screen. Wishing to ascertain whether the colours are due to the interference of light, the experiment was repeated without the mercury reflecting surface, with the same result. The image lost its colours after being fixed in hyposulphite of soda. To test what part duration of exposure played albumenised

paper was exposed behind a sensitometer plate. Very extensive gradations were obtained, but no trace of colour.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1891.

The British Association, which met at Cardiff in August of this year, can hardly be said to have had a successful meeting. The weather was wretched, the attendance below the average, and Swansea held the national Eisteddfod during the same week. The address of the President, Dr. Huggins, was very fine. The extreme modesty of the worthy doctor, who referred most warmly to everybody's labours except his own, was not the least charm. It was a treat, however, to hear from the great pioneer of spectroscopy in this country, a full and authoritative account of the history of the infant science. The general student was anxious to know the later progress of the science and the problems immediately under investigation. On these points Dr. Huggins' address was most instructive. In the head of comets, Dr. Huggins has shown the presence of carbon, a most important point: and he considers the tail is caused by the disruptive electric discharges due to increased solar heat. The solar corona may also be a phenomenon similar to the formation of tails of comets—viz., that it consists mainly of matter discharged by electric forces from the sun. Many of these particles return to the sun, those which form the rays and streamers do not return. The study of the spectra of the fixed stars has also brought out some startling theories. Stars may be divided into three groups: the white stars; those resembling the sun in their spectrum; the orange and red stars. In Dr. Huggins' opinion, the white stars, which are most numerous, represent the early adult stage of stellar life, the solar condition that of maturity or commencing age, while in the orange and red stars we see the setting in and advance of old age. But perhaps the most striking part of the address was that which referred to the remarkable discoveries made in the advance and recession of the stars in our line of sight. It has hitherto been considered a problem beyond the scope of our instruments to determine the motion of the fixed stars. The spectroscope, however, aided by photography, has achieved the marvellous task of recording the motion of the stars with the accuracy, in the case of a large number of them, of about an English mile per second. For the nebula of Orion a motion of recession of about ten miles a second, and the motion of about fifty stars, have been measured. The remarkable spectrum of the Aurora Borealis has up to this refused to give up its secret.

The address was listened to by Lord Bute, in his mayoral robes of office, and nothing could be happier or more delicate than the manner in which he proposed the vote of thanks to Dr. Huggins.

Geological Section.—Professor F. Brown's address was disappointing. It might have been an ancient manuscript drawn from its pigeon-holes on the South Wales coal-field. Sir Archibald Geikie gave some interesting accounts of recent discoveries among the

ancient rocks of Ross-shire. Professor Boyd Dawkins gave a glowing picture of the results to be expected from the recent discovery of coal in Kent. He pictured the days when South Wales would be a melancholy ruin, and its industrial supremacy transferred to the neighbourhood of Shakespeare's Cliff. The section, however, refused to listen to the voice of the charmer, and a certain amount of warmth was imported into the discussion.

Physical Section.—The most original, and to Catholics the most interesting, address was that of Professor Lodge in the Physical Section. It was quite a new departure. Discarding the time-honoured form of a president's address, he boldly advocated, first, a national laboratory; and, second, a serious physical investigation of "thought transference." The first is all very well; but what a storm his second proposal will raise. It is clear that Professor Lodge is far from being a materialist. The facts of life are too strong for materialism. He wants to understand the connection between mind and matter, the border-land between physics and psychology; he pleads for a physical investigation of telepathy, or "thought transference." To him it is a matter of reproach that these problems are treated by his *confrères* with scorn and ridicule. He is little concerned with the ultimate issue of the inquiry, but he feels strongly that science should not wrap itself in a narrow dogmatism and refuse investigation into well-ascertained facts. The theory of the conservation of energy, accepted nowadays as the very foundation of all science, is not altogether satisfactory. It does not account for the phenomenon of life. Life is not energy, and the death of an animal affects the amount of energy not a whit; yet a live animal exerts a control over energy which a dead one cannot.

On the nature of time the Professor threw out some original suggestions. Time may be only a relative mode of regarding things, we progress through and pass by phenomena, and we consider that events necessarily happened in this order and at this precise rate. But this mode of regarding events may be incorrect. They may in some sense be existent always, both in the past and in the future, and it may be we who are arriving and passing through already existing phenomena. If we spent our lives in a railway train and were unconscious of our motion, we should probably consider the landscapes outside of us as having a very brief existence, and be unable to conceive their co-existence.

But the whole paper is full of brilliant suggestions and glimpses of this unknown region, and will well bear perusal.

Geographical Section.—The "lion" of the Cardiff meeting was no doubt Mrs. Sheldon, the plucky traveller who penetrated to the foot of Kilimanjaro with no other escort than that of the savages whom she hired on her journey. It was rather painful to see from her nervousness what trials and anxieties were incidental to such a journey. It was essentially a ladies' paper, pleasant and full of gossip. She dealt entirely with the habits of the natives through whose

districts she passed. She found nothing but kindness and welcome wherever she went. Kings and chiefs vied with each other in their pressing invitations to visit them. With the exception of her escort, which was often unruly and rebellious, she met with nothing but consideration and homage. When the natives first came out to meet her, they were in the usual naked state; but as soon as it was known that the white lady preferred to see them clothed, her wishes afterwards were implicitly obeyed. Of the home life of the women and children she was able to learn much, but the scientific value of her paper was very little.

Miss E. M. Clerke read a very interesting paper on the Aborigines of Western Australia. She showed from the success of Bishop Salvado and his Benedictine monks that the Australian is by no means the hopeless savage that he is usually described.

Economic Section.—This section is increasing in importance each succeeding year. Great things were therefore expected from the Cardiff meeting, but the results are very disappointing. Dr. Cunningham's address, though bristling with clever points, failed to obtain much support for his main contention, that nations, in their industrial life, are leaving the narrow bounds of their own countries and becoming cosmopolitan in their ideas. This is a somewhat startling conclusion, in the face of the McKinley tariff, and the increased protective barriers against the imports of other States raised by all the great nations. The vexed question of the day, of the relations between capital and labour, naturally came in for a good deal of discussion. But no two speakers could agree as to the proposed remedy: the most widely divergent opinions were put forward. The whole discussion left a painful impression that masters and men are hopelessly groping through the darkness, and that political economy is at present quite unable to solve the problem. The most interesting paper was that of Mr. Tylor, in which he gave an account of the manner in which the German Government have solved the question of Compulsory Insurance for Workmen. The scheme in many of its details would be quite inapplicable to our country; still it was very valuable in showing how this very complicated question can be worked out into pounds, shillings, and pence.

There is a general feeling abroad that the British Association is degenerating. It is beginning to fail in securing the great object for which it was established. The loafers and holiday-makers are driving away the real men of science. There is no real attention to the papers. Both reader and student are annoyed beyond measure at the number of casual listeners that drop in at all parts of the paper, and walk out after hearing a few pages. They evidently come not to hear, but to gratify an idle curiosity. On the other hand, the scientific authors are not a little to blame. The bulk of the papers treat of such abstruse and out-of-the-way regions of their subject that discussion is quite impossible. Now, if this discussion and exchange of views is practically to be pushed on one side, the

British Association will quickly lose its *raison d'être*. The Council should seriously take into consideration the loud complaints heard at the Cardiff meeting. The reform should take the direction of fewer and more carefully chosen papers, and every encouragement be given to discussion and criticism. The holiday-makers cannot be dispensed with, as they furnish so large an amount of the sinews of war; but they might well be kept in order by the provision each day of one or two popular lectures, which would not fail to relieve the honest worker of their inconvenient presence in the various sections.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Progress of Mashonaland.—A letter from Fort Salisbury, in the *Times* of June 20, describes the rapid advance of this new English settlement. Prospectors have already been at work scouring the country and marking out claims for future development. Five distinct gold fields have been opened, to each of which a claim inspector and mining commissioner have been appointed, and the results of working, with as yet but very imperfect appliances, are said to justify the most sanguine anticipations. Alluvial gold has also been found in considerable quantities, though not sufficiently great to draw the prospectors from the reefs, easily traced by the old workings. A large part of the country remains still unexplored, as a southern limit had been put to prospecting, for fear of giving umbrage to the Matebeles. The relations of the settlers with the latter continue most friendly, and their ruler, Lobengula, has loyally carried out his engagements. He not only allows herds of cattle to be driven from his kraal into Mashonaland, but has taken the step of becoming a claim-holder under the laws of the Company, and is about to have his property developed. Labour, it is hoped, may, in course of time, also be attracted from his dominions. The Mashonas have, from the beginning, shown themselves amicably disposed, bringing in supplies, and displaying eagerness to be employed as servants and builders, or on the mines. The road southward has been improved, and others are in contemplation, and bridges and ferries are being provided for the passage of the streams. A town site was about to be laid out, when a great scramble was anticipated on the part of those anxious to secure "stands," as the areas into which town blocks are divided are called in that part of the world. There had been a good deal of fever and sickness generally, but it was hoped that with improved dwellings, clothing, and food, it would

diminish, if not disappear. Indeed, when we read of native porridge and pumpkin as the staple fare, its prevalence becomes easily intelligible.

Lions in Mashonaland.—The facilities for lion hunting in Mashonaland, while no doubt adding to its attractiveness for the more adventurous pioneers, will scarcely recommend it to the peaceful agriculturist. A letter, published in the *Times* of August 10, describes as follows the experiences of the writer and his companions :

One of our fellows spent a very pleasant Christmas evening. He was taking the mails from up country down to the next post station. About two or three miles after he had left our camp two lions attacked the horses. He was riding one and leading another with the mails strapped on it in sacks. One lion sprang on to the back of the horse he was riding, and he managed to swing himself off into a tree. The lions left the horses and came and walked about under the tree where he was, and remained there until one of our waggons, which had been left behind broken down, came along the road and frightened them away. He was up the tree seven hours; the horse he was riding went straight to the next post station dreadfully torn, and the one with the mails was brought in there by some natives three days afterwards, but still had the mails on it all right. We marched on next morning at sunrise, and all the population crowded the hilltops to see us; the children ran along the face of the hills alongside the road on paths where you would think a goat would scarcely find a foothold, and with a perpendicular fall of 200ft. or more below them; they ran just as you see children run down a street at home, the big ones first, all crowding and jostling one another, then smaller ones, and five or six fat little black things, that could scarcely walk, at the end, howling like mad at being left behind. The country we were now travelling through was hilly, still the same dome-topped hills thickly wooded and very thickly populated. The natives were very friendly, and we got a good deal of food from them, chiefly rice, and various kinds of nuts and beans, which were very welcome. On the 28th we were unable to march all day on account of the rain, but as it came out a brilliant moonlight night about ten, we marched at midnight. During the night a lion and lioness attacked one of the donkey carts, killed one donkey, and broke the leg of another. I was with a party of ten a short distance behind, and hearing the noise we ran up, and found one of our fellows had just killed the lioness. She was a splendid animal, and measured 9ft. 4in. from nose to the tip of her tail, and stood 33in. at the shoulder. Out of the numbers we saw on the road—for not a night passed without their disturbing us, and once or twice they came up to the camp in broad daylight—this was the only one we killed, though several were wounded.

The Gazaland Envoys.—The chief of the envoys of Gungunhana, King of Gazaland, who rejoices in the name of Huluhulu Umteto, is evidently a man of very superior natural intelligence. In his own country, whither he has now returned, he is an important personage, being at once father-in-law and brother-in-law to the king, and holding the second position, among the advisers of that monarch, next after the official who may be described in European parlance, as the Prime Minister of his irremovable Cabinet. Among the English sights followed by him with the keenest interest, was a sham fight at Aldershot, and on his return to London he showed his comprehension of the whole scheme of attack and defence by his in-

telligent criticism on the handling of one force, and appreciative praise of that of the other, pointing out to his auditors how the action taken must inevitably lead to certain results. On the publication next day of Sir Evelyn Wood's report, it was found to be practically identical with the views expressed by the African soldier, who had it translated to him, and was much pleased to find his opinion confirmed by an English general celebrated in the annals of his native continent. The defeat of the warlike Zulus is, according to Huluhulu, the foundation of English prestige in South Africa, and of this the Portuguese were so well aware, that they spread the report that they and not the English were the victors at Ulundi. The overthrow of Cetywayo had long puzzled the chiefs of Gazaland, as they knew that his troops were superior to any Portuguese forces they had seen. The sight of the cavalry manœuvres at Aldershot solved the riddle to Huluhulu, as the Zulus never had a force which could compete with the English cavalry. The envoy was very anxious to inform himself as to the relative strength of European armies, particularly of those of England and Portugal, as to which it was easy to assure him that the superiority lay with this country. To the inquiry as to what regiment he himself belonged to, he replied "Many regiments belong to me; I do not belong to any regiment." The second envoy, Umfeti, a younger man, occupies a less exalted position, and belongs to the regiment of the "White Birds." The army of Gazaland consists of eight divisions of two regiments each, amounting in all to about 10,000 men, but, like Cetywayo's, it has no cavalry. Gungunhama claims sovereignty from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi, and from the coast to the border of Mashonaland, but though a portion of his territory, including the royal kraal, falls within the sphere of British influence, the remainder is all within the region assigned to Portugal. The mission of the envoys is, they declare, but a continuance by Gungunhama of the policy pursued by his father, which was to enter into alliance with the strongest white Power in Africa. He would be willing to grant mining concessions, and to accept a British Resident as well as a white force in his country, to exercise all administrative authority in matters affecting the rights of white settlers.—(*Manchester Guardian*.)

The Indunas in Manchester.—The Gazaland envoys were present at a meeting of the Manchester Geographical Society, where Huluhulu delivered an address in his own language, translated as follows by the interpreter, Mr. Dennis Doyle :

The object of this mission is to lay the grievances of King Gungunhama at the feet of the Queen, and to interest the English people in this country in the fortunes of Gazaland. We have a beautiful country—a large country—fitted for white men to settle in, and teeming with richness in the ground. There is much gold. The Portuguese have been annoying the King to such an extent that he thought it advisable the English people should know that he did not wish to quarrel with the white people, and the King hopes that by the interference of England such a thing may be prevented. The Portuguese by their action have incited the King's people to rebellion, and it has been

necessary for the King on more than one occasion to punish his chiefs. The names of the two chiefs specially incited to rebel were Hunyana and Spelenyana. King Gungunhama heard from outside sources that the Portuguese claimed sovereignty over his country. It is not true that he or his father or grandfather, or any one authorised by them, had ever paid tribute to the Portuguese. On the contrary, since the Portuguese had entered the country, they had paid tribute to him as King of Gazaland, and up to the present had acknowledged him as supreme ruler. The Portuguese were, therefore, not speaking the truth when they described him as a chief tributary. The King does not want to have to fight the Portuguese. If he has to fight them he wants the English to know that he, at any rate, is not to blame in commencing the quarrel. He has every desire that portions of his country should be placed at the disposal of the white people who come into the place for farming, and that they should make roads and bridges, send missionaries and schoolmasters to them, and generally help the King to educate his people as much as possible. He wants the English people to assist him in suppressing the drink traffic, which is demoralising a large portion of his nation, and which has its entrance through Portuguese ports. The King says that his people are prepared to accept the English protection, and he is prepared to receive at his court a resident from the Queen who shall live with him, carry his words to the Queen, and take the Queen's words to Gungunhama. This white resident shall settle all disputes between whites in the country, and should not interfere with Gungunhama's black races. The King is very anxious that white men should settle in his country and dig for gold, of which he knows there is much. In return the white man will pay the King's men for digging for him. This will enable them to purchase blankets and other white men's clothing, which they are so much in need of. The father and grandfather and great grandfather of Gungunhama were Kings of Gazaland, and his is a royal house.

He concluded by acknowledging the graciousness of his reception by the Queen, and the courtesy he had been shown by Englishmen in general, and declared that his instructions were, that he was to be the mouth and ears of the King, and to speak the words that he knew were in the heart of the King. His speech, which was delivered with great fluency and earnestness, was warmly applauded.

Traffic on the Great Lakes of America.—The figures of the trade on the great inland seas of North America are given in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December 1890. The quantity of goods carried by the Detroit River during the 234 days it had been open to traffic the previous year, exceeded by 10,000,000 tons the entries and clearances of all sea-ports of the United States, and by 3,000,000 the combined foreign and coasting trade of the ports of London and Liverpool, while the tonnage passed through the Sault Ste. Marie in 1889, surpassed that borne by the Suez Canal, though the latter is open all the year round.

Progress in Algeria.—Sir Lambert Playfair concludes his last report on Algeria with a summary of its recent progress. During the last twenty-five years the European population has risen from 218,000 to 425,000; the Treasury receipts from £680,000 to £1,600,000; the vine cultivation from 11,000 hectares, producing 100,000 hectolitres of wine, to 106,000 hectares and some 3,000,000 hectolitres of wine, of which nearly two-thirds are exported to France. The general commerce, which in 1886 aggregated £8,880,000, has

reached £20,040,000. The exports, which have increased 100,000,000f. in ten years, have now, for the first time since the conquest, exceeded the imports. The Governor-General, in his opening address to the last meeting of the *Conseil Supérieur du Gouvernement*, remarked :

If Algeria already occupies so fine a position, in spite of only one-tenth of its surface being turned to account, what may we not expect from her when the immense extent of land still uncleared is brought under cultivation ; when our 2,500,000 hectares of forest shall be in full production ; when the region of the steppes shall be rendered capable of sustaining 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 of sheep ; and, finally, when the natives, realising the changed conditions caused by universal competition, shall modify their traditional system of agriculture and improve their breed of cattle ? Then France, which purchases each year from abroad 2,000,000,000f. (£80,000,000) of raw material, and more than 1,000,000,000f. (£40,000,000) of food supplies, may find in Algeria the wine now furnished by Spain and Italy ; the sheep sent from Germany and Hungary ; the wool imported from Australia ; the hides of South America ; the wheat and Indian corn received from the United States ; and many other substances which can be produced here in abundance.—(*Times*, July 17, 1891.)

A Commercial Journey Across Persia.—A report has been laid before Parliament, from General Gordon, Oriental Secretary of the British Legation at Teheran, describing a journey from that city to the Persian Gulf, by way of Sultanabad, Burujird, Khoremasabad, Dizful, and Ahwaz. Owing partly to difficulties raised by the farmers of the local taxes, and partly to the insecurity of the road through Luristan, merchants have not yet become accustomed to the use of the Karûn route for merchandise, and prefer to send it to the coast by way of Baghdad. Evidences of the existence of petroleum were seen between Shuster and Ahwaz, and an investigation is being made into the resources of the district in this respect. The opening of the Karûn has already had a marked effect on the welfare of the Arab population, and as labour is better paid, many families have been enabled by the savings of a year to buy a pair of donkeys, a plough, and seed-corn, so as to cultivate the Government land on their own account, without having to borrow at ruinous interest. The sheikhs, who formerly had full control of the labour market, giving as wages little more than simple food, now find many of the poor, who were formerly in a state of abject dependence on them, started in life as small farmers on their own account. The wheat trade on the Karûn is also increasing, and rice, oil-seed, cotton and wool, are likely to find their way to the sea by its channel. Hitherto, the Arab traders have carried such products down to Bassorah, thereby incurring a double export duty, Persian and Turkish, amounting to 13 per cent., while with the present route they escape the latter. Corresponding to the growth of trade in the Karûn Valley, and the improvement in the condition of its inhabitants, there is an increasing importation of English and Indian cotton goods and of French sugar, preferred for its low price.

Agriculture in the Karûn Valley.—The agricultural resources of the Karûn Valley are, General Gordon thinks, likely to be deve-

loped by the aid of foreign capital. Negotiations were on foot for long leases of land on the banks of the river, for the cultivation of sugar-cane, cereals, cotton, and the date-palm, but the difficulty was that while the applicants want a lease of sixty years, the authorities refuse to give a longer term than twenty; but he thinks that concessions will be granted to Persian subjects, and then sold to the present applicants. The capability of the land on the Lower Karūn for date culture is so great that it is sure to attract planters, and both the production and the demand increase steadily year by year. Those exported from Bassorah last year amounted to 60,000 tons, and this quantity might be indefinitely increased. An acre of ground holds 100 trees, which begin to bear in five years, and are in full productiveness in seven. Each will then, in a fairly good season, yield a profit of about three rupees, or some £20 per acre, and the ground while the trees are growing, yields a crop of wheat, clover, or grass, and later affords pasture. Native growers profess to be able, in these palm districts, to distinguish by some difference or peculiarity of leaf, stone, or stem, 160 varieties of dates. To all variations in the conditions of soil, water, and climate, the Arab cultivators pay close attention, in order to reap full advantage from them. At various places in the northern part of the route, the liquorice plant was also seen to flourish abundantly, but Persian liquorice, handicapped with the heavy freight to the coast, cannot yet compete with that grown in Asia Minor. At the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, however, the root is collected, and sent by water to Bassorah, and thence to Marseilles. The report shows that, on the whole, the opening to trade of the Karūn River, though as yet in the northern districts partly nullified by bad roads and difficulties of taxation, has, in the region immediately around the river, been productive of the greatest advantage, and seems likely, with the progress of time, to be increasingly beneficial.—(*The Times*, July 16, 1891).

The Khojak Tunnel.—The completion of the Khojak Tunnel, bringing the Quetta Railway to debouch on the plain of Kandahar, marks another stage in the strategic organisation of the North-Western frontier of India. It continues the line from Killa Abdulla to sixty miles beyond Quetta, piercing the Khwaja Amran range, and finally establishing a temporary terminus on the Chaman plain. The entire work, of which the first sod was turned in December 1887, cost 152 lacs of rupees, the original estimate having been exceeded by twelve lacs in consequence of the subsequent authorisation of the construction of an additional seven miles on the Chaman side, and the tunnel having also cost nine lacs more than the calculated outlay. Some of this increase was due to the arbitrary action of the North-Western Railway in raising the rates for the transport of fuel required for working the boring machines after the line had been begun; and extra arching, due to the loose nature of the strata within the mountain, in contradiction to external indications, was another extra item. Then, when the tunnel was within 100

yards of completion, a vertical stratum of clay charged with water was met, from which poured a torrent of water and mud at the rate of several hundred gallons a minute, retarding the work by six months. The cost per yard, nevertheless, was less than that of any of the larger Alpine tunnels, such as the Mont Cenis, St. Gothard, or Arlberg, though they had the advantage of unlimited water power. The rock-drilling machinery used was Schram's, and rope inclines over the mountain, used to transport material from one side of the range to the other, were a feature of the work. They ran up the hillsides at a gradient of one in two and a half, and carried a total of three quarters of a million tons of material. The tunnel, the longest in Asia, is about two and a half miles long. The severity of the winter of 1890-1, when 24° of frost was registered at night, and 40 inches of rain fell in four months, most of it in the form of snow, caused great mortality among the coolies, of whom 1000 perished out of 4000 employed during that winter.—(*Globe*, Aug. 8.)

Locusts in the Punjab.—The plague of locusts, so universal this year, has extended its ravages to the north-western provinces of India and the Punjab.

In vain do the civil servants [writes a correspondent of the *Globe* from Abbottabad] do their best to rid us of this terrible plague which has attacked the whole of the North Punjab this year. In some towns these creatures have come in such overwhelming numbers that dogs and horses refuse to face the living flood crawling in the streets, and we hear of their devouring the entire contents of cloth merchants' shops, having exhausted all other food in the neighbourhood. The trains here are sometimes delayed six hours or more on the line, the locusts having gathered in such masses on the track that the wheels refuse to bite. In Rawul Pindi the troops have lately been turned out to battle with the invaders by driving them into trenches and then burying them; but a few million so killed make no visible difference. During the time that the young locusts are crawling great endeavours are made to stop their march, and many ways have been tried of destroying the insects during the eight weeks before they take wing; the natives, however, are so apathetic in the matter that the poor local commissioner has a bad time, and finds his hands full when locusts appear. The villagers are persuaded occasionally to go out in large parties and chase the creatures off their own particular crops with the aid of a great deal of beating of tomtoms, accompanied by ceaseless jabbering, but with little result, except to secure a few sacks full of the enemy, for which they are paid a reward in the bazaars.

As each locust lays 300 eggs it is almost hopeless to keep down their numbers, and the search for the eggs is often fruitless. The insects are in some stages of a shrimp colour, in others bright yellow, and occasionally blackish. In addition to the injury they inflict on crops they poison the water by crawling into the wells, and so creating danger of epidemic illness.

Coal Mines of Washington Territory.—The last report of the British Vice-Consul at Port Townsend in the new State of Washington, on the Pacific coast of the United States, describes the development of the coal industry of the State during the past year as the largest ever known, both in the opening of new mines and in the increased activity of the working of the old. The principal

coalfields lie between the Cascade and Coast Ranges, those most extensively worked hitherto and affording the present supply being on the western slope of the former chain. The qualities found include lignite and the bituminous and semi-bituminous varieties adapted for cooking and domestic uses as well as for the production of gas and steam. Some specimens of a very fine description of anthracite coal have also been found in the mountains of Yaquina County. The most extensive mines are in the neighbourhood of Puget's Sound, in King, Pierce, and Thurston Counties; those of the two former districts having each produced during the year more than 400,000 tons each. The coalfields are considered practically inexhaustible, but more railways, cheaper ocean transport, improved machinery, and increased capital are required for their development. Labour is well paid, and has been regular and uninterrupted by disputes with employers. The total production of the State for 1889 was 911,527 tons, and for 1890 1,349,773 tons, an increase of 438,246 tons. Prices were steady, the minimum being 8s. 3d. per ton for screenings, while 18s. 9d. was paid for steam coal in large quantities; and the retail price was as high as £1 4s. 9d., the average being about 13s. 9d. per ton all round. Coal is shipped principally under steam and sail to Oregon and California; but there is also a considerable consumption by steamships and tugboats plying on Puget Sound, as well as for domestic purposes. Iron ore is found in large quantities in almost every part of the State, the qualities being hematite, limonite, magnetic, and bog ore.

Culture of Sisal Fibre in the Bahamas.—A sudden impulse has been given to commerce and prosperity in the Bahamas by the recognition of the marketable value of sisal fibre. The aloe-like shrub, which grew everywhere on the rocky soil of the islands, was the plague of agriculture, as it was impossible to eradicate it, its long stiff leaves appearing through every other crop, and monopolising all the nourishment to be extracted from the lime soil of the plantations. The present Governor, Sir Ambrose Shea, discovered in this troublesome weed a valuable commercial product, the fibre of which was recognised by experts from Newfoundland as possessing qualities equal to those of the best rope fibres. Capital was attracted to the new industry by a bounty of £4 10s. per ton exported, and waste lands, previously regarded as worthless, were taken up for the growth of sisal at an advance from the former price of 5s. to four dollars an acre. As an encouragement to investors, the area of Government grants was limited to 100,000 acres for the first ten years, and the last acre available under this restriction has now been taken up, though it is only a year and a half since the industry was set on foot. The allotments have been carefully distributed so as to avoid any disturbance of the labour market, and the largest plantations are, with this view, situated in islands by themselves.

It has been found [says the *Times* of July 20 in its article on the colonies] that an acre of land will produce a yearly crop of about half a ton of fibre. The sisal plants last from twelve to fifteen years. They are planted in rows

with young ones coming up between them, so that the crop is practically self-renewing, while the soil is inexhaustible. The preparation for the market consists simply in crushing the leaves through rollers and washing away the juicy matter which is thus reduced to pulp. Very little labour is required, and while the present price of the fibre ranges up to £34 a ton, the cost of production and delivery averages about £12. The export trade of the Bahamas in the year 1889 was slight—over £130,000. Already it has felt the influence of the fibre industry, and there is a confident anticipation that before the ten years which limit the Government grant have expired the figure of the export trade will have risen to a million and a half.

Citron Culture in Corsica.—A consular report gives details of the culture of the citron, which is one of the most considerable industries of Corsica. A sheltered valley, not more than 200 to 300 feet above the sea, is generally chosen for the site of a garden, and as a supply of water is indispensable, it is generally provided by damming up a stream and constructing a reservoir proportional to the area under cultivation. This is usually of limited extent, the garden sometimes containing only a few trees, and occupying a space of from twelve to sixteen superficial acres. A single tree, when mature, sometimes produces a return of £10 to £12 per annum; but this sum represents a large expenditure of labour in terracing up the soil, making tanks, water conduits, and wells, as well as topping these with a fence of brushwood, to screen the trees in winter. The treatment to which the fruit is subjected in preparing it for the market consists of steeping it in casks of brine, composed of sea-water with an admixture of salt, and perhaps other saline chemicals, according to recipes differing with each individual grower, and kept from general knowledge as a trade secret. All that is essential for the pickling process, however, is the addition of salt to sea-water, in proportions varying according to the size and condition of the fruit. The latter is, for ordinary qualities, cut in half, to admit of the brine penetrating the inner rind, but the finer specimens of fruit, weighing from 2lb. to 3lb., are frequently preserved whole, forming a choice fruit, much prized by Orientals, and differing as much from the ordinary candied citron sold in England as the choicest vintages do from *vin ordinaire*. Leghorn is the chief seat of the citron candying industry, as Italy enjoys an advantage over Corsica in the drawback on the sugar used in the process. The “cedrat,” or citron tree, is liable to a variety of diseases, of which “white-root,” a fungoid growth which attacks the cortical tissues and ultimately destroys the plant, is the most formidable.

The Oil Rivers Protectorate.—The Oil Rivers territory, constituted in 1884 a British Protectorate, is now administered by Major Macdonald as Commissioner, a somewhat anomalous form of government, which it is hoped may be only a transition stage preliminary to its being taken over as a Crown colony. Separated from the colony of Lagos on the north by the Benin River, the line dividing it from the German territory of the Cameroons remains yet to be ascertained, as the unexplored Rio del Rey, rashly assumed as the boundary, proves to be no river at all, and non-existent for pur-

poses of demarcation. There is also some vagueness of outline at the point where the Protectorate meets the sphere of the Royal Niger Company, and the work of delimitation will also have to be completed here. Its coast line of 350 miles includes the ramifying outlets of the Delta of the Niger and the associated systems of the Bonny and Old Calabar Rivers, forming a network of connected waterways, glassy as canals, and overarched by the interlacing boughs of mangrove swamp-forest. Hulks, anchored in the rivers, form in many cases the factories and residences of the English merchants, the system of house-boats having prevailed here long before its adoption on the Thames. At no distant time, health resorts will, no doubt, be established on the mountains of the interior, 3000 to 5000 feet high. It is only since the declaration of the Protectorate that direct trade with the interior has been possible, as the powerful tribes of the sea-board, the former monopolists of the slave trade, continued to hold the outlets of trade, and were jealously resentful of all attempts to oust them from their lucrative position as middlemen, taking toll of every form of traffic. Under an arrangement come to with the Chief of Opobo, these restrictions have been removed, and a rapid development of commercial relations has taken place. The principal British firms are now organised as a limited company, trading under the name of the African Association, with a capital of £2,000,000, and power to increase to £5,000,000.

Trade of the Protectorate.—The value of imports into the Oil Rivers, estimated for the three years ending in 1889 at £730,000 per annum, has probably had a large subsequent increase, as prices have risen, while the volume of trade has augmented as well. The value of their exports for 1890 was estimated at over £1,300,000, after adding freight and charges. Palm oil is the staple, and the number of tons imported by the United Kingdom had grown from 200 in 1808, 13,850 in 1836, and 20,732 in 1844, to 43,696 tons in 1890. Marseilles, Havre, and Antwerp take 8000 to 10,000 tons in addition; but the whole of these quantities does not come from the Oil Rivers, as the Congo and Niger, Lagos and the Cameroons also send their share. Of palm-kernels, the export of which only began in 1860, 20,000 tons are now sent from the rivers to continental ports, and a like quantity to Great Britain. Rubber is as yet exported only by Old Calabar, but in increasing quantity and of improved quality, while efforts are being made to instruct the natives in its preparation elsewhere. Cocoa plantations have also been introduced with success, as both climate and soil are favourable to its growth. About 1000 tons of ebony are annually sent to Europe, and this trade is an increasing one, but that in ivory, on the other hand, has almost ceased.

Cañon of the Colorado.—The result of a survey of the Cañon of the Colorado, with a view to a railway through that celebrated gorge, is given in the *American Engineering News*. That this is practicable, despite its depth, without much tunnelling, is the conclusion reached by the engineer, who says that while in some places

the Cañon expands into wide valleys, there are, even where it narrows, terraces along its sides, like the "parallel roads" of Glen Roy in Scotland, which seem as if designed to carry the track. The tributaries will be easily bridged, and twenty miles of tunnelling and ninety-nine of granite cutting will be all required in the whole length of 1019 miles.

Notes on Novels.

The Alderman's Children. By J. BRINSLEY RICHARDS.
London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1891.

THE author of "The Duke's Marriage" does not, in the volumes before us, deal with heroic types of character, or attempt to rise, save in the misdeeds of his villain, above the level of the commonplace. His hero, for as such, in default of a better, Charlie Harrowell must be taken to stand; is one of the feebly amiable youths, for whose failings the invariable charitable excuse is that "they are easily led." Marked out by nature as the predestined prey of the social harpy, he falls easily into the clutches of one of this class, with more than ordinarily tragical consequences. The decoy with which Chauncey Travers baits his hook is a pretty and innocent sister, interwoven, without conscious participation on her side, into his tissue of crime. As her husband, a convict undergoing penal servitude at Portland for the supposed murder of his father-in-law, is an obstacle to his designs, he gets rid of him by a forged certificate of his death sent to his wife, and of hers to him. Charlie's engagement to her being thus rendered possible, the ruthless schemer then proceeds to further facilitate the course of true love, by the coldblooded murder of Alderman Harrowell, the father of his dupe. The latter, thus rendered the possessor of a very large fortune, naturally becomes the object of other matrimonial designs, but remains constant, despite the advances of a nobly-born maiden who is quite willing to take all the trouble of courtship off his hand. Meantime, the machinations of Travers are blown to pieces by the discovery of the innocence of his convict brother-in-law, and Charlie becomes once more the half-willing and permanent captive of the damsel of high degree. His sisters are assisted by the possession of large fortunes to form commonplace engagements, the one with a newspaper correspondent, the other with the ever-ready curate, and thus the requisite number of marriage bells are set jangling at the end of the third volume. Mr. Richards' vivacity of

style renders his narrative an eminently readable one, and his characters, if they do not soar above the ordinary level of human nature, are sufficiently true to the types they purport to represent.

The Quiet Mrs. Fleming. By RICHARD PRYCE. London : Methuen & Co. 1891.

THIS volume is a good example of a sensational story, which keeps within the bounds of ordinary probability. It introduces "the quiet Mrs. Fleming" as the seemingly respectable tenant of a lodging in an obscure watering-place, where her secret, though a somewhat burdensome one, remains for some time unsuspected. It is connected with an exceptionally large and massive trunk placed in the lady's bedroom, which is always kept carefully locked, except during the one half-hour of the day, when it is entered by the woman of the house. Of course, the trained novel-reader quickly connects these suspicious circumstances with a mysterious jewel robbery then engaging the attention of the public and police, who have failed to discover any clue to the perpetrators. The victim of the crime, a lady living in a country-house, had previously entertained under her roof an elderly friend, accompanied, as her personal attendant, by Mary Harson, a very pretty and much-trusted parlour-maid, whose connection with the robbery, despite her unimpeachable antecedents, will be at once as clear to the perspicacious student of fiction as her identity with "the quiet Mrs. Fleming." Though guilty as an accomplice in the theft, by supplying the information which made it possible, she has only been so under the influence of a man who married her for the purpose of making her his tool. He, sought for by the police for murder as well as robbery, since he had shot one of the servants in the course of his burglarious proceedings, is the mysterious occupant of the trunk in the seaside lodgings, where his suicide, to escape imminent arrest, releases his partner in guilt from her bondage to him.

He Fell among Thieves. By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY and HENRY HERMAN. London : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

THE title of this book is certainly justified by its contents, as no horde of banditti were ever more mercilessly bent on plunder than the gang of bloodsuckers into whose hands the hapless hero, Harry Wynne, falls at the outset of the tale. It is to be hoped, however, that few young men attain the age of three-and-twenty with such an unexhausted fund of gullibility as he was possessed of, and few, it must be added, fall into positions so equivocal without a greater amount of previous wrong-doing than his. His troubles all grow out of a comparatively innocent game of *ecarté*, at which he has the misfortune to lose three hundred pounds, and thus to make

acquaintance with a phase of life worthy to be ticketed, like Dante's "Inferno," with a last adieu to hope. In other words, he falls into the hands of usurers, who manage to defame as well as fleece him; his relatives cast him off; and, worst of all, his engagement with the beautiful Inthia Grey is put an end to by her guardians. A seven years' absence, in the course of which he assumes the name of a dead comrade, Ronald Merton, and becomes a world-famous traveller, finds him still constant to his boyish love, and she to its memory, though believing him dead. His meeting with her in the disguise of his assumed identity and altered appearance is the most powerful stroke in the book, and the half-recognition, that thrills without convincing her, is described with a force and reality that redeems the improbability of the situation. The fresh adventures into which he is betrayed by his pseudonym are ingeniously contrived, and the shady characters to whom it introduces him are described with Mr. Christie Murray's usual happy power of delineating that genus.

Heaps of Money. By W. E. NORRIS. New Edition. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1891.

MR. NORRIS is one of the most equal of contemporary novelists, and may always be relied on to produce a brightly written and entertaining story, whose interest is of a healthy and natural order. His success is due to his avoidance of those shoals and quicksands on which so many modern writers of fiction suffer shipwreck, forced sensationalism on the one hand, and introspective, or psychological analysis on the other. Keeping his events within the range of ordinary probability, and seeking his scenes and characters among those which a wide experience of men and things has evidently rendered familiar to him, he yet escapes, through his appreciative knowledge of human nature, from sinking to the lower level of the commonplace. In "Heaps of Money" we are introduced to an interesting heroine, living in comparative poverty with a slightly disreputable father, in the little town of Blasewitz, not far from the Saxon capital. Here love steals upon her in the guise of friendship, with George Mainwaring, a roving Englishman and dilettante violinist, as its object. The wealth, longed for in her girlish dreams, comes to her only to interpose a barrier to her happiness, its inheritance by her intervening between his tardy courtship and the proposal which the fear of misconstruction of his motives then withholds him from making. She goes to London to find that her inheritance brings cares and troubles unknown to her days of poverty, the principal being the estrangement of her father, under the deteriorating influences of unaccustomed prosperity. Driven by force of circumstances into a loveless engagement to a needy young nobleman, she only realises her position when her old hero returns from Canada with the imaginary barrier between them broken down by his acces-

sion in turn to a large fortune. The solution is afforded by the loss of hers, with her consequent release from all engagements contingent on it.

A Russian Priest. Pseudonym Library. Vol. vii. London :
T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

THIS volume, translated from the Russian, is interesting rather as a study of rural life and the position of the priesthood in Russia, than as a romance. Its hero, Cyril Ignatievitch, filled with an exalted wish to devote himself to the poor and neglected, rejects the lucrative posts to which his academic distinctions entitle him, to take the incumbency of a remote rural parish. His first trial is from the indignation of his own family at his throwing away his opportunities, in their failure to understand or enter into his motives. In his parish he is an equal object of reprobation to his brother clergy, whom his reform of the prevailing system of charging heavy fees for all religious ministrations reduces almost to starvation. His wife, for marriage is an indispensable condition of ordination in Russia, is equally remote from sympathy with his feelings, and is persuaded by her mother to abandon him altogether, when a visitation of famine and fever in his district obliges him to forget all other ties in ministering to the necessities of his flock. Thus he is left, at the close of the tale, totally isolated, but an object of reverential affection to the poor people who have been saved by his exertions. The preface alludes to a movement among the upper classes in Russia, for elevating and influencing the peasantry by living amongst them and sharing the actual conditions of their lives. These philanthropic efforts are generally associated with the propagation of Nihilistic doctrines, and are consequently looked on with disfavour by the Government. The experiment seldom succeeds in its purpose, as those who undertake it, mostly young men and women educated in cities, are physically unfitted for it, and become objects of derision to the peasantry, whom they seek to leaven with their views.

The Witch of Prague. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London :
Macmillan and Co. 1891.

MR. CRAWFORD, who is capable of so much better things, has not shown himself worthy of his reputation in entering the ranks of those second-rate authors, who have seized on the revival of interest in mesmeric phenomena, to furnish them with a subject capable of lending itself to cheap sensationalism. It is perhaps the greatest tribute to the author's power to say that the sequence of wild and repulsive extravagances he has strung together in the volumes before us are not absolutely unreadable, as they ought to be, if dependent on their intrinsic interest, for their power to enter-

tain. For he does not confine himself to the miracles of hypnotism alone, but interweaves them with other experiments in mystical physiology, such as the indefinite prolongation of life by the transfusion of blood, and the effects of this ghastly substitute for the long sought elixir of youth. Unorna, the Witch of Prague, of mysterious wealth and unknown parentage, combines in her own person all the powers possessed by the baleful enchantresses of old. Beautiful, with what seems to the ordinary reader the serious drawback of having eyes of different colours, she is endowed over and above her personal charms, with the mesmeric power of lulling people into a sleep or trance, in which they become the unreasoning slaves of her will. Though loved by many, she has remained herself impervious to such weakness, until the advent of the hero, known throughout as "The Wanderer," finds her for the first time in a melting mood. He, however, being on his side intent only on the search for a lost charmer of the name of Beatrice, remains entirely unresponsive, and when rendered hypnotically oblivious of his first love, can be induced to profess nothing more than the most languid friendship for her would-be rival. The witch has a confederate in a gnome-like being endowed with the improbable name of Keyork Arabian, and they carry on between them a series of machinations which it would be loss of time to trace out in detail.

Notices of Books.

The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne. With Selections from his Letters. Edited by AUGUSTA THEODOSIA DRANE. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. (7s. 6d.)

IT was known that Archbishop Ullathorne had left extensive notes on his earlier life, and that it was his intention that these should be used after his death, for the purpose of a biography. But it will probably be a surprise to most readers to find that before he died he put together what amounts to a fairly complete account of his career up to the time when, at the age of forty-four, he was appointed the first Bishop of Birmingham. It is no easy thing for a man to write his own life. No one can satisfactorily describe his own character, or weigh his own motives. As the Archbishop himself remarks, in a passage of a private letter quoted in the editor's preface, there are two objections to writing about one's self: "One is the necessary egotism of such a narrative, and the other the fact that the external and visible outlines which are all I can touch on, give no fair representation of that verit-

able life which is wholly of the soul." Yet a history of what was external and visible in the career of a remarkable man can never fail to discover his mind and spirit. The Archbishop could not help knowing that he had seen many men and many things, and that he had shared in one or two passages of history which must always be interesting to his fellow Catholics, and even in some degree to the British public in general. He was a man who was quite incapable of working up a narrative of this kind for the purpose of self-glorification. Indeed he was just the one to see with the utmost clearness that even a touch or a taint of vanity would spoil the story irretrievably, even from an artistic and a literary point of view. Yet he thought, and thought with justice, that a plain history, neither so brief as to be a mere diary, nor so colourless as to be without all expression of feeling, would be welcomed by those who revered his memory, and would not be unworthy of one whose ambition it was to walk in the sight of God rather than to bring himself before the eyes of men. Archbishop Ullathorne has performed this task with complete success. The narrative is easy and flowing, the style simple but graphic, and at times picturesque, whilst the opinions and reflections which he occasionally allows himself to put forth have an originality and a weight such as those who knew him were prepared to expect.

The book, as now presented, consists of twenty-four chapters. The principal divisions into which it may be said to fall are six: birth and early recollections, collegiate and monastic life, Australian experiences, visits to Rome, missionary work at Coventry, and the beginnings of his episcopate (at Bristol). Of these sections, that which relates to Australia (including his very remarkable reminiscences of Norfolk Island, as well as of New Zealand) is considerably the longest.

Born in 1806, at Pocklington, in Yorkshire, William Ullathorne was brought up by Catholic parents amid the Protestant surroundings of an English village. He learnt his prayers at his mother's knee, attended the village school, and boarded at times with the village blacksmith, and the village wheelwright. His childish fancy was excited by the sights and sounds of war which found their way even into remote Yorkshire solitudes—by the red-coated black-gaitered militia on the village green, the one-armed sailor who sang about the French, and the dark stories of "Buonaparte" and his doings. He attended the Mass of the powdered *émigré* priest in the two-windowed chapel at Pocklington, and silently imbibed impressions of the religious ideas of his Anglican and Methodist neighbours, whilst York Minster, the Grecian statues of a neighbouring park, the "Arabian Nights," and the Apocalypse variously contributed to "open his young mind to the ideal."

When he was about ten years old his father went to live at Scarborough, where the boy went to school in the transept of the old parish church, which was walled off for the purpose. He thus describes the religious "privileges" of Catholics at Scarborough about the year 1816 (the Mr. Haydock referred to was the Rev. George Leo Haydock, then resident at Whitby):

Whilst our education was going on in these Protestant schools we laboured under a great disadvantage in only having a priest at Scarborough one Sunday in six weeks. This was a great disappointment to my parents, who knew there was a good chapel and presbytery in the place, but did not find out that there was no resident priest until they had fixed their own residence. Mr. Haydock, the editor of Haydock's Bible, came once in three months; and Mr. Woodcock, of Egton Bridge, also came once in three months. They were both Douay priests, and as they generally dined at our house, I used to be much entertained with their college stories. On the five Sundays intervening between their sacerdotal visits, it was arranged that the flock should attend chapel morning and afternoon as usual, and my father and Mr. Pexton (who had been a Church student at Ushaw, but had given up the idea of the ministry) were appointed to act as readers on alternate Sundays. First the usual English prayers were said aloud, then all in silence read the prayers for Mass in the "Garden of the Soul," making a sort of spiritual Communion, and then the lector for the week read one of Archer's sermons, which my father did from his usual seat, but Mr. Pexton stood before the Communion rails facing the people. In the afternoon the usual psalms and prayers were said aloud, and the children said the catechism to the lectors. None of us youths had made our first Communion, and as to confirmation, we had none of us ever seen a bishop, either at Pocklington or at Scarborough. There were only four in all England and Wales.

About the age of thirteen, the young man set his mind on going to sea. Embarking at Scarborough, he led the life of a sailor for about four years, visiting various ports in the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Many of these places are here described, together with some of the scenes which struck his youthful imagination and indelibly impressed themselves upon his memory; although, as he says, "I was then but a cabin boy with my thoughts buried under a hairy cap" (p. 23).

It was at Memel that he received his call to give himself wholly to God. On board his vessel was a Catholic mate, who, one Sunday morning when they lay in Memel Harbour, took him with him to the Catholic Chapel. "The Mass had begun when we entered the Chapel. . . . The men knelt on the right side, the women on the left, all dressed very plainly and much alike. With their hands united and their eyes recollected, they were singing the Litany of Loretto to two or three simple notes, accompanied by an instrument like the sound of small bells. The moment I entered I was struck by the simple fervour of the scene; it threw me into a cold shiver, my heart was turned inward upon myself, I saw the claims of God upon me, and felt a deep reproach within my soul" (p. 31). During the rest of the voyage he read Marsollier's "Life of St. Jane Chantal," and Gobinet's "Instruction of Youth," the only religious books which his friend the mate, an old Stonyhurst boy, had on board with him; and on his return to Scarborough, it was speedily arranged that he was to go to Downside.

We have a very interesting sketch of his novitiate and early religious life at Downside. Here, after making his general confession and his first Communion, he began to understand the devotional life of the Catholic Church. He had now two things to look after, his studies and his soul; and in both, he says, "I had everything to make up."

He became a postulant at the beginning of 1824, and received the habit of St. Benedict on March 12th of the same year. The dignity, piety and kindness of the superiors attracted his reverence, and gave his heart a delicious sense of peace and calm after the roving and almost reckless life which he had been leading. The prior at that time was Dr. Barber, a grave and spiritual-minded man, whose beautiful discourses the archbishop often spoke of in after life. The novice-master was Father Polding, afterwards Archbishop of Sydney; in him, he says, "I found all that my soul needed"; to quote words of a later date, "You were my first, my constant and my best instructor in the spirit of the religious life. It was you who early inspired me with that missionary spirit which counts self as nothing in pursuit of the salvation of immortal souls." Afterwards, as a missionary priest he was to walk by the side of his venerated teacher at the Antipodes, and to be guided by him in his work. His Professor of Theology was Father Joseph Brown, afterwards Bishop of Newport and Menevia, of whom he always said that he was the only person from whose living voice he ever learnt much. Most of what he acquired was through books and reading; but in Dr. Brown he found a teacher who spoke from the digested stores of his mind. The archbishop, in this chapter, records with some minuteness, what he calls the great landmarks of his reading as a student, mentioning the subjects, treatises and authors which he went through at Downside. He confesses he used to read too late at nights, contrary to rule, and that as a consequence, he was often found wanting in choir, when Matins had begun; but this fault he corrected, confessing it and receiving a public rebuke. The editors add, on the authority of a friend to whom he confided it, that whenever in later years he visited Downside, he always assisted at the office in choir as an act of reparation for former negligence. We may remark that it is somewhat strange that no reminiscences are found in these pages of the opening of the Church at Downside in 1824—an event which was not without interest at the time.

In 1831 Archbishop Ullathorne was sent to Ampleforth, and was appointed Prefect of Discipline. He tells us that there was at first a small rebellion against him, the boys chalking on the walls "No Hunt! No Reform." (The editor might have favoured the present generation with a note on this passage, for fame is fleeting, and it is possible that in these days some people may not be clear in their minds about "Orator Hunt," who in that stormy year 1831 was, to a large and respectable portion of the English people, the leading demon of radicalism and mob-rule). The new Prefect, however, quelled the disturbance, and he and his boys "became good friends and understood each other." It was at Ampleforth that he began to study St. Denys the Areopagite, which exercised a great influence on his mind; and there is a tradition (though it is not referred to in these pages) that some of the bad behaviour of his young flock occurred at times when their Prefect was so immersed in a huge tome of this favourite author as to have forgotten their existence. It was in this year that he was ordained priest. He says:

Meanwhile, I had received the Order of Priesthood, together with Mr. Sinnot, from Bishop Painswick at Ushaw. This, to me, great event took place on the Ember Saturday of September 1831; nor need I dwell upon the great change which the priesthood wrought in my spiritual habits. Only those who, after long preparation, have entered under obedience into that sublime state and office, can in any degree realise what the Sacrament of the Priesthood does for the soul of the receiver. For weeks after my ordination I seemed to feel the sacred unction on my hands. The thought and feeling with which the Priesthood inspired me was one of "sacrifice," making it appear to be the natural life of a priest whose soul had undergone a transformation into a new order of existence. The ideas of "monk" and "priest" appeared to my mind's eye in singular correlation with each other. The monk, as the man spontaneously offered to God through the call of His election of Grace; whilst the priesthood, imparting the distinctive character of Christ to the soul, absorbed the hidden life of Our Lord, and brought Him forth an open sacrifice for the souls of men. The tremendous mystery of the altar took visible form in my eyes, and was coloured to my inward sense as that divine oblation of the Immaculate Lamb, which on Heaven's golden altar was ever offered before the majesty of the Father, the earthly repetition of which made by mortal man seemed to make the material altar stream with grace (p. 51.)

In 1832, with the full consent and advice of his superiors at Downside, he sailed for Australia, with the titles of Vicar-general and of "His Majesty's Catholic chaplain in New South Wales." There have appeared from time to time partial accounts of the laborious and eventful ten years which followed. The full history of what he did and went through, which occupies 150 pages of the book before us, will be read with much interest by all English speaking Catholics, but especially by the present generation of priests and laity who have entered into the inheritance of his labours in the vast and prosperous continent to which he gave the most vigorous portion of his life. We will not attempt even to summarise it. When he arrived at Sydney (after touching at Van Dieman's Land, and spending a short time at Hobart Town) he looked so youthful, that Father Therry, the priest in charge, and even Father Therry's housekeeper, were at first somewhat patronising. But after dinner Dr. Ullathorne produced the document appointing him Vicar-General over the whole continent, and as soon as Father Therry had read it, he immediately went on his knees. This act of obedience and submission naturally gave Dr. Ullathorne great relief. But, though his jurisdiction was extensive, his flock was small, and his fellow-labourers in the vineyard were both few and unsatisfactory. The morning after his arrival, as he came from Mass in the little chapel (to quote his words):—

Father Therry met me and said: "Sir, there are two parties among us, and I wish to put you in possession of my ideas on the subject." I replied, "No, Father Therry, if you will pardon me, there are not two parties." He warmed up, as his quick sensitive nature prompted, and replied, with his face in a glow: "What can you know about it? You have only just arrived, and have had no experience." "Father Therry," I said with gravity, "listen to me; there *were* two parties yesterday, there are *none* to-day; they arose from the

unfortunate want of some person endowed with ecclesiastical authority, which is now at an end. For the present, in New South Wales, I represent the Church, and those who gather not with me scatter. So now there is an end of parties."

Among the striking features of this part of the autobiography is a sketch of Archbishop Polding, the first Bishop of the Australian continent, who went out in 1835. It is too long to quote, but there are many yet living who remember the venerable old man, and who will read with emotion the beautiful pages (from 112 to 116) which describe his incessant labour, his wonderful influence over the convicts, and his tender and motherly heart.

Dr. Ullathorne's work at Coventry, which extended from 1841 to 1846, and included the building of the church and the beginning of his relations with Mother Margaret Hallahan, is treated in considerable detail. There is much to be learned in this part of the narrative by missionary priests on the art of missionary labour, and the way to win souls. The writer speaks here of the time at Coventry as a most happy time, and so he always spoke of it. But there exist one or two letters of his—soon, we hope, to see the light—which express in great detail the ideas and the aspirations of his heart in the presence of the great work of the conversion of the country. These were written in the little parlour of his Coventry presbytery, and they are necessary to complete the picture of his missionary work. He had no illusions about mission work in England. He knew well that the vast fortress of Protestantism was not to be carried by a *coup de main*. When Dr. Gentili, in later days, used to express his opinion that the English clergy were asleep, and that the great requirement of the time was the excitement of missions and of controversial warfare, an opinion which that great preacher modified before his lamented death, Dr. Ullathorne maintained that the priests, as a rule, thoroughly understood their work, and spoke with great conviction of their steady, quiet, and prudent labours, and of their self-denial.

The book concludes with the beginnings of the writer's episcopate, describing his work in Bristol (including his "completion" of the present Catholic Cathedral), and leaving us at his entrance into Birmingham in August 1848. We have said enough, we trust, to show its interest, and doubtless it will be widely read. Whoever reads it will find it an unconsciously-drawn portrait of the writer's mind. We have here a man who is earnest and spiritual; who is fond of getting to the root of things, yet rather proud of being a man of policy and practical resource; who loves souls, and lives for the Church of God; who never hesitates to cross an ocean, or to write a book, or to enter a condemned cell, or to make interest with the great and the powerful if he can by any means promote the kingdom of God; who can tell a story well, and loves to say a thing quaintly; can enjoy a jest, and is, in his old age, just a little inclined to the old man's fault of garrulity. We have here Archbishop Ullathorne as he talked in his later years to a younger generation, and the book, though it teaches much, will suggest more—by bringing back to the mind the great principles and the

spiritual views for which he laboured all his life through, by his work and by his books.

We need not only add that the editor's work is excellent, and that the notes give additional value to the text.

The Letters of the late Father George Porter, S.J. Archbishop of Bombay.
London : Burns and Oates. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THE late Archbishop of Bombay, better known to a very wide circle of friends here in England as Father George Porter, was a voluminous letter writer. Busy as he was with the cares of important offices in the religious Order of which he was such a distinguished member, he found time to answer every letter addressed to him, and to answer it in detail, and as a rule, on the same day on which it was received. It was his custom, too, to add to his letters little details that he thought would interest his correspondent, notes on travel, comments on books (of which he was "a mighty hunter"), and shrewd observations on current events. The volume before us contains only letters dating from the later years of his life, and only a tithe even of the correspondence of this period, yet it ranges over an immense variety of subjects, and he must be a very fastidious reader who cannot find in its pages much to interest him. Many will turn to it chiefly in order to gather here and there something of the wise counsel on the ways of the spiritual life, in which Father Porter used to display at once his wide knowledge of the traditional lore of the masters of the science of the saints, and that rare practical wisdom that knew so well how to apply it to the circumstances of the busy life of our own day. At times too in letters to converts one finds difficulties met, or the teaching of the Church summed up with the clear accuracy of the thoroughly trained theologian. The Indian letters which form the second part of the volume present a vivid picture of missionary life in a great diocese, where the Church has not yet achieved anything like the success that has attended the efforts of her missionaries in some of the older missions of the South of India, and where in fact the period of difficult beginnings is not yet over. These Indian letters should be carefully studied by all who wish to realise the position of the Church in our Eastern Empire. Here and there are passages which a more cautious editor might have kept out of print, as they frankly comment upon persons still living in the Bombay diocese, but even these possible indiscretions add to the value of the book by making the picture more complete. Death overtook the Archbishop in the midst of plans for great things in his diocese, of which he hoped at least to lay the foundations, leaving their completion to others. His practical common sense forbade him to hope for speedy and sweeping changes for the better in Indian life. What was to be done he knew must be the gradual growth of a long period. One idea comes out strongly in the letters, the conviction that the Catholic Church would be the great agent of

reform, and that the first great step must be to improve the status of the women of India, the mothers of her people.

The book is from the first page to the last a treasury of ripe thought and shrewd observation, bright with that even good humour and good temper that were so characteristic of the writer of the letters. For the many friends who so often turned to him for counsel or encouragement, and never in vain, it will have a special value, for it will come to them like a voice from the dead, and in its pages they will find the portrait of "Father George" traced by his own hand.

Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. By F. A. GASQUET, O.S.B., D.D., and EDMUND BISHOP. Second Edition. London: John Hodges. 1891. (12s.)

WE are glad to receive a second edition of Dom Aidan Gasquet's and Mr. Edmund Bishop's work on "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer." The issue of another edition of that volume so soon after the first bespeaks the interest that is taken in this liturgical question at the present day. A time there was, and that not far removed from our own, when few cared to inquire into the merits or demerits of the Book of Common Prayer. In those days Anglicans of the pious type looked upon this child of the English Reformation as heaven-born. On the other hand, the Latitudinarian majority considered it as good as any other offspring, and clung to it because it was English-born, and had defiance to the Pope of Rome writ large on its brow. The ideas of the people of this nation have changed considerably during the course of this nineteenth century, and nowadays most Anglicans affect a love for that which is ancient and genuine in Liturgy, and hence the growing desire of some in the English national Church to set up an ancient pedigree for the Book of Common Prayer. The decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his assessors in the Lincoln judgment was a desperate attempt to establish both nobility of origin and a Catholic parentage for the sixth Edward's bantling. On each of the points at issue we find in the archiepiscopal decision allusions to and quotations from the ancient and venerable Liturgies of the Eastern and of the Western Church. But that which seemed most to fascinate the primatial mind was the Mozarabic Liturgy. "Scholars are now investigating," says Dr. Benson, "the large use of it made in other parts of the books in 1549 and 1552" (p. 10). This passage, no doubt, thrilled with expectation the soul of many a Ritualistic clergyman eager to justify and glorify from his pulpit that book, which the same Archbishop has styled "*our incomparable Liturgy.*"

Though the authors of "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer" published their work before the delivery of the Lincoln judgment, they have virtually answered these pretensions, and have clearly proved the Anglican Liturgy to be anything but heaven-born. They have further shown that even its earthly parentage can lay no claim either to ancientness of descent or to ecclesiastical respectability.

The Book of Common Prayer is the Breviary and Missal united into one volume. We must keep these two branches of the Liturgy entirely apart, if we desire to know the worth of Cranmer's production. No one will be found to question the fact that before the Council of Trent there existed, by virtue of custom and the tacit approval of the Holy See, a certain freedom in the ordering of the Psalter and of the Lectionary of the Divine Office. That freedom had its limitations. The division of the daily service of God into definite canonical hours was preceptive as well as traditional. No local prelate, however great might be his see, was at liberty to entirely recast the Breviary as he listed. The boast of the Reformers was that they swept away the superstitious accretions of the Dark Ages, and returned faithfully to primitive usages. This was an empty boast. There is no gainsaying that prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hour of the day is an Apostolic usage. The Acts of the Apostles bear witness to this. The Divine Office throughout the Universal Church still adheres to this Apostolic practice in the Hours of Tierce, Sext, and None. What, we may ask, has become of these services in the Anglican Liturgy? They have been omitted altogether, and that without apology or regret. Matins and Evensong alone survive, but in so altered a form that they can scarcely be recognised as having once found a place in the Breviary. Even Matins and Vespers would have shared the fate of the rest had not social and pecuniary considerations tempered the fiery zeal of the reformer. The ancient benefices rested then, as they do now, on the due and faithful performance of the choral services. No divine office, no enjoyment of the fruits of the benefice, was a canonical axiom then as at present. It became a matter of necessity to keep up as much choral service as would prove a title to the emoluments of the ancient cathedrals, and keep in check the royal spoiler's greed. Had the Crown seized and appropriated the revenues of all the ancient benefices, there would not be found in the Anglican Liturgy at this day even a remnant of the choral services for which the cathedrals had been piously endowed. Matins and Evensong would now be as much forgotten by the people of this land as are the Hours of Tierce, Sext, and None.

If from the Breviary we turn to the Liturgy of the Holy Mass, we shall find the spirit of reckless innovation still more rampant. The freedom that was tolerated in the Divine Office, was never claimed or exercised in the Liturgy of the Altar. The Mozarabic Rite, as those of both East and West, kept intact the five great Scriptural and Apostolic divisions of the Sacrifice of the Christian Church. Of these divisions none were so sacred and important as the *Action* or *Consecration*. The Apostolic See from the earliest ages possessed, cherished, and kept inviolate a *canon* or *rule* for this portion of the Mass. This canon had been followed in Britain from the first. The Celtic bishop and priest, and after them the Saxon, Dane, and Norman, all alike sacrificed to God according to the very letter of this venerable rite. Great Popes, such as St. Leo and St. Gregory, inserted a few words into the text of the canon, and did so with holy fear and humble

reverence. They would have considered it an impiety to alter or to reject any portion of it. Cranmer and the Edwardian Commissioners felt no such fear or reverence. They altered, rejected, and inserted to their heart's content. The outcome of their godless work we possess in the Anglican Communion service. The scholars who, according to Archbishop Benson, are devoting time and learning to the demonstration of the antiquity and apostolic origin of the contents of the Book of Common Prayer have set themselves to a hopeless task. We may take it as certain that the public will never set its eyes upon the result of their researches.

Earnest souls really seeking for truth are not left without instruction and guidance. If any Anglican is desirous of knowing whence Cranmer and his fellow-reformers drew their liturgical inspiration, he cannot do better than procure the work we are noticing and study it carefully. He will learn from its pages that the Lutheran Liturgy forms the basis of his Communion Service, and that upon this Lutheran foundation rests a superstructure of Calvinistic teaching regarding the Blessed Eucharist. Do what we may, our prayer must always reflect the creed we believe. Dom Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop have not laboured in vain to show the pressure that Geneva brought to bear upon Cranmer, and the result in the Prayer Book of 1552 of that Archbishop's lapses from Lutheranism into Calvinism.

We trust that the authors will pursue their researches yet further. There is a question which becomes of supreme importance whenever the validity of Anglican Orders is discussed. That question is the history of the Edwardian Ordinal. Dom Gasquet and his fellow-labourer have set apart in their work a special chapter for this subject. Its contents we must confess to be disappointing, for little is said there of the Anglican Ordinal, and of that little nothing is new. Let us hope that they will not allow this important historical question to remain where they have left it. We feel confident that if they only persevere they will find abundant materials to throw light upon this dark page of the English Reformation.

This brief notice of their work cannot be concluded more forcibly than by a quotation from the Preface to the second edition. The extract is both suggestive and practical:

The study of liturgy can be pursued usefully and fruitfully only on those rational methods which should govern all historical investigation. In the case of a document like the Book of Common Prayer, it is a dictate of common-sense that any examination of its origin and sources should be conducted with a primary regard to the circumstances in which, and the opinions of the persons by whom, it was produced. In a word, it must be put into its proper historical setting and illustrated from the writings of those who composed it, or their friends, and not by the productions of those centuries the doctrine and practice of which it was the avowed aim and intention of its authors to destroy.

Natural Theology. By BERNARD BOEDDER, S.J. (Manuals of Catholic Philosophy : Stonyhurst Series). London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THIS volume considerably increases the debt which English-speaking Catholics owe to the Jesuit Fathers who have brought out the "Stonyhurst Series" of philosophical manuals. It is really a treatise *de Deo*, dealing with the proofs of the existence of God, the divine attributes, and the relation of God to the universe—in plain intelligible English, and adapted to the difficulties raised in our own country at the present day. The author is evidently well acquainted with Mill, Spencer, Huxley, and other contemporary writers ; they are quoted freely, and clearly answered. Perhaps he is even more convincing in his replies to the subtle objections raised by Kant. The volume thus commends itself, alike to those who wish to have difficulties removed, and to those who desire to see the Catholic treatment of the fundamental basis of theology. If we are to criticise at all a work so excellent in its design and general execution, we should be disposed to say that points controverted in the Catholic schools, particularly between the Dominicans and Jesuits, are dwelt upon at disproportionate length, considering the class of readers for whom this volume is intended. Even as it is, we doubt if they will carry away from its perusal any definite idea of physical premotion, *concursus*, or *scientia media* ; though they are stated with as much clearness as the difficulty of the subjects allows, and the traditional doctrine of the Society is defended with candour and moderation.

The Life of B. John Juvenal Ancina. Edited by CHARLES HENRY BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London : Kegan Paul. 1891. (9s.)

THIS is not a translation, but an original life of a great Servant of God, whose history partakes of the attractiveness of that of St. Philip himself. Born in 1545, he entered the Oratory at the age of thirty-three, and died Bishop of Saluzzo in 1604. His life, before he became Bishop, is like a reflection of that of the holy founder of the Oratory. We find the same detachment, the same humility, the same power of attracting souls, and the same holy simplicity. All these characteristics, and many others, are illustrated in this volume, with numerous anecdotes, and with an interesting selection from the holy man's letters. He was learned and cultured, well-acquainted with all that had come in with the *Renaissance*. It is, indeed, one of the most interesting points in this life to observe how a saint endeavours to stem the free and luxurious current of the age. Blessed Juvenal was, for example, an accomplished musician. In his younger days, with the exception of an occasional game of chess, his sole recreation was music. In his letters he often alludes to instrumental and vocal music, and we cannot doubt he knew Palestrina and other great Italian composers of the day. But he was always trying to prevent music from

ministering to sin. He tore up the sheets of a poor composer, who showed him some songs, because he said the words were bad. He wrote decent and holy words to all the popular tunes of Naples, and, what is more, he persuaded the people to sing them. He stopped dangerous dances by giving concerts himself, with vocal and instrumental music. He took the greatest pains, both as an Oratorian and as a Bishop, to banish from the Church all profane and theatrical performances. He did not, however, exclude all but Gregorian chant. "He wished Vespers to be sung with the best music, or, if that were not attainable, with Gregorian chanting faultlessly executed." He neutralised the Carnival at Saluzzo by a rival "entertainment" in the Church, consisting of canticles, music, dialogues, and (what was the chief attraction) his own wonderful sermons, which would, on occasion, even empty a neighbouring theatre.

The friendship of the Blessed Juvenal with St. Francis of Sales is well known, and we have in this book a special chapter on the subject. It would have been well, perhaps, to have reprinted the statement which St. Francis wrote in reference to his holy friend when the process of his canonisation was begun in Rome, for the volume of the Oratorian Lives in which it is found in English is not always at hand, and its proper place is here. Among all the verbal plays attributed to pious persons, there are few which are more touching than those which passed between these two. One day, when St. Francis had preached at Saluzzo on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, Blessed Juvenal said to him, playing on his name, "*Tu vere sal es*"; whereupon the Saint returned his compliment in the words which all the world knows, "*Immo tu sal et lux.*"

The book will be found most interesting and devotional. The style is easy and unexceptionable. Perhaps the page is too much cut up into paragraphs, but to some this may seem an advantage.

Life of St. Aloysius Gonzaga. By Father VIRGIL CEPARI, S.J. New Translation, with Notes, from Original Sources, Letters, and Documents. Edited by Father FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. Einsiedeln: Benziger & Co. London: Robert Washbourne.

FATHER GOLDIE'S work, appropriately dedicated to the General of his Order, is, in the main, a translation of Father Schroeder's splendidly elaborated edition of Cepari's "*Life of St. Aloysius Gonzaga.*" No labour or expense has been spared to make it worthy of the Saint's Tercentenary, and the result must needs satisfy the most exacting critic. The excellent English version of the biography, written by the angelic youth's intimate friend, has its value highly enhanced by the beautiful engravings which meet us at every page, and by a copious collection of notes, almost surpassing the text in interest, while the book has been brought out in a style that reflects the highest credit on the publishers. It is a positive delight to see

before us, one after another in long succession, the exquisitely engraved pictures of the palaces and churches with which St. Aloysius was familiar at Castiglione or Mantua, Milan or Rome; and to gaze on the features of Popes and Cardinals, princes and noble ladies, learned professors and saintly religious, with whom he was wont to converse. We live again in those days. But even deeper is the impression made on us by word-pictures of the Society to which the noble youth belonged. In the princely house from which he sprung all were not saints. One remarkable incident of St. Aloysius's career after his entering the Society is the active part he took in trying to arrest the series of disasters that followed on the ill-advised marriage of his brother, the Marquis Rodolph. Rodolph had fallen in love with the beautiful Helen Aliprandi, a young lady of Castiglione, of great wealth, but of rank much inferior to his own. After a fashion of courtship not unknown in times nearer ourselves, the young Marquis caused her to be seized by his servants when out walking, thrust into a close carriage, and carried off to one of his country-houses, where he privately married her. The result was a mortal feud with his own uncle, Alphonsus Gonzaga, Lord of Castel Goffredo. Alphonsus having no male children, Rodolph was the legal heir to his estates and lordship, and the old Lord of Castel Goffredo had set his heart on a marriage between the Marquis and his only daughter. On hearing of his nephew's private marriage with Helen Aliprandi his fury became ungovernable. A band of *bravos* murdered Alphonsus, presumably in the interests of Rodolph, who, on receiving the tidings from their chief, marched on Castel Goffredo, and took possession of it by force. He was, of course, tried for his uncle's murder and acquitted, showed himself very harsh towards the widow and daughter of the murdered man, was for other causes excommunicated, and finally shot dead, as he was entering the Church to hear Mass, on January 31st, 1593, by his oppressed vassals, who at once rose in revolt against his family and pillaged the castle, while his mother, the Dowager Marchioness, was just receiving the news of the miracles wrought by her other son, Aloysius. Poor Helen Aliprandi was cruelly treated by the other branch of the family, who looked on her as being, like her namesake of Troy, the source of all the evil. But the family woes were far from being at an end. Four years later, Donna Martha, St. Aloysius's mother, was seized at Solferino by hired brigands, carried to Castiglione, and her son Diego, a boy of fourteen, was murdered in her arms before the gates of her castle, she herself being left for dead on the ground. At this moment Aloysius appeared to her, and restored her to health. Helen Aliprandi was likewise consoled by him on her deathbed. By her marriage with Rodolph, she had three daughters, Cynthia, Olympia, and Gridonia. Their portraits are given, from ancient oil paintings, on page 299. Cynthia founded a community of high-born ladies, under the title of "Virgins of Jesus," at Castiglione. It was established on St. Aloysius's Day, June 21st, 1608. Father Cepari, the Saint's holy biographer, directed them, and sketched their constitutions, and they preserve his MS. in

the community, which still flourishes. Cynthia Gonzaga, the oldest daughter, as we have said, of the beautiful and ill-fated bride of Rodolph, will, it is hoped, ere long be venerated by the Church. Her body is still incorrupt. It is not easy to say how much our interest in these events is deepened by being able to read in facsimile the Saint's letters to his brother, written when in the midst of these family misfortunes, and to gaze on the portraits of actors and on pictures of scenes in the tragic history of the family of St. Aloysius, given us in this noble volume. It would exceed our limits were we to give even a summary of the results of Father Schroeder's labours. Among other things he has discovered the occasion and date of the visit of St. Aloysius to the great Benedictine Abbey of Monserrat, of which a view is given. Father Cepari has not failed to note St. Aloysius's affection for Benedictines, and how "he was particularly delighted when some Benedictine monks of the congregation of Monte Cassino came" to his father's house. Their testimony was taken at the process of his Beatification. The second of the four letters of approval prefixed by Father Cepari to his work, is written by Dom Paul Cattaneo, Benedictine Professor of Theology in his monastery at Brescia. And here we take leave of Father Goldie's exquisite work, a truly noble offering to St. Aloysius on his glorious Tercentenary.

La Vie de S. Louis de Gonzague. Par le R. P. MESCHLER, S.J.
Traduit de l'Allemand par M. l'Abbé LEBRÉQUIER. Paris :
P. Lethielleux. (3 francs.)

ALTHOUGH this modest French *brochure* lacks the attractiveness of Father Goldie's splendidly illustrated and annotated work, it is not only a learned, but a most elegantly written life of St. Aloysius. The author takes occasion from the centenary year to look back on the fortunes of the Society in the Eternal city. In 1591, June 22, the body of Aloysius Gonzaga was laid in a humble sepulchre in the Church of the Roman College, then called the Annunziata. In 1671, on the 21st of June, the majestic Church of St. Ignatius had taken the place of the Annunziata, and men were at work on a splendid chapel in honour of "Blessed" Aloysius. In 1791 an inscription in letters of gold above the altar of the same chapel told the faithful it was erected to the honour of "Saint" Aloysius; but strangers kept guard round his tomb, for his order had been scattered and suppressed; unless perchance, from time to time, an aged lay-teacher, unknown to the bystanders, would kneel and weep in secret before the shrine. In 1891 the whole Church flocks to offer her homage at the tomb of St. Aloysius, but for the Society of Jesus it is hard to see the cross of Piedmont on the door of the Collegio Romano, even though the Papal arms over the door of the basilica tell us that the shrine of the Saint is still in the possession of the Church.

Maria die Katholische. Eine Skizze ihres Lebens und ihrer Regierung.
 Von ATHANASIUS ZIMMERMANN, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau ;
 Herder. (2 marks 20.)

FATHER ZIMMERMANN adds to German patience in research and indefatigable industry the faculty of making his characters live and move in his pages. The unfair treatment which Mary Tudor has received at the hands of historians, the indiscriminating manner in which her reign has been passed over with a few superficial remarks as to its unimportant place in history, necessitate a somewhat polemical tone, and her biographer must therefore be more or less of an apologist. But Father Zimmermann has done good work in showing her fortitude under suffering, her tact when restored to her father's good graces, her courage and royal bearing in the presence of her enemies, and her single-hearted devotion to duty before all. He contrasts her firmness and decision with her sister's flippancy and vacillation, the clearness and force of her language with Elizabeth's involved and affected style, and he shows that the great national movements, such as the extension of the English Navy and the spread of commerce, commonly supposed to belong to the Elizabethan age, received their first impetus under Mary. It was she who brought the commercial treaty with Russia to a happy conclusion, and if it was her misfortune to lose Calais, she inaugurated an era of more peaceable relations with France than had ever before existed for long together. Under her justice was administered impartially, and her Court was a model for all nations and all times.

In this slight sketch, occupying some one hundred and sixty pages, Father Zimmermann has consulted no fewer than forty-six authorities, none of which could be safely ignored. It is, however, to be regretted that so painstaking a writer should have missed one work of paramount importance for the end of Mary's reign, the oversight of which has led him into a mis-statement. Fortunately the error affects only side issues. The work we refer to is the "*Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.*," published under the direction of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, President of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium. It contains, among other valuable material, the correspondence carried on between Philip II. and the Conde de Feria, and contained in the Simancas archives. The letters in question relate to a project of marriage between Elizabeth and the King of Spain. Father Zimmermann says (p. 125) that Philip never entertained the thought of marrying Elizabeth, and he bases this assertion on the fact that no mention is made of any such project in the despatches and letters of the Spanish ambassadors. Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, says Father Zimmermann mistook gossip for fact. Now, the Conde de Feria, Philip's envoy extraordinary, passed from the bedside of the dying queen to salute her successor, and soon afterwards (Nov. 21, 1558, Simancas archives, lig. 811) finds it opportunity to make the following insinuation in a letter to his master: "If Elizabeth chooses a consort out of England, she will cast her eyes on

your majesty." To do Philip justice, he was not dazzled by the prospect. On the 9th December he replied that the alliance was a serious matter, and one on which he had not yet made up his mind; "one must," he concluded, "promise nothing, but still less discourage the Queen" (Simancas archives, Secret de Estado, lig. 812). On the 28th he expresses himself as still wishing to consider the possibility, and suggests that meanwhile it will be advisable to remove all obstacles. Elizabeth then objected that if she married the King of Spain, he would be able to reside but little in England, and she would suffer from the political necessities which had embittered the life of her sister. Hereupon followed a long and secret negotiation, a series of coquettish skirmishes on the part of Elizabeth, of careful consideration on the part of Philip, as to whether the marriage would be for the permanent benefit of religion, of objections on the part of Elizabeth's Council, and of grave suspicions as to her good faith on the part of the negotiating ambassador, De Feria.

We may add that Father Zimmermann's *brochure* is an interesting and valuable contribution to the Tudor literature of the day.

Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die Gegenwart. Von ALPHONS BELLESHEIM. Mainz: Kirchheim. 1891.

THIS history, numbering 2096 pages in three thick volumes, is eminently a proof of that retentiveness of mind which characterise the German savant. It teems with facts, and it would seem as if no detail bearing on the subject has been omitted, and both fact and detail are supported by evidence. The first three chapters deal with St. Patrick exhaustively, and, taken alone, they would serve as a biography of the great Apostle who bequeathed his missionary spirit to the people who were long remarkable for carrying the Christian faith to nations sitting in heathen darkness. Dr. Bellesheim has given due weight to this special feature, without which any history of the Church in Ireland would be incomplete. The first volume carries the work down to the time of Henry VIII. Its last four chapters treat of Liturgy, studies, and art in the Church, whose fair outer fabric was so soon to be ruthlessly destroyed. The second volume opens in 1509, the beginning of woe, and furnishes the best explanation possible of the Irish question of to-day.

Ireland was not servile as England was, and did not bend slavishly to the will of a tyrant. Protestant pastors were forced upon the Church, but the Catholic hierarchy as a body were faithful, and the succession of true bishops remained unbroken. To the mass of the Celtic people the Saxon ever remained an intruder. The same persecution broke over Ireland as over England, with this difference, that whereas the English martyrs were a glorious exception to the prevailing apostasy, the Irish, as a people, suffered a slow martyrdom.

The third volume opens with the Orange sovereigns (1690), and continues the history down to the present day. The sufferings inflicted on the Catholic Irish were the comment of Europe. For once the nations forgot their selfish interests to plead for that persecuted people. Venice, Spain, Bavaria, and Austria were amongst the generous intercessors, but it was not till 1793 that the iron grasp of penal enactments was softened. The Bill for Relaxation of Penalties removed the fine for non-attendance at the Protestant worship on Sundays. In Dr. Bellesheim's words:

It allowed Catholics to vote for members of Parliament and for administrative offices in towns and boroughs; to become members of corporations, with the exception of Trinity College, Dublin; to bear arms under certain conditions; to occupy any civil or military position from which they had not excluded themselves; to take a doctor's degree and offices in colleges under the jurisdiction of the Dublin University. . . . They remained excluded from both Houses of Parliament, as well as from nearly every office of administration or of justice. Neither could they become Privy Councillors, Queen's Councillors, Trinity Fellows, sheriff, under-sheriff, or staff-general.

As is well known, the measure which reopened the doors of civilisation to Catholics in the United Kingdom came from Ireland. Yet for long years emancipation itself was "an empty name and a mocking unreality." It was not till Lord Melbourne's Ministry that it passed from a written to a practical law. As to sources, we may mention that Dr. Bellesheim has himself been to the fountain-head, and exhausted the treasures of Rome and London, to build up this great historical monument. His "History of the Church in Ireland" will, we trust, be as fortunate in finding an able translator as his "History of the Church in Scotland" has been.

Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore ("Anecdota Oxoniensia").
 Edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. London: The Clarendon Press.

THIS is supposed to be an *editio princeps* of the "Book of Lismore," of which there is a copy, on vellum, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. It is so full of blunders and serious faults that a book nearly as large as itself would be required to point them out. It will suffice to allude to them in a cursory way. To begin with, the *addenda et corrigenda*, printed at the end of the volume, amount to nearly 300. Some of them are childish, as: "*for mor read mór; for domain read doman, and cancel the note*" pp. 408 and 409. It appears as if the editor gave the proofs, or the volume itself, to some one who understood Irish, and that the printed corrections had come too late to be made in their proper places.

Dr. Stokes labours under two radical defects in attempting the editing of an old Irish manuscript. He is not acquainted with modern Irish, and he is not a Catholic. Get a foreigner, who learns English

from Chaucer, without ever reading Pope or Dryden, and what sort of language would he speak or write? Who could understand him! Those who learn modern Greek first have very little difficulty in learning the ancient Greek and understanding it thoroughly. There was no fixed orthography in those old times, and contractions were very common. Where are we to find the key for those difficulties? It is to be found in the language as spoken and written during the last four hundred years. Such a knowledge would save an editor or translator from mixing up cases—making *datives nominatives*, &c., and forgetting the value of possessive pronouns. Here is an instance of the latter defect: “*A Chanair, eirigh, ol Senán, ‘docum mo mathar do shethar fl isín indsi út tair, co nderntar k’aighidhecht ann,*” p. 72. This is translated, p. 219, “Go, saith Senan, to thy sister, who dwells in yon island in the east, that thou mayest have guesting therein.” It should be, “Go to my mother, thy sister,” &c. According to the text, the lady who asked admission to the island, and wanted the last Sacraments, was Senan’s aunt.

There has been a theory started lately that the Faith, as preached by St. Patrick, was different from the Catholic faith which is held by the Irish at present. This theory has been so often refuted that it would be needless to refer to it here, had not the editor made a controversial use of his manuscripts. It is well to show some of the mistakes into which he has fallen from starting with such a theory. He coolly says: “The documents in this book throw little new light on the form of Christianity which existed in Ireland in the early Middle Ages” (Preface, p. cv.). He draws wonderful conclusions from this assertion, and mistranslates in order to support them. He says again: “Penance, Matrimony, and Holy Orders are referred to in these Lives; but not as Sacraments.” What is his idea of a Sacrament? Did the writers of these Lives commit a fault in saying that such a one received Orders, without adding a *nota bene*, Orders are a Sacrament? Let us take the word *sacarbhaic* as an example. This word is defined to be *Confession* in the dictionaries, and words are quoted from the *Leabar Breac* to support such an interpretation. This editor always translates it *sacrifice*. Now, in the four places in which the word occurs, in the text, it evidently means the *Last Rites* of the Catholic Church, which include Confession, Communion, and Extreme Unction. The word occurs in p. 19, where St. Patrick received *comum agus sacarbhaic* from Bishop Tassach before he departed this life. It occurs again in p. 47, where the scholar gave St. Brigid *comman agus sacarbhaic* when she was dying. Again, in p. 70, where St. Senan gave *sacarbhaic* to the two little boys, who died immediately. The same word occurs in p. 73, where Senan gives *sacarbhaic* to his aunt, on the sea-shore, and she dies straightway. How could Senan give sacrifice to anybody? And how could he say Mass immediately on the sea-shore? We have, in the Lives, frequent mention of prayers for the dead, releasing souls from pains in the next world, the intercession of saints; and yet the editor says that “little new light is thrown on the form of Christianity which existed in Ireland at that time!” It would have been better if

a portion of the time which was spent upon a long preface, a sort of grammar, and other curious researches, were employed upon modernising the text, correcting the spelling, and leaving disquisitions as to the celibacy of the clergy out of the book.

As to the value of the Lives themselves. They have very little value. The outlandish miracles which are recorded in them could be nothing else than the production of *seanachies*, which were first committed to writing by ignorant scribes, and afterwards copied by men of scant judgment. It is needless to say that they all lack the conditions which Catholic theologians require for a real miracle, and that none of them would pass the Congregation of Rites. The work shows great industry on the part of the editor. It is as complete, in its way, as a book can be, with regard to glossaries, indices, and the rest. The editor, however, forgets that there are two species of what he terms "loan-words." All the words which belong to the Sacraments and the Liturgy are, of course, from the Latin; but other words, which have a semblance to Latin, are from an older stem of the Aryan race of languages. That Gaelic, or the Celtic tongue, is much older than Latin or Greek is now generally admitted by philologists. Had the book been arranged, after the manner of O'Donovan's edition of the Four Masters, with the Irish and English on opposite pages, and the notes at the bottom, it would be much easier to read it, as well as to judge of its excellence.

L'Eglise et la Question Sociale. Etude sur l'Encyclique, "De la Condition des Ouvriers." Par le R. P. G. DE PASCAL, Miss. Apostolique. Paris: Lethielleux. 1891. (1 franc.)

THE Père Pascal, who published some two years ago a *brochure* entitled "Le Pouvoir Sociale et l'Ordre Economique," has here printed the French official translation of the Encyclical on the Labour Question, and has prefixed a sort of commentary, or introduction, in which he treats various questions connected with that important Pontifical pronouncement. Père Pascal clearly belongs to the school of M. de Mun and the *Association Catholique*, and he has a legitimate subject of triumph in quoting the Holy Father's teaching as to the wage-minimum. Not a few French Catholic writers had expressed the opinion that the rate of wages was a matter of agreement between master and workman, and that when the wage agreed upon had been once paid, the master was not bound, in justice, to anything more; though he might be bound to something further by charity, just as any other man might be. The well-known passage in the Encyclical, in which the Pope declares that there is an obligation higher than that of any compact, and antecedent to all agreement, by which the workman has a right to what will keep him in frugal comfort, renders the former opinion now untenable. Père Pascal points out this very modestly, and, in doing so, quotes once more the letter of Cardinal Manning, addressed in April 1890 to the General Assembly of French Catholic Associations—a letter which seems to have struck public opinion in

France very forcibly. Père Pascal, treating first of the authority of the Encyclical, passes on to give an analysis of its contents, with notes on the various questions treated. These notes are brief, and the citations of contemporary writers short; for the author disclaims any intention of producing a commentary, in the proper sense of the word. In conclusion, he implores the French clergy and people not to attenuate or dilute the teachings of the Encyclical, but to unite in proving to the world that the Gospel of Christ can save humanity.

Lourdes : Histoire Médicale, 1858–1891. Par le Docteur BOISSARIE
Paris : Lecoffre. 1891. (3frs. 50c.)

THIS volume deals with Lourdes from a medical point of view, being intended in the first instance for physicians, though it contains nothing unsuitable for the general reader. It treats the subject under three aspects—the mental condition of Bernadette, the witness to the apparition; the cures alleged to take place at Lourdes; and the explanations suggested for them.

The author first undertakes to show that Bernadette was not the victim of insane hallucinations, or of hysterical ecstasy, as various medical men have supposed. He points out that the physicians who saw her at the time detected no sign of insanity about her, though one of them—Dr. Dozous—watched her very closely, and was himself an *incrédule*. There is even stronger medical proof that she has been of sound mind since; in reply to Dr. Voisin, an eminent authority, who asserted without any ground whatever that she was insane and confined in an asylum. Dr. Boissarie makes a very strong point in her favour by remarking that if Bernadette was insane or hysterical, she was so only on eighteen occasions; for the apparition has never been repeated at any of her subsequent visits to the Grotto, as we should certainly have anticipated had its cause been subjective. Nay, more, these eighteen visions were not on successive days, but were spread over two months, the girl seeing nothing on the other days, in spite of her expecting to do so.

An enormous number of cures are recorded, many with sufficient medical details, before and after recovery, to enable a medical man to form a clear idea of the cases described. I have carefully gone over them with a critical—I may say, a sceptical—eye, and about a dozen seem to me suspicious, either because they are not satisfactorily narrated, or because the symptoms might possibly be due to hypochondria or hysteria. But scores remain, which no medical science can account for in this or any other natural manner. Such are chronic diseases of the most various kinds—consumptive patients, whose physical signs as well as symptoms had been carefully recorded; bone diseases, in which deformity and abscesses had been described; cancerous and other tumours, often ulcerated; eye diseases, which had been examined with the ophthalmoscope; ununited fractures and old dislo-

cations. In the great majority of these instances we are furnished with the reports of the medical attendants and consultants, whose names and addresses are given. The only way that I can see to avoid admitting a supernatural intervention in such cases would be to impugn the veracity or competence of all these witnesses. This course has apparently been thought too desperate, for the difficulty has been evaded by passing over the alleged cures in silence, or ascribing them to the influence of the mind, by expectant attention, upon the body. I should be prepared to be very liberal in granting a large province to that influence, but I cannot believe that *sudden and complete* recovery from the diseases I have enumerated above is at all within its power. Hypnotism has more recently been suggested as an explanation, but Dr. Boissarie informs us—what is very interesting—that in no single instance has the hypnotic sleep been produced at Lourdes, and that cure of nervous conditions (which are specially amenable to this treatment) is decidedly rare.

The volume gives a favourable impression of Dr. Boissarie's honesty and medical knowledge. Its style is too vivacious for the taste of English readers, but it shares that quality with most modern French medical literature.

J. R. GASQUET.

De Historia Gallie, Publica, Privata, Litteraria, Regnante Ludovico XIV., Latinis versibus, a Jesuitis Gallis Scripta. Thesim Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi Proponebat P. V. DELAPORTE. Paris: Retaux et Fils. 1891. (5 francs.)

FEW would expect under the above rather unpromising title an essay of so much charm and vivacity as the one offered to the public by Father Delaporte, S.J. In the age of Louis Quatorze Latin versification was cultivated by French scholars to an extent unsurpassed even in our public schools of half a century ago, and this nowhere so much as in Jesuit colleges. Abbé Vissac wrote with perfect truth: "Le P. Ménétrier a fait une 'Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV.', par une simple collection de médailles gravées durant ce règne. Je crois qu'avec un choix de poésies latines on pourrait en faire une de tout le siècle, qui ne serait pas dépourvue d'intérêt!" And a seventeenth century poet tells us in his quaint French:

De ça saint Etienne du Mont,
 Dans le collège de Clermont,
 Belle maison Jézuitique,
 Où la Logique et la Phizique,
L'art de faire en latin des vers. . . .
 Sont enseignez à la Jeunesse.

And Dubos wrote: "On sait le bon mot de Bourbon, qu'il croyoit boire de l'eau quand il lisoit des vers français"—so much had the rage for Latin discredited the cultivation of the native language. Many a like testimony adorns the author's charming preface, which

closes with a useful catalogue of names of writers in the double French and Latinised form—such as Petavius and Pétau, Ruæus and La Rue, Cossartius and Cossart, &c. The learned author then gives a graceful history of the period, interwoven with Latin verses by Jesuit versifiers—it would usually be too much to call them poets. The result is of course a good deal more quaint in the “*Historia Privata*” than in the rest of the work; a tobacco-pipe becomes “*fistula ad hauriendum tabachum*,” and an enamelled snuff-box is described as “*odorato redolens pulvere pyxis, vario picta colore*.” Cups of tea are “*Sinensis succo viridantia frondis pocula*,” while the following couplet on spectacles must bring our extracts to a close:

Lumina ficta naso gestanda repando
Lucidulosque orbes ut cernere possit acutum.

The student as well as the lover of the curious will thank Father Delaporte for his erudite and unique little volume.

Un Convent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris, de 1634 à 1884. Par l'Abbé F. M. TH. CEDOZ. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. Londres: Burns et Oates.

AMONG the most beautiful records of sanctity and heroism during the centuries of persecution are assuredly the chronicles of the English communities of nuns established at Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, and elsewhere on the Continent, most of which are now settled in England, as is the case with the communities at Abbotsleigh, East Bergholt, Chudleigh, Lanherne, &c. These chronicles have in part been published, but much, very much, we believe, remains yet to be done. Some of these communities have chosen to remain on the Continent. The Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine at Neuilly have at last found an author who has given their history to the world. We may as well say at once that, though grateful for what has been done, we are not satisfied. It has clearly been with the Abbé Cédóz a labour of love, and his work will please his French readers; but it is not what an English editor would have made it, and hence our disappointment, mingling with the pleasure we have felt in turning over these pages.

The Canonesses Regular of Paris, now stationed at Neuilly, are a filiation from Notre-Dame de Beaulieu. The foundation was made at Douai in 1624 by the first English Superior, Lady Letitia Mary Tredway, assisted by the Rev. Miles Pinkney, better known as Thomas Carre, and was transferred to Paris ten years later. Its list of about 180 choir-nuns, who have died in the convent since its foundation, contains the honoured names of our old Catholic families: Talbot, Dormer, Percy, Blount, Hornyold, Eyre, Waldegrave, Stourton, Lindsay, Howard, Petre, Meynell, Yates, Towneley, Lawson, Throckmorton, Englefield, Roper, Widdrington, Blundell, Fermor, Bishop, Stonor, Howell, Wray, Layburne, and many others; a roll-call of honour in a twofold sense, like the patrician houses of Christian Rome,

the Cæcili and Anicii and their compeers, in whom sanctity and nobility are so often blended. Their history resembles that of the other communities above mentioned, often struggling with poverty, their hearts torn by the sad lot of Catholics in the dear country from which they had made themselves exiles for Christ. None of the English communities were so nearly being guillotined at the Revolution. They were imprisoned at the Conciergerie, and only saved by the fall of Robespierre. At a later period they had a share in the horrors of the Commune. Our earnest hope is that the work of Abbé Cédóz may induce some one to publish the original chronicle of the English Canonesses of Neuilly. It was from this community that Cardinal Wiseman obtained for Ushaw College the ring of St. Cuthbert.

Théophile Foisset. Par HENRY BOISSARD. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

THEOPHILE FOISSET, the life-long friend and biographer of Lacordaire, was one of those heroic Catholic laymen, who fought the battles of Catholic France from the days of the Restoration till those of the Vatican Council. More closely allied with the school of Dupanloup and Montalembert than with the other, which reckoned Louis Veuillot as its leader and the *Univers* as its organ, Foisset, like most of his fellow-writers in the *Correspondant*, was a true and loyal Catholic, long before divergences on political matters had rent French Catholics into two hostile parts, and he remained a devout Catholic till his death. In sincere devotion to the Holy See none excelled him. Full of enthusiasm at the Convocation of the Vatican Council, Foisset, although an anti-opportunist before the dogma of Infallibility was declared, became its vigorous champion the moment it was defined. His last days were occupied with a chivalrous defence of his departed friends, Lacordaire and Montalembert.

The author has accomplished his somewhat delicate task as became the subject, and has known how to bring forward the sterling value of Foisset and his friends without attacking the well-meant, but sometimes overbearing and irritating, tactics of his adversaries. His work is brimful of interest, and we have been much struck by the following quasi-prediction of the triple alliance made by a French writer in the *Correspondant*, November 25, 1860:

La Confédération germanique, d'après les derniers recensements a 43,286,116 habitants; les Allemands sont bons soldats, et si cette Confédération se change en un seul État centralisé, la France immédiatement descend au second rang. Si, a un moment donné, et qui pourrait bien arriver, l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne et l'Italie se réunissaient contre la France, notre pays pourrait être réduit aux dernières extrémités. La France n'aurait qu'une ressource alors, ce serait de former avec la Russie une alliance intime; mais dans ce cas, il faudrait lui abandonner tout ce qu'on a voulu défendre contre elle par la guerre de Crimée.

It is worthy of note that Foisset always disliked the title of Liberal Catholic, adopted by his friends. We doubt if any book better than this biography could convey an idea of the two parties that sunder French Catholics, to their heavy loss.

Selected Sermons. By Rev. CHRISTOPHER HUGHES, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Fall River, Mass. New York: F. Pustet.

THESE discourses are much above the average of published sermons, being doctrinal, vigorous in style, if a little inflated, and often very devotional. Political allusions are more frequent in them than would be thought quite edifying in England. But America is not England. Father Hughes writes: "Let no man call me an Irish-American. I repudiate the term. There is no such thing as an Irish-American. We are all Americans, pure and simple." Very good; he continues: "We are not an Anglo-Saxon race. To that race, we acknowledge that some of our citizens owe their origin, but these are in a small minority, and are out-numbered by those of German, French and Irish extraction as one to fifty." Is this correct? We doubt it.

St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits. By STEWART ROSE. London: Burns & Oates. 1891. (15s. net.)

IT is now twenty-one years since Mr. Stewart Rose gave to the public the first edition of this noble work. It came amongst us as a popular life of an (to Protestant England) unpopular Saint. It was harmoniously put together, attractively written, and it bore upon the face of it, such evidence of erudition and trustworthiness as bade fair to command the attention not only of the Catholic public, but even of minds tinged by the hereditary prejudices of the last three centuries. How favourable a reception the volume met with may be judged from the fact that within the short space of a year a second edition was called for.*

It might have been expected that a work so carefully finished would have satisfied the author's devotion to his theme; but it was not so. During the past twenty years fresh light has been shed from several quarters on the life of the holy founder, as well as on the beginnings of his great foundation. The publication of his authentic letters began in 1874, and was only completed in 1889. A Commentary on the Origin of the Society of Jesus, by Simon Rodriguez, one of the six who took their vows with St. Ignatius, and the Memoirs of Father Manare, a second commentary, appeared in 1886. Finally, the year 1890, witnessed the publication of the illustrated and annotated

* Both these editions were reviewed on their appearance, in the DUBLIN REVIEW, in 1870, and in 1871.

"Vie de S. Ignace," by Père Clair. These scattered rays, Mr. Rose has been prompt to focus on his subject, and, as he tells us in the Preface to the volume now before us, the additions he has been enabled to make are such as to warrant him in giving it to the public as a "New Life."

The special value of these additions to the original work is that they cast so strong a light on that which it is as difficult as it is all-important for an author to illustrate—the interior of the man, and of the Saint. As Cardinal Newman expresses it: "What I want to trace and study is the real, hidden but human, life, or the *interior*, as it is called of such glorious creations of God; and this I gain with difficulty from mere biographies. . . . On the other hand, when a saint is himself the speaker, he interprets his own action. I want to hear a Saint converse; I am not content to look at him as a mere statue; his words are the index of his hidden life, as far as that life can be known to man, for 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'" Now, though the earlier work of Mr. Rose is far from being one of those mere biographies to which Cardinal Newman is alluding—for, on the contrary, it is strongly marked by the features which he indicates as characterising a true "Life," yet, in the gleanings from the Saint's Letters and Instructions, which he has added to it, he has given us just precisely that which was most needful to perfect his work. He has enabled us to "hold converse with a grace-illumined soul looking out into this world of sense, and leavening it with itself." He has laid before us such unrestrained outpourings of heart to heart, as, whether for good or evil, are the unconscious, and therefore the truest, revelation of a man's inner self. What a revelation of the natural gratitude of our Saint to those who had so generously befriended him, what an ingenuous laying bare of those religious instincts which were buried deepest in his heart, have we in the following lines from a letter to Cazador, Archdeacon of Barcelona, written in the year 1536, just before he entered on his Apostolic work.

The wish you express, to see me occupied in preaching at Barcelona, certes I cherish in my heart. Not that I have the conceit that I can do what others cannot, nor that I can reach what they cannot attain; but merely to preach, as a simple individual, things intelligible, easy, and lowly. For I trust in God our Lord, that if I keep to what is lowly, He will give His grace that in some way, we may be of help in His praise and due service. For that reason, as soon as I have finished my studies—in a year from this Lent—I hope to stay to preach His word in no other place in the whole of Spain, till I come to you, as we both of us desire; for I think I am without doubt more obliged to the people of Barcelona than to any others on this earth. This, however, must be understood, *clare non errante* (so as not to err), provided God our Lord does not call me out of Spain to some work which will bring me less honour and more trouble. I cannot tell how this may be; what I do know is, that I shall always preach in poverty, but putting aside the solitudes and difficulties which now entangle me during my studies.

A second feature in the "New Life" is the addition of so many and

such excellent illustrations. These are not of a character merely to give greater attractiveness to the work, though it is undeniable that they add considerably thereto. They are in the truest sense of the word "illustrations," serving, as they do, to bring out into clearer relief the character of the Saint and his companions, to heighten the colouring of the historical narrative, and to lend depth and reality to the devotional impressions. They number more than a hundred, and their special charm lies partly in the fact that they are many of them designed with a view to reproducing, as far as possible, the surroundings of the story as they actually were in the days of the Saint, and partly also in their being accompanied by references to the authentic sources from which they are copied or constructed. See, for example, the wonderfully clever reproduction of Austin Friars, London, as it was in the days of St. Ignatius's visit, made by Mr. Brewer from data gleaned by him from old maps and other sources in the British Museum. This is only one, however, of several similar and equally clever and interesting ideal restorations. It were to be wished that Mr. H. C. Brewer, Mr. Wain, and especially Mr. H. W. Brewer, to whom we owe them, might be employed in other similar works. We are reminded by the author that our thanks are also due to Father Eyre, S.J., for assistance lent him in his task, and these we gladly offer. Perhaps we cannot better express our feelings towards the author himself than by expressing the hope that he may speedily devote his energy and talent to writing the life of another of God's chosen servants. The publication of this large and artistic volume must have involved a very large pecuniary outlay; we trust the enterprise of those who have undertaken the task may be abundantly repaid.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. Publié par F. VIGOUROUX, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, avec le Concours d'un grand nombre de Collaborateurs. Fascicule I. A—Aïnesse (Droit d'). Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 17 Rue du Vieux-Colombier. 1891. (5 francs.)

THIS is a great undertaking, on the right lines. The Abbé Vigouroux, well-known for his numerous writings in defence of Catholic teaching on the inspiration and integrity of the Holy Scriptures, has associated with himself a large number of the best scholars to be found among the clergy and the religious orders of France, and here begins a Dictionary of the Bible, which, he answers for it, shall be up to the level of modern critical and scientific demands, answering, explaining, or defending, so far as these illustrate or confirm, or challenge Catholic principles and tradition. It is to be throughout, the editors proclaim, a new work—not an improved or altered edition of either Dom Calmet, on the one hand, or of Smith's dictionary on the other, or of any of the numerous German biblical dictionaries. It will include the name, in the Vulgate orthography, of every person, place, plant, or animal mentioned in the Bible. There

will be exegetical articles on the various books of both Testaments, treating of their authorship, authenticity, plan, &c. There will also be brief, but (if we may judge from specimens in the fasciculus before us) sufficient biographical notices of the chief scriptural commentators of whatever nationality or period; and also articles dealing with the numerous theological, archæological, and scientific questions relative to the biblical text raised by modern criticism, and the work is to be abundantly illustrated. To which we need only add, that such articles as call for it are followed by a bibliography of the best works, including with the ancient some of the most recent of every country, for the benefit of students who would pursue their inquiries as to a special point—to show that the editors have an ambitious and highly creditable programme before them. Judging from the first instalment of the work—a quarto of 319 pages in double column—they have succeeded wonderfully well. The articles are in the best sense scientific, and also—as might be expected from expert French pens—they are, it seems to us, wonderfully clear in their statements, and written in an attractive manner. Considerations of space this quarter oblige us to be content with this mention of the work, adding only our warm recommendation of it. Any critical appreciation of it will be even easier when we have compared a second instalment of the work. For the present we do not hesitate to say that on the whole the quality of the chief articles seems to us surprisingly good, considering the condensation of matter imperative in a work of such wide aim. In spite of condensation, one article in the present fasciculus occupies some thirty columns—the article “Adam,”—which may be cited as a specimen of the thoroughness and good quality of those portions of the work which more nearly touch our modern research and science. The first portion of the article, from the pen of M. Palis, of Béziers, is headed: “Histoire d’Adam,” and deals more exclusively with the Scripture narrative, and such theological points as his supernatural state before the Fall. The second and larger portion, headed: “Le Premier Homme au point de vue scientifique,” answers three questions raised by our modern science: (1) Was the first man a being intermediate between the animal and the intellectual man now existing? (2) Was he a savage? (3) At what epoch did he appear? and deals with the paleontological and more general arguments of modern criticism against the traditional teaching as to the first of our race. It is from the pen of the Chanoine P. Hamard, whose name is a guarantee of scientific competency. Just in passing, and as indicative that the writers are “up to date” as well as cosmopolitan in their references, we may note a brief biographical article on Adam of Barking, an English Benedictine of celebrity in the thirteenth century as a preacher and commentator. The bibliographical reference in this article is to Mr. Leslie Stephen’s “Dictionary of National Biography.” We believe this Dictionary of the Bible will be complete in some fifteen parts, the present price of five francs each part (post free) is only for subscribers to the complete work. We congratulate the Abbé Vigouroux on his happy inspiration and courage, and trust that the

encouragement which he and the publishers will receive will help to hasten the completion of their undertaking.

Pontificale Romanum. Editio prima post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, &c.: Sumptibus, chartis et typis Friderici Pustet. 1891. (4 marks 80.)

De Insignibus Episcoporum Commentaria. Auctore P. J. RINALDI-BUCCI. Ratisbonæ: Sumptibus, &c., Friderici Pustet.

THE beautiful copy of the "Pontificale" sent us by Messrs. Pustet will be acceptable to all who want a legible, handy, and handsome edition of that important manual, at a reasonable price. The musical notes are not given in this reprint, and the type is smaller than that of the sumptuous (octavo) "typical" edition, noticed by us some time ago; but the type is not really small; and the same artistic vignettes and head-pieces are used. A long Appendix not usually found in copies of the Pontifical, gives the Pontifical rite for Baptism, the forms of Orders and Confirmation when there is only one candidate, the consecration of a church when several altars are to be consecrated; the consecration of portable altars, &c.

Monsignor Rinaldi-Bucci's short but learned commentary on the insignia of Bishops, begins with the sandals and finishes with the mitre and pastoral staff; or rather, with the Pallium; for, as he says, the Pallium is so essential to the archiepiscopate that an archbishop has no right to the name until he has received it. The numerous citations and references to authorities will be useful to all who wish to study the antiquity and significance of the various "ornaments" which are peculiar to the episcopal order.

Life of the Curé d'Ars. From the French of the Abbé ALFRED MONNIN. With a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Popular edition. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)

THIS edition of the Life of the holy curé is too well known to need either description or recommendation. It is now brought out at a more popular price than previously, and is still printed on strong paper and well bound. This effort to widen the sale of an eminently good book deserves encouragement.

A Letter of his Lordship the Bishop of Grenoble, Treating of the Divine Institution of the Papacy. Translated by Dom C. O'NEILL, O.S.B. London: R. Washbourne.

BESIDES what it has to say on its direct subject, this admirable letter announces the formation of the Society of Servants of St. Peter, with the approval of the Holy Father, having its headquarters at Grenoble, and the Bishop of Grenoble for its President. Most truly does its author say of our times: "Never before has the road to Rome been so thronged with crowds of pilgrims, journeying to the Pastor of our souls."

History of the Jews, from the earliest times to the present day. By PROFESSOR H. GRAETZ. Edited by BELLA LÖWY. London: David Nutt. 1891. Vols. I. and II. (10s. 6d. each.)

WE have here two volumes of Professor Heinrich Graetz's "*History of the Jews*." We are told in the preface that the publication (it will run to five volumes) is not a mere excerpt from the writer's "*Geschichte der Juden*," but a condensed reproduction of the entire eleven volumes of that work. Graetz, whose death at the age of seventy-four, is announced at the time these lines are being written, began to turn his attention to the history and literature of the Jews, as far back as 1846, when his first essay on the construction of Jewish history appeared. The "*Geschichte der Juden*" was begun in 1852, and finished in 1876. The Biblical part of the history, which ought by right to have appeared first, was really published last of all, the author, as he tells us, having resolved not to compose it until he had made a personal visit to Palestine. What Graetz's religious opinions were, we are unable to state: but the history is written from the point of view of one who utterly disbelieves in the miraculous. It is not clear that the Professor would have admitted as much. He says, in the preface to the present translation, that the continuance of the Jewish race until the present day is a "marvel not to be overlooked, even by those who deny the existence of miracles" (p. vi.) This is, at best, ambiguous, and so are his rhetorical amplifications about the revelations made to Moses and the prophets of Israel. But the picturesque Biblical narrative is watered down to the prose of a newspaper correspondent. An east wind divides the waters of the Red Sea; a flash of lightning sets fire to the sacrifice on Carmel; the thick cloud which filled the Temple at its consecration was considered a token of God's mercy; and in most instances the words and phrases which indicate the interference of heaven are simply left out. Even in narratives which are difficult to spoil in any version, the effect is not unfrequently lost; as when "*Tu es ille vir*" is rendered "*Thou art that rich man!*" (i. 136).

When the author reaches the Christian era, he never loses an opportunity of depreciating the Catholic Church. The account of the

attempt to rebuild the Temple under Julian the Apostate may serve as a specimen of his "method." "Meanwhile the Christians looked with envious eyes upon the commencement of the work. . . . On the occasion of the pulling down of the ruins, and the excavation of the foundations, a fire broke out, by which several workmen lost their lives. This subterranean conflagration doubtless occurred in the passages which had formerly existed beneath the Temple, and had its origin in the gases which had been long compressed there" (ii. 607). The History of the Jews has been successful, and is more or less popular. The translation reads stiffly, but is by no means bad. It is undeniable that much can be learnt from a narrative which seems to take in every necessary element except the supernatural. But Graetz is too "advanced" and too "independent," we should say, even for Protestants, and to any one who believes that the history of the chosen people was a preparation for the Incarnation and a continuous revelation of the love and the teaching of God, these volumes, scholarly as they are, can never be pleasant reading, and will at most be used for reference.

Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française du commencement du XVII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et ARSÈNE DARMESTETER, avec le concours de M. ANTOINE THOMAS. Paris: Delagrave, 15 Rue Soufflot.

THIS dictionary, of which we have received the first three *fascicules*, is to be completed in about thirty parts, costing each one franc, and, judging from the portion of the work before us, we have no hesitation in saying that it will form a wonderfully cheap standard dictionary of the French language fully up to the requirements of modern linguistic science. The book has been many years in preparation, and its editors are men of world-wide reputation, of whose competence for the gigantic task they have undertaken there cannot be a moment's doubt. The introduction contains an elaborate treatise on the formation of the language, in which the latest results of philological research are set forth in a popular style. The body of the dictionary gives the accepted pronunciation of each word, its etymology, its successive forms, and its various meanings at each period of its history, with illustrative passages from the best writers. In a word, it gives in a smaller compass, and with a closer attention to modern rather than mediæval French, the same careful studies of every word of the language that are to be found in the much larger work of Littré. Finally, a matter of no slight importance in a work of reference, it is clearly and artistically printed. College librarians will do well to add the book to their stock of modern dictionaries.

The Life of Christopher Columbus. By FRANCESCO TARDUCCI, after the latest documents. Translated from the Italian by HENRY F. BROWNSON. 2 volumes. Detroit: H. F. Brownson. 1890.

WASHINGTON IRVING'S "Life of Columbus" has long been the standard popular biography of the discoverer for English readers, and such is the great charm of its style that it is not likely to be displaced from this position. But, since Irving wrote his delightful narrative, historical research has not stood still, and much has been learned which modifies, not the general view taken of Columbus by his biographer, but the accepted opinion as to various details and episodes of his career. Nothing that has "sprung to light" in these researches will in any way darken the fame of the great Catholic explorer, whose story is the link between the mediæval and the modern world. That story is told in a clear, unpretentious style in Tarducci's volumes, in which the latest results of recent research and criticism are summed up. The author is one of the most eminent of the modern school of scientific historians in Italy. His national pride in the career of the "world-seeking Genoese" attracted him years ago to the enterprise of writing a life of Columbus that should gather together all the available evidence on his voyages and discoveries, and he has performed his task in a way that has won for him the applause of the most competent critics. Mr. Brownson's English version of the Italian original appears very appropriately at a time when America is preparing to celebrate the centenary of the first voyage across the Atlantic. For those who value a work rather for its accuracy and completeness as a history than for its purely literary merits, Tarducci's "Life of Columbus" will supersede all others, not that it is in any sense without high merit even from the point of view of literary style. The English version is illustrated with photographic reproductions of a series of portraits and historical pictures executed by an Italian artist for the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. These are very interesting, but it would have been well if a few maps had been added. We shall perhaps be able to give the work a more adequate review in a future number.

Theodoric the Goth, the Barbarian Champion of Civilisation. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891. ("Heroes of the Nations Series.") (5s.)

THOSE who know Dr. Hodgkin's work on "Italy and her Invaders" will not need to be told that this study of Theodoric is no dull narrative of a dead past, but a striking picture, which makes the men of the fifth and sixth centuries live again before us. The book is more than its title indicates, for, in tracing the causes and events that shaped the world in which Theodoric lived his adventurous life, Dr. Hodgkin really sketches in bold outline no small portion of the transition period when the wandering nations made a new Europe out of the wreck of

the Empire of the West. He lays much stress upon what might have been if Theodoric had been spared to accomplish all that he had projected in the way of building up a Gothic kingdom of Italy, and preserving in it the splendours of the old civilisation of Rome. Such speculations are of little value. What *was* helps us better to understand what is and what will be, far more than the keenest arguments as to what *might have been* had the stream of events been checked or diverted into another channel at this point or at that. In his admiration for his hero, we fear that Dr. Hodgkin is inclined to lay too little stress on the weaker and darker points of his career, and we can see no evidence for the conjecture which he hazards, that his sudden death at the moment when he began his persecution of the Catholics was the result of poison. He admits that the king was already in all probability insane. The breakdown of Theodoric's nerves and brain may very well have been the natural prelude to a death, which only appeared sudden because the men of that time had not learned that mental decay is often only a symptom of physical collapse.

The Blind Apostle and a Heroine of Charity; being the Third Series of the "Bells of the Sanctuary." By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London: Burns & Oates. (4s. 6d.)

THESE two beautiful biographies of Mgr. de Ségur and Madame Legras, are, in the words of our Cardinal Archbishop, "the last bequest of the cultivated and pious intelligence" of Miss Kathleen O'Meara. She died suddenly, in 1888. Mgr. de Ségur, whose saintly career ended only ten years ago, is one of the many modern heroes whose lives shine out with the radiance of sanctity, as if to assure us that the age of a Vianney, a Muard, a Don Bosco, or a Gaston de Ségur, can vie with any that have gone before it in fruits of holiness. The foundress of the Sisters of Charity has gone to her reward upwards of two centuries since, yet lives among us in those heroic women "whose convent is the house of the sick; their cell, a hired room; their chapel, the parish church; their cloister, the streets of the city, or the wards of the hospital; their enclosure, obedience; their grating, the fear of God; their veil, holy modesty."

Kant's Principles of Politics, including his Essay on Perpetual Peace.
 Edited and Translated by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1891.

MR. HASTIE'S translations of German works on jurisprudence and politics have often been praised in this REVIEW. The present volume is quite worthy of its predecessors. As usual, the translator has prefixed a valuable introduction, which will help the reader to understand Kant's philosophical position generally, as well as in

politics. This introduction would be far more valuable if it were cut down to half its length by the omission, not of any matter, but of the tiresome verbiage which encumbers Mr. Hastie's style.

T. B. S.

Napoléon et Alexandre I. L'alliance Russe sous le premier empire. I. De Tilsit à Erfurt. Par ALBERT VANDAL. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

THE enthusiastic welcome given to the French fleet at Cronstadt has revealed to the world how cordial is the alliance between despotic Russia and republican France. The friendship between these Powers is not, however, of long standing. Within the present century each has dealt the other an almost fatal blow. And if we go back into the more distant past, we find that, although the civilisation, such as it is, of Russia is mainly French, yet the two Governments were almost always in conflict. The traditional policy of the Bourbons was to humble Austria. Hence it was their aim to keep Turkey strong, and encourage her in her encroachments on the territory of the house of Hapsburg. Another object of French diplomacy was to secure preponderance in the Mediterranean. When, therefore, the recently established Slavonic empire began to have designs upon Constantinople, the hostility of France was at once provoked. Another element of discord between the two countries was the dismemberment of Poland, which had, like Turkey, been a useful ally to check the power of Austria. The Revolution did not, at first, make any change in the relations between the two great opponents. Over and over again Bonaparte had to contend against combined Austrian and Russian armies. He gave fresh life to Poland, and strove to awaken Turkey from her prolonged lethargy. But as one after another of the kingdoms and empires sank under his attacks—Austria in 1805 at Austerlitz, Prussia in 1806 at Jena, and Russia in 1807 at Friedland—he was forced, by fear of a coalition against himself, to pick out as a friend some one of his many vanquished foes. Of all these Russia had made the most stubborn resistance, and was still by far the strongest; her geographical position prevented her from having any interests conflicting with those of France, and gave her the opportunity of controlling both Prussia and Austria. The fiercely contested battles of Eylau and Friedland convinced both the combatants that they were wasting their life-blood, while their common enemies were looking on with satisfaction, and waiting to pounce on them as soon as they should be exhausted. Accordingly, the Emperor Alexander proposed that he and Napoleon should hold a personal interview for the purpose of coming to terms. The meeting took place on the historic raft moored in the middle of the river Niemen. The two sovereigns embraced cordially. Almost the first words that Alexander uttered were: "Sire, I hate England as much as you do." "Then," said Napoleon, "peace is already made between us."

It would seem, then, that although the two Napoleons are associated with memories of Moscow and Sebastopol, the Franco-Russian alliance is a Napoleonic idea. The ancient ties of friendship with Poland and Turkey have in the past made France a vacillating member of the alliance. Now that the resurrection of Poland is hopeless; now that England, the traditional foe of both parties, has undertaken the protection of Turkey, and turned the Mediterranean into an English lake; now that France is on the brink of a life-struggle with Germany—we may believe that the alliance will be more cordial, and will be a lasting one. The Portsmouth reception could not undo the effect of Cronstadt. The two magnificent three-deckers—the *Victory* and the *Duke of Wellington*—lying at anchor in the English harbour, must have stirred in the French visitors memories as bitter as those of Metz and Sedan.

M. Vandal's book has come out most opportunely. The Franco-Russian alliance is in every one's mouth. Every thoughtful politician will be glad to read about the origin of the brief friendship between the two Powers, and the memorable struggle—glorious to the one, disastrous to the other—in which it terminated. The story is in itself of much interest; but as told by M. Vandal it is most absorbing. He is indeed an admirable historian, uniting, as he does, the patient investigation of the German with the clearness and charm for which his own countrymen are so justly famous. It will be found, too, that he is impartial, a quality not always found in French writers. No doubt he is anxious to soothe Russian susceptibilities and to point out the errors of the great Napoleon, and so to cement the good understanding he believes to be the hope of security to both France and Russia.

T. B. S.

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1. *Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron HYDE DE NEUVILLE*. II. *La Restauration; Les Cent Jours; Louis XVIII.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890. (7 francs 50 each.)
 2. *Mémoires du duc DES CARS*. *Publiés par son neveu, avec une introduction et des notes par le comte HENRI DE L'ÉPINOIS.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890. Two vols. (15 francs.)
 3. *Mémoires politiques et militaires du général TERCIER (1770-1816)*. *Publiés avec préface, notes, et pièces justificatives par C. DE LA CHANONIE.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. (7 francs 50.)
 4. *Mémoires du général Baron DE MARBOT*. I. *Gênes, Austerlitz, Eylau.* II. *Madrid, Essling, Torrès Vedras.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. (7 francs 50 each.)

IT is difficult to keep pace with the admirable series of memoirs now in course of publication by the well-known firm of Plon, Nourrit et Cie. All the volumes are well got up, and in most cases are adorned with excellent portraits in helio-gravure. The present batch does not contain the story of any prominent historical personage,

but, as we shall presently see, the writers were in close communication with such characters, and have much that is interesting to tell us about them.

1. M. de Neuville's second volume is not equal to the volume already noticed in this REVIEW. His courage during the bloodiest days of the Terror, and his noble independence in the height of Bonaparte's power had something heroic about them. But his loyalty to Louis XVIII., praiseworthy though it was, does not excite in us the same feelings as his devotion to Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The whole story of the Restoration is a melancholy one, even as told by this Bourbon partisan. From the day when the emigration began the Royalists were in a false position. Their only hope of return was the ruin of France. They could claim no share in the glorious victories won by their fellow-countrymen; their day of triumph was the day of their country's humiliation. A dynasty so restored was doomed to speedy downfall. Had the counsels of moderate men like de Neuville been followed, some sort of stability might in time have been acquired. But most of the Royalists had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Hence it was easy to see from the very beginning that the Bourbons would soon be in exile once more.

2. The Duc des Cars was intended for the priesthood, like so many of the younger sons of his day, but unlike most of them he refused to take orders, knowing that he had no vocation. He served in the navy for a short time, and was afterwards appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons. The theory and practice of cavalry manœuvres had a strong attraction for him. Not satisfied with what he could learn at home he obtained permission to study tactics at Berlin. He went carefully over all the battle-fields of the Seven Years' War, and made himself master of the reforms introduced by the great Frederick. We are not surprised to find that on his return to France his squadron became the admiration of the whole army. One of his troopers was afterwards known to the world as Marshal Augereau, Duke of Castiglione. Unhappily, his own services were lost to his country by reason of his being an émigré. On the whole, the story of his life is one more proof that the old *régime*, even in its last days, could produce noblemen of ability and courage.

3. The next book on our list is the life of another brave man who sacrificed himself for the Royalist cause. Tercier greatly distinguished himself in the West Indies during the War of Independence. In reading his account of the naval battles between the English and French one can see that Rodney had a far tougher foe to fight than Nelson afterwards had. The Revolution utterly disorganised the French navy. Most of the officers were driven away as Royalists; no care was taken to train up others to fill their places; Brittany, the home of hardy seamen, was at war with the Republic. Under Louis XVI. the navy was in a high state of efficiency, and rendered good account of itself both in the East and the West Indies. Whilst at La Martinique, Tercier became very intimate with Mdlle. Tascher de la Pagerie. If the young people had been allowed to have their

way, he would doubtless have married her. But she was destined to play a higher, if not a happier, part in the world. History knows her as the Empress Josephine, wife of Napoleon I. Tercier took a vigorous part in the attempt to restore the Bourbons. He fought at Quiberon in La Vendee, and in Normandy. At length he became involved in George Cadoudal's plot to carry off Bonaparte and was taken prisoner. After a time he was released and permitted to live at Amiens under police surveillance. At the Restoration he received little reward from the Sovereign for whom he had done and suffered so much. Yet to the end, he fiercely denounces Napoleon, whom he does not hesitate to call a *fou couronné*.

4. Marbot's memoirs deal with a later period than the foregoing volumes. He was a mere child when the Revolution broke out. This fact, I think, adds considerably to the interest of what he writes. One often wonders how children grew up amid the awful scenes of the Terror and what sort of education they could have received. The reader will find some explanation of the mystery by referring to Marbot's account of the way in which the Benedictine College at Sorèze was carried on so as to survive the storm. One of the monks became the proprietor of the establishment; lay-dress was worn; the title "citizen" replaced that of "dom"; the word "monsieur" was strictly forbidden; the "Marseillais" was sung on entering the refectory, and so on. The result of this training was to give young Marbot a hatred of democracy which lasted till the end of his life. He became a devoted follower of Napoleon, serving in every campaign from 1799 to 1815. In the volumes already given to the public he takes us only as far as the opening years of the Peninsular War, but as they contain admirable accounts of Austerlitz, Eylau, and Friedland, from an aide-camp's point of view, they are not likely to be surpassed in interest by those which are to follow. The English reader will note especially the frankness with which he speaks of the mismanagement on the French side during the early years of the Peninsular War, and his generous admiration for the courage and ability of the British soldier.

T. B. S.

Imperial Germany : a Critical Study of Fact and Character. By SIDNEY WHITMAN. London : William Heinemann. 1891.

A POPULAR edition of a remarkable book on the Germany that has been made in our own time by Bismarck and Moltke, written by an admirer of the men and of their work. If the author's standpoint is borne in mind, so as to be ready where necessary to discount some of his eulogies of things Bismarckian, the book may be read with advantage. Prince Bismarck himself has written : "I consider the different chapters of this book masterly," and such a recommendation proves that however much one may differ from some of the author's conclusions, the book is not one that can be left out of account by those who wish to understand the current political thought

of the day. One of Mr. Sidney Whitman's mistakes—a mistake due, no doubt, to his Bismarckian sympathies—is, that he represents the Centre party as having an “almost anti-national” object for its policy. Whatever the friends of the ex-Chancellor of the German Empire may say, the German Emperor himself has given good proof that he holds no such opinion of his Catholic subjects and their leaders. It is satisfactory to note that whatever Mr. Whitman may think of the policy of the Centre, he fully recognises its power.

Papes et Tsars (1547–1597) d'après des documents nouveaux. Par le P. PIERLING, S.J. Paris: Retaux Bray. 1890.

THIS is a remarkable book, dealing with events of the highest importance in a critical period of the history of Europe. Rome, Poland, Moscow, and Stamboul were the four points of the compass towards which the eyes of the politicians and statesmen on the Continent were turned at the eventful time it covers. Islamism was hacking to pieces the old Christian civilisation which had once flourished in the East, and would be stronger to resist had it not been deprived of the genuine Catholic sap which vitalised its beginning. The barbarians were at the gates, and the Popes were, in principle and in fact, the Peter the Hermits of the new anti-Islamic crusade of the sixteenth century. Around them rallied the best Christian chivalry of the time. Venice, Spain, and Italy joined hands, under the Pope, and Lepanto was the result. Politically and ecclesiastically, the position of the Tsars was of the highest importance. The Russian Church, the child of Photius and Cerularius, was schismatic, and therefore outside the pale. Its sword was not at the disposal of Christian Europe to repel the invasion of Oriental barbarism that drove such terror into the soul of the West. Still worse, Russia and Poland were embroiled. Poland—Catholic, chivalrous, and brave—had her soldiers watching and defeating the armies of the Tsars in the disputed territory of Livonia. Thus Poland was paralysed. The cause of Christian civilisation suffered—Germany apostatising, England making a new religion in her Commons and Lords, and hanging the clergy; France apathetic and quarrelsome; the Hapsburgs embarrassed—never was the Church confronted with so many difficulties at the same time.

Then commenced that series of diplomatic moves between Rome and Moscow which are fully described in this book. As far as we know it is the author's tenth volume dealing with various points of contact between Russia and Western Europe. Mission after mission went from the Vatican to the Kremlin, to attempt a reconciliation between the two great Powers of the day. Between 1561 and 1572 Canobio, Giraldi, and Portico were sent out, and came to grief without effecting anything beyond getting into trouble with the King of Poland. Still later, Gregory XIII. attempted a mission to Moscow, through the King of Poland Bathory, and from his own side Tsar Ivan IV. sent a

mission to Rome, to Gregory XIII. Chévriguine was the Russian Envoy. Then Father Possevino, S.J., comes to the front, and his mission to Moscow is the subject-matter of a very interesting work by Father Pierling—"Antonii Possevini Missio Muscovitica." Then we have an account of another Russian mission to Rome, and the impression the Scythians made at Rome and elsewhere; and later on Clement VIII. sends Alexander Komulovic to Moscow, where he had many tribulations, and amongst them "un accueil glacial au Kremlin." This closes the historic matter.

Father Pierling's book reads like the pages of an interesting novel. Freely written, it unfolds all the tortuosities of Russian diplomacy and Roman resources to meet them. Father Possevino was an *Italiano finissimo*, and exhibited remarkable tact, skill, and adroitness, in the midst of a most complicated and tangled situation. The negotiations always failed; and, we think, for obvious reasons. The Pope wanted—and, of course, rightly, too—to turn the political situation to religious account. Hence he approached Ivan and his successors in their difficulties, to smoothe the way for a religious reconciliation with Rome. The Tsar began at the other end, and made the religious question simply a stepping-stone to such advantage as to get the Pope to wring good terms for him out of the Catholic Poles. The Pope wanted to make capital out of politics, and the Tsar out of religion. The Tsar, we think, understood the Popes much better than the Popes understood the Tsar. We fail to find in this book even the shadow of an indication that any *rapprochement* on the lines of the Council of Florence was ever dreamed of in Russia.

As a record of the diplomacy of the Roman curia, and of the Russian Tsars, this book is of high interest. All the documents have been searched by the learned writer for the first time. It makes one hungry to hear of bundles of documents tied up with string in Rome, labelled according to the contents, hidden from the world of readers and historians, who, be it confessed, are somewhat slow in taking advantage of the open libraries of the Eternal City. Father Pierling renders signal service by his researches, and in his narrative of the moves and counter-moves of diplomats and courtiers, he frankly tells the truth, giving his book transcendent value. Ecclesiastical polity (not being guarded by Infallibility) may be uncertain, or wavering, or even imprudent: and yet this volume, as far as we see, gives no case in point, for it is an honest record of a great effort, on the only possible lines, to recall a wandering nation to the comity of Christian nations, which was palpably the office of the Supreme Shepherd—an office at once congenial to the Vicar of Christ, and essential to the nations of Europe that suffered in consequence of its failure. The volume may be recommended, not only to the student and statesman, as a guide to the relations which a friendly alliance with the Holy See would foster, but also to all admirers of a flowing French style. At a time when Father Tondini's labours attract so much notice from Catholics, we are safe in saying that this remarkable book will find a large number of readers.

Education and the Higher Life. By J. L. SPALDING, Bishop of Peoria.
Chicago : McClurg and Co. 1890.

THIS is, in every sense, a delightful book. The writer, a man of very refined and cultured mind, gives us his ideas on true education and the elevated noble life to which it naturally leads. The book consists of eight chapters : I. Ideas ; II., Exercise of Mind ; III. the Love of Excellence ; IV. Culture and the Spirit of the Age ; V. Self-Culture ; VI. Growth and Duty ; VII. Right Human Life ; VIII. University Education. These subjects are treated in a very sensible, healthy tone, but also with a beauty of language which quite fascinates. We do not remember having had for a long time a greater literary treat than the reading of this thoughtful and eloquent little work, and cordially recommend it. The younger generation, girls no less than boys, would benefit by the reading of it.

Short Sermons on the Gospels for every day in the year. By REV. N. M. REDMOND. New York and Cincinnati : Pustet and Co. 1890.

THE sermons in this volume are simple, plain and practical ; short, and for the most part written in good forcible English. Occasionally an exposition of doctrine is not so precise as it might be, as, for example, at page 124, where the author, speaking of the Holy Trinity, says : " But the manner of (its) existence we cannot know, because it is beyond our comprehension, and therefore it is no object of our belief : " which seems to make its incomprehensibility to us, the reason why it could not be an object of our belief—which the author of course did not intend. We comprehend none of the mysteries of our faith. Father Redmond's volume of short sermons will, however, prove to be very useful.

Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays Chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism by Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Oxford : The Clarendon Press. 1891.

THIS volume of essays is not inferior in learning to those that have preceded ; the subjects are, however, more special ones, and of less interest to the general reader. Mr. Neubauer puts forward a theory as to the introduction of the present Hebrew characters in place of the Archaic ones. He supports on the whole the Rabbinical tradition that a new form of writing was introduced after the exile by Esdras, adding, however, that this and the older character were probably used indifferently until the Maccabean wars.

Dr. Gwilliam deals with the materials available for the criticism of the Peshitto New Testament. By a minute analysis of a short passage of St. Matthew's Gospel as it is found in twenty codices, he is led to the conclusion that the present Peshitto text presents hardly any traces of successive revisions, while the text of Cureton's MS. is so

divergent that comparison is impracticable, and its relation to the Peshitto cannot be so discovered. Dr. Sanday writes upon the list in the well-known Cheltenham MS. of the works of St. Cyprian, and of the Canonical books of the Old and New Testament. In dealing with this part of his subject he is led to consider that very interesting question, the order of the Canonical Books. This must date from the time when the Biblical texts were transferred from rolls (mostly papyri) to codices (mostly vellum); the roll held only a single book, and its position, relatively to others in the case, was accidental, while the binding together of the sheets in a codex fixed their order. This transference must have taken place during the third century, although there must have been previously to some extent a fixed order of the books of the Old Testament. The most interesting point in the order of the New Testament books is the apparent attempt to group together the Epistles of St. John with the Apocalypse, and so to form an "Instrumentum Joannis," such as Tertullian refers to.

The longest and most elaborate article in the volume is by Mr. Rackham, on the text of the Canons of Ancyra, based upon a minute collation of the Greek MSS., and their comparison with the Latin, Syriac and Armenian versions. This essay promises to be of considerable use in determining the lines on which the text of the early Conciliar Canons should be reconstituted.

The volume is illustrated by facsimiles, and must require a somewhat extensive circulation to defray the cost of publishing. We regret to learn that there is some fear, if such support from the public is not forthcoming, that this valuable series may be discontinued.

An Introduction to Cudworth's "Treatises Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality," with Life of Cudworth and a few Critical Notes. By W. R. SCOTT, T.C.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

THE title of this little volume sufficiently describes its contents. Mr. Scott hopes that it may receive enough attention to encourage him in publishing the Treatise itself. We hope it may prove so; but much fear that the work of the Cambridge Platonist is too much opposed to the *Zeitgeist* to receive any great share of attention.

Russia. By W. R. MORFILL, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

THIS is the twenty-third volume of "The Story of the Nations" series. The writer of the "History of Russia" has one advantage to begin with, very few of the reading public have ever read anything about Russia, fewer still ever met with such English works as Tooke or Ralston, fewest of all ever dipped into Rambaud (or its English

equivalent), Levesque, or Leclerc; while we may write down the British reading public of such Russian works as Ustriálov's history, or *à fortiori* of Sergius Soloviev's colossal twenty-seven volumes of Russian history as practically *nil*. Russia has been for generations a sealed book, and it has practically remained for our day to develop a keen interest in her institutions, social and economic, and to read her novels and find them fresher than the well-worn plots of Western Europe. The history of such an Empire which begins with a town and a scrap of territory, and gradually grows in all directions and subjugates so many and so various races, and stretches its mighty arms from Riga to Vladivostock beyond Manchuria, and from the Gates of Herat to Novaia Zemlia, which joins hands with North America on one side, and crowds up against the German frontier on the other—covering eight and a half million square miles of territory and embracing about one hundred million inhabitants, must be the subject of an interesting narrative, which lands us on new ground and unfolds to us a wondrous tale of Russian history, from the time of the Scythian barbarians of classic days down to the Nihilists of our own.

The reading of Russian history is not easy at any time, but we confess that the difficulty is considerably augmented by the manner in which it is written in Professor Morfill's book. Not that the writer does not put a great deal of history into his 366 pages, and writes in a fairly unbiased manner; but his narrative does not advance smoothly. To be constantly meeting such phrases as "to be described in its proper place," "to be narrated in its proper place," "see the subsequent chapter," "of whom more anon," "we shall have something to say in a subsequent chapter," "something will be said later on," "of whom we shall shortly hear more," injures the style and gives the idea that he knew how to gather together his materials much better than to arrange them. Indeed, a want of method seems to be the great defect of the book. Paragraphs and disjointed scraps—all containing valuable information—do not make a readable book. The clergy get one page to themselves in a chapter dealing with the Russians from the social point of view, while less important institutions are more fully described. Those, however, whose knowledge of Russia is limited, may gather much from this book; but to understand many Russian institutions, social and ecclesiastical, recourse should be had to other works. The "get-up" of this instalment of the "Story of the Nations" series is good, the maps are good, the engravings interesting and the index copious.

William Wordsworth. By ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. London: Percival & Co. 1891.

THIS is a scholarly and thoughtful study of a poet, whose works will always appeal to those who prefer the solid gold of poetry to mere surface glitter. It is a really useful introduction to Wordsworth's writings, and the student will find the carefully prepared chronology

of the poems, and the short bibliography in the appendix, particularly helpful.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

THE Epistles grouped together in this volume by Mr. Agar Beet contain two of the most fiercely contested of the writings of the Apostle Paul. It will be understood that we refer to the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, concerning the authority of both of which it is the fashion among hostile critics to raise grave and serious doubts. Mr. Agar Beet, however, we are glad to see, is an earnest defender of the authenticity of all four Epistles, which he considers to have been written within a short time of one another, whilst the Apostle was undergoing his first imprisonment in Rome. It is true he does not bring forward much that is original in support of his view, but he states his case clearly and forcibly, and successfully disposes of the arguments usually advanced against the genuineness of these Epistles. In reference to the great resemblance between the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians, Mr. Agar Beet considers that the intrinsic worth and power of both Epistles is a conclusive argument against either of them being the work of a mere plagiarist. Speaking of the Epistle to the Ephesians, he says: "We cannot conceive a man capable of the profound thought which breathes throughout this Epistle becoming so servile an imitator even of an apostle."

The Book of Isaiah. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A. ("The Expositor's Bible.") London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

IN this volume we have the continuation of Mr. Adam Smith's work on the Prophecy of Isaiah, the first part of which appeared in 1888. Not unnaturally, Mr. Smith elected to divide the prophecy at the end of the thirty-ninth chapter,—at which point there is a decided change in the mode of treatment of his subject by the prophet; a change made necessary by the altered character of the subject. Unfortunately, the author holds that there is very little connection between the first and second parts of the prophecy; that, in fact, the last twenty-six chapters, roughly speaking, are not from the pen of the prophet Isaiah. Perhaps we shall best give an idea of the author's views by quoting the words in which he sums up the argument on the subject.

"We have seen that there is no evidence in the Book of Isaiah to prove that it was all by himself, but much testimony which points to a plurality of authors; that chapters xl.-lxvi. nowhere assert themselves to be by Isaiah; and that there is no other well-grounded claim of Scripture or of doctrine on behalf of his authorship. We have, then, shown that chapters xl.-xlvi. do

not only present the exile as if nearly finished, and Cyrus as if already come, while the fall of Babylon is still future; but that it is essential to one of their main arguments that Cyrus should be standing before Israel and the world, as a successful warrior, on his way to attack Babylon. That led us to date these chapters between 555 and 538. Turning, then, to other evidence—the local colour they show, their language and style, and their theology—we have found nothing that conflicts with that date, but, on the contrary, a very great deal which much more agrees with it than with the date, or with the authorship, of Isaiah" (p. 16).

This extract simply means that the prophecies regarding Cyrus are prophecies after the event, and, in fact, that the chapters referred to were written, not at a date anterior to the year 700, but at some period within the years 555 and 538. We are asked to believe that there existed during the years of the captivity a man of great genius and eloquence, whose name has completely disappeared, not merely from the head of this prophecy, but from the pages of history. We are to suppose that when the Jewish canon was closed, some few years later, even then the writer of these splendid and inspiring passages had already been lost to memory, and his writings confounded with those of a writer who lived nearly two centuries before, and whose words were branded upon the heart of every Israelite. And this, too, though the very force of prophecy required that the prophet's name should be preserved; for upon the reputation for sanctity he had acquired, and the confidence he inspired, depended the impression his words would make upon the minds of his hearers and readers.

But then what are we to say in regard to the way in which Cyrus is spoken of in our prophecy? Is it inconsistent with the traditional view as to date and authorship?

Cyrus [says Mr. Adam Smith (p. 9)] is not presented as a prediction, but as the proof that a prediction is being fulfilled. Unless he had already appeared in flesh and blood, and was on the point of striking at Babylon, with all the prestige of unbroken victory, a great part of Isa. xli.-xlviii. would be utterly unintelligible.

Are we to consider that this argument, set forth with such confidence, practically decides the question in favour of the second Isaiah? Not at all. The chapters referred to by Mr. Smith were written by the prophet Isaiah, not for his own day, but for the gloomy period of the Exile. Enlightened by the inspiration of God, and living in spirit amongst the captives in Babylonia, the prophet tells of Cyrus advancing upon Babylon. He reminds his readers of the promises of God to them, and, as a pledge of final victory, he points to Cyrus the avenger, already begun his career. Why, if we so interpret them, are these chapters unintelligible? Are they not more forcible than if merely spoken by an expounder of former prophecies? And if we believe in prophecy at all, why may we not expound the words of Isaiah so?

As for the remaining arguments of Mr. Smith, they need no comment. The apologetic tone in which they are brought forward shows that the author does not place much reliance on them. Indeed, the language and general tone of the chapters in question really tell in favour of

unity of authorship. Some peculiarities of style are no doubt to be found in the last twenty-six chapters, but who could expect to find the style of any writer, treating of various subjects, and at different periods of his life, always the same? Such a supposition is most unlikely. This much we can say, that no argument of weight has yet been brought forward against the unity of the authorship of the prophecy of Isaiah which cannot with equal force be urged against the genuineness of any other prophecy properly so called.

A Nun, her Friends and her Order, being a Sketch of the Life of Mother MARY XAVERIA FALLON, sometime Superior General of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin in Ireland and its Dependencies.
By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1891.

THERE is much in this sketch that is interesting, much too that is most edifying. To those who are brought into personal relations with the religious congregation to which it refers, and still more to all who knew the holy nun whose career it describes the book will be a very welcome one, and with good reason. At the same time we cannot help wishing that, good as it is, the work had been better done. Miss Tynan's poetry is much more perfect than her prose. A simpler style would have been more fitting to the subject, as well as more effective from the purely literary point of view. And we must add that any style would be better for the pruning of the superabundant wealth of adjectives to be found in some of the chapters of this record of convent life.

Amwâs, das Emmaus des hl. Lucas, 160 Stadien von Jerusalem. Von Dr. M. J. SCHIFFERS. Freiburg: Herder. 1890.

DR. SCHIFFERS, who has a familiar acquaintance with most of the holy places connected with the facts of our Lord's life, here endeavours to show that Amwâs, in the western district of Judæa, at a distance from Jerusalem of about 176 Stadia, is the Emmaus of the first book of Machabees (iii. 40), and it may be conceded to the author's great learning and critical ability that he has established this identity beyond doubt. He takes a different step, however, when he tries to prove the identity of this Amwâs with the Emmaus of St. Luke (xxiv. 13); according to which theory Emmaus was situated not sixty, but a hundred and sixty stadia from Jerusalem. It should be borne in mind that the Franciscans have, from time immemorial, had a convent at Kubeibe, a distance of about sixty stadia, or about three hours' journey, from Jerusalem; and according to tradition, it is the very village where our Lord made his appearance to two disciples on the day of his resurrection, whilst, since the middle of the sixteenth century, a procession has proceeded from Jerusalem on Easter Monday

to this time-honoured spot. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile Dr. Schiffers' opinion with most of the Biblical manuscripts which place Emmaus at a distance of sixty stadia from Jerusalem. But even were we to assume a distance of 160 stadia, how then could possibly the disciples have returned the very same evening from Emmaus to Jerusalem? (Luke xxiv. 33). Nevertheless we cannot refrain from strongly recommending this pamphlet, full as it is of learning, based on very wide reading, and remarkable for a rare critical ability. Three maps enhance its value.

BELLESHEIM.

Lettere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori. Pubblicate per un Padre della Congr. del SS. Redentore. Vols. II. and III. Roma : Società S. Giovanni.—Desclée, Lefebvre e Cia. 1889–90.

THE first volume of this important and interesting collection has been already brought before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.* The learned editor has now fortunately concluded his valuable work. Except a few letters which the editor could gather from printed works, the materials are now first published, and are of great interest and importance, and the collection is as complete as it could be made. It is a work of permanent value in the important departments of Canon Law, ecclesiastical history, and moral theology. Besides the *archivio generalizio* in Rome and other Redemptorist houses in various countries, the editor has carefully investigated the official archives of the Holy See, especially those of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Praise is due to the editor for the excellent manner in which his critical work has been done. A full and careful index is a valuable help to the reader use of the enormous mass of varied material in the volumes. The second of these volumes is chiefly occupied with the concluding part of the general correspondence, and contains not a few valuable letters from the Saint, as, *e.g.*, some to members of religious Orders on the subject of perfection or office of superiors, &c.—others, and these numerous and important, to the sons of his own Congregation, which, as Rettore Maggiore, he continued to conduct even after having retired from his bishopric. They are a signal proof of the care he bestowed on his brethren and his efforts to avert the dangers which threatened the Institute. It is interesting, but certainly sad to meet many of the individual acts of Spanish and Italian State-Canon Law (as we may call it) as presented in these volumes. Our Saint had literally to fight for the liberty of the Church. For not less than four years had his successor in the bishopric to wait for the Government Exequatur, whilst St. Alphonsus was himself obliged to lay his petition for obtaining the awarded pension before the King. The enraged Regalists of Naples attacked the Congregation of the Redemptorists on the ground of its alleged identity with the Society of Jesus, which just at that time was the object of fierce persecution both

* January 1887, p. 231.

in Spain and Naples. Specially interesting also is a Memoir written by our Saint in 1774 for the Cardinals entering the Conclave: it treats of some abuses, and suggests suitable means for their correction by the next Pontiff.

Perhaps the chief importance of this work centres in the third volume. Here we find first of all the development of the Saint's Moral System. The letters to be found on pages 168, 303, 333, 343, 422, 457, do not leave any doubt but that the Saint was professing the system of æquiprobabilism. Then we have an ardent defence of the Pope's infallibility, which will rejoice dogmatic theologians. Finally the editor has fortunately secured from the Archives of the "Congregatio Concilii" the three "Relationes" or statements of the condition, &c., of his diocese sent to it by the Holy Bishop. Two incidents may hence be gathered to illustrate the spirit of his episcopal rule:—Every Saturday he preached in honour of our Lady, and every day he offered Mass for his diocese. Lastly, it may be mentioned that the second and third volumes also contain an extensive correspondence between St. Alphonsus and Signor Giambattista Remondini, the principal publisher of Venice, who regularly brought out second editions of the Saint's works; the first editions in a limited number of copies and under the immediate superintendence of the Bishop himself having appeared in Naples. The sons of St. Alphonsus could not have devised a fitter memorial for the first centenary of the death of their holy Founder and Doctor Ecclesiæ.

BELLESHEIM.

Le Cardinal de Franckenberg, archevêque de Malines (1726–1804).

Par ARTHUR VERHAEGEN, D.Ph. &c. Bruges and Lille: Desclée, de Brouwer & Cie. 1890.

AMONGST the numerous great bishops in Belgium during the eighteenth century, Cardinal de Franckenberg deserves special mention as a champion of ecclesiastical liberty, at a very critical period. There is a biography of him by Father Theiner, which, though yet valuable, deals with only the Cardinal's resistance to the encroachments of the Emperor Joseph II. on the Church; and later Father de Buck, the well-known Bollandist, wrote on the same topic in the "Précis Historiques" (1873). Now, however, Dr. Varhaegen gives us a complete biography based on unpublished manuscripts. He has drawn from the Belgium State Archives, and, what is noteworthy, from the great treasures of the Belgian diocesan archives. And the mass of materials thus brought together has been worked into a learned and reliable biography. John Henry de Franckenberg was a native of Silesia, and was born in 1726. He was educated in the German College, Rome, where he so far distinguished himself that Benedict XIV. accepted the dedication of the theses which this promising student undertook to defend—one of which, by the way, derived episcopal jurisdiction immediately from the Pope.

In 1750 de Franckenberg returned to Austria, became dean of the Chapter of All Saints, Prague, and in 1759 was consecrated Archbishop

of Malines. His lot was cast in evil times: for we find him engaged through a long period in defending the Church against "Josephinism." And not only had he to defend the government of the church, but in some cases, as in the contest about the education of the clergy, he had to exert himself for the protection of the sanctuary itself. Driven from his See by the French, the Cardinal took refuge in Emmerich (Prussia), and afterwards in Preda (Holland). When Pius VII. asked the Cardinal for his resignation, the latter in due submission to the Holy Father sent it to Rome unhesitatingly, "*Hoc ipsum juxta ejusdem. Sanctatis suæ sapientissimum indicium pro bono religionis et ecclesiæ necessarium judicans.*" The Cardinal died June 11, 1804. This highly interesting volume deserves unqualified praise.

BELLESHEIM.

The Co-operative Movement of To-day. By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. ("Social Questions of To-day" Series.) London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

MR. HOLYOAKE, in this volume, undertakes to explain "Co-operation" to outsiders. He is known as a writer and lecturer of many years standing on all questions connected with the Co-operative movement. "I stood by the cradle of Co-operation," he tells us; "I have seen it grow to manhood, and I trust to see its nobler maturity yet to come" (p. 107). There are twenty-four chapters. The first five are to a great extent historical, then we have a description of "the Store," its economy, its honesty, and its common sense. Several chapters follow on the ethics of profit-sharing and its methods. The writer then passes on to the Co-operative workshop, in describing which he discusses the iniquities of capital, and of the middleman, condemns State help, and does not think much of trade unionism, or of emigration, as a resource against low wages. The volume finishes with exhortations and sayings of a general character, tending to encourage co-operation. Mr. Holyoake's style is passable, though the literary form of the book is poor, and there is far too much of the smartness of the lecturer, and too many of the familiar tags and stories which are found effective in Social Science halls and Mechanics' Institutes. A more objectionable feature is the writer's tone on matters connected with religion. In his introductory historical sketch he impudently speaks of our Lord as one of a series of famous "world-improvers," the first being Plato, and the sixth—James Harrington! "It does not appear," he says, "that Christ foresaw the discovery of political economy, and the rise of the manufacturing system, since this plan of selling all you have, and giving it to the poor would soon bring society to a precarious level" (p. 3). The fatuous ignorance of the self-educated lecturer is shown in such utterances as this, and in his calm assumption of what he calls the "causation of the will"—that is, the absolute dependence of man's moral actions on surrounding circumstances. Formerly, he

gives us to understand, all scientific progress was rendered impossible by the "theologists" (p. 9), who regarded all error and evil as having but one cause—the "Satanic." The result of this complacent and foolish dogmatising is that a manual which is otherwise useful has that disagreeable air of earthy heathenism which characterises so many treatises on economic and social science. Some of Mr. Holyoake's literary references want revising. He alters and adapts Gray's

Ample room and verge enough,
The characters of hell to trace,

into

Ample verge and room enough,
The characters of—Competition to trace,

and having then misquoted the first line, he attributes the passage to Collins! (p. 41).

Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Copien, Eine ikonographische Studie von JOSEPH WILPERT. Freiburg: Herder. 1891. [The Catacomb Paintings, and old copies of them.]

MR. WILPERT, whose work on Christian Archæology ("Prinzipienfragen der christlichen Archæologie") was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, for July 1889, here presents us with another equally clever work on a branch of the same subject. His researches have been into the fidelity of the copies of the Catacomb paintings which are contained in the famous collections of Ciacconio and Bosio. These have hitherto enjoyed great authority; and naturally, as one would suppose that artists would aim at a faithful reproduction. Mgr. Wilpert has, for the first time apparently, subjected them to a sufficient critical examination, and the result is startling. His learned dissertation, in the work before us, adorned by twenty-eight photographs of the paintings, leaves no doubt but that the said copies are for the most part inaccurate, often quite misleading. Ciacconio's copies, it is now clear, were made by artists who instead of faithfully copying what they were employed to copy, contented themselves with a pencil sketch on the spot (often the merest sketch, apparently, and scarcely a finished outline) in reproducing which afterwards with pencil and colour, they gave free, and sometimes fanciful play to their own renaissance tastes and ideas. This mannerism, if it were not rather something deserving a much worse name, went to the extent, we are told, of their "copies" giving us in some instances, for example, a man for a woman, naked for clothed figures, and *vice versa*; inverting the order of the figures, &c. The adoration of the Magi in one example, took shape as a martyrdom! a Madonna seated on a throne, became a nude virgin kneeling in the midst of flames, and, even more ludicrously, a Noë in the Ark with the Dove, actually resolved itself into a preacher, visited by an angel who inspires his words!

In the second part of his work, our author examines the copies done

by the artist employed by Bosio, and it is somewhat of a relief to learn that they do not sin in this grave way on the score of infidelity, though they "leave much to be desired" in point of execution. Mgr. Wilpert gives a full index of corrections; for which scholars who henceforward may use Bosio's "*Roma Sotteranea*" will be grateful. The learned author has also succeeded in explaining some pictures which hitherto had puzzled archæologists; among which may be mentioned the inscription: "Paulus Pastor Apostolus" (table I. 4.) which has no connection with St. Paul, the apostle, but relates to a deceased christian, represented as an "orans."

The Commendatore de Rossi, to whom the volume is dedicated, in a letter which the author inserts in his preface speaks of the great value of these iconographical labours of Mgr. Wilpert, he also pronounced an eulogium on them at a *séance* of the Academy of Christian Archæology in December last, when he likewise expressed the hope that Mgr. Wilpert would before long give the public such a reliable treatise on ancient Christian Iconography as his labours thus far had so forcibly shown the need of. We join in cordial agreement with the hope expressed by the learned Commendatore, and meanwhile recommend the very able and important volume which we have briefly noticed, to the attention of scholars.

Harmony between Science and Revelation. By the Right Rev. J. de CONCILIO, D.D. New York: Pustet & Co.

WE are glad to have any solid and interesting work on the above subject. The book before us has these qualities, and is a very useful addition to our Catholic literature. Books on Science, and especially those which are directed against religion, are much read; yet many of these books are exceedingly shallow, and represent religion as irreconcilable with the discoveries of science. Professor Draper's "*History of the Conflict between Science and Religion*," for instance, has been much lauded, and has passed through many editions. Yet the misconception of Catholic dogmas shown in it is pitiable in the extreme. The Professor talks of "*Infallibility*" without understanding what we mean by it. He informs his readers that Catholics, by this dogma, attribute to the Pope the gift of "*omniscience*," and then he jeers at us accordingly. It is very useful, then, to have books which undertake to defend religion in relation to science.

The book before us is written by a man who is well acquainted with the teaching of the Catholic Church, and has evidently made a considerable study also of modern scientific theories. His great contention all through his work is against evolution as maintained by modern unbelieving scientists. He maintains that their theory on this point is opposed to history, paleontology, and embryology. He makes out a good case in favour of his position. The work comprises thirty-eight chapters, or articles as the author calls them, and the matter is treated in the form of dialogue, a method which has the advantage of giving

interest and clearness to the author's views. We find three "articles"—the 24th, 25th, and 26th—directed against Dr. Mivart, in which Dr. de Concilio maintains that the learned Professor's opinion, in which he contends that any Catholic may hold, without any trouble of conscience, that man's body was developed from lower forms, is not tenable, either philosophically, theologically, or scientifically. We strongly recommend Dr. de Concilio's book, and should be glad to see it read by Catholics. It would furnish many sound arguments on a much discussed subject.

Die Christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande. Erster Theil. Die altchristlichen Inschriften von den Anfängen des Christenthums am Rhein bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von FRANZ XAVIER KRAUS. Freiburg: J. T. B. Mohr. 1890. (30 marks.)

THIS is one of the most remarkable and important works which has made its appearance in Germany of late. What Commendatore Giovanni de Rossi is doing for the capital of Christendom by his famed "*Inscriptiones Urbis Romæ*," and Le Blant has performed by his "*Inscriptiones de la Gaule*," the same service is rendered to Germany by the above work. Dr. Kraus, Professor of Theology in the University of Freiburg (Baden), well known as the author of the German "*Roma sotteranea*," and the "*Real encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthuemer*," will give the public, in the above work, the results of study devoted for more than twenty years to the Christian inscriptions of the Rhine countries. The first part, as its title indicates, carries the study of the inscriptions from the beginning of Christianity to the middle of the eighth century. They belong, therefore, to a period which early felt the influence of Roman culture. The second part will contain inscriptions of the succeeding period, down to 1250—a term well chosen, as we think, since the thirteenth century witnessed a deep change, not only in the development of art generally, but especially in palæography; while, as is deserving of attention, the great increase of manuscripts and documents after 1250 apparently robs monuments to a large extent of their value.

Professor Kraus has discharged his duty as might be expected from a German scholar. First he gives the text of each inscription—in large capitals if it is still in existence, in smaller capitals if it is lost, and in italics if it be spurious. Next come ample literary indications, and, lastly, a commentary. In adopting this admirable method he has followed the example of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*" of the Berlin University. The ground covered by the work ranges from the ancient Bishopric of Basel to the Diocese of Cologne, and the inscriptions number as many as 302; one number sometimes including under it several subdivisions. The ancient town of Trier, formerly the residence of Roman emperors, which sheltered St. Athanasius and St. Jerome, has afforded not less than 220 inscriptions. For the most part they are written in Latin; only a few of them in Greek. It may in-

terest English and Irish readers that in Treves was buried a "Scottus": "Hic bene pausat Scotto" (for Scottus). One of the most remarkable monuments of all western Europe is the grave of Bishop St. Paulinus, who in 358 expired in Phrygia in exile, and whose body was afterwards translated to Treves. The tomb, with its two coffins of stone and wood (cedar of Lebanon) was subjected in 1883 to a scientific examination, and the inscriptions discovered on that occasion have been fully treated by Commendatore de Rossi. We would call the attention of English scholars to Professor Kraus's commentaries on the Christian inscriptions of Cologne, and especially on the stone preserved in St. Ursula (p. 143). Two appendices contain inscriptions brought from abroad, and the evidently spurious ones. The part concludes with no less than twenty-two photographs of monuments and inscriptions. The value of such a work as Dr. Kraus's in the study of church history, and even also of dogmatic theology, will not be questioned. The inscriptions lend strong support to Catholic dogma, bringing out in strong relief the identity of our creed of to-day with the faith of the Christians in those early centuries.

BELLESHEIM.

Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide pars prima complectens Bullas, Brevia, Acta Sanctæ Sedis, a Congregationis institutione ad præsens tempus. Cura et studio, RAPH. DE MARTINIS. Vol. III. Romæ. 1890.

THE first two volumes of this great work were duly noticed by me in the DUBLIN REVIEW (October 1889). Since then the third volume has appeared. It is occupied only with such documents as were issued by the great canonist Benedict XIV. Thus we have those famous constitutions of this Pope as to the processes about the validity of matrimony, holy orders and solemn vows. Numerous decrees are also included, treating questions connected with the oriental missions. Even a superficial inspection of the volume shows that Germany and the British Isles were an object of earnest solicitude to the learned Pontiff. English missions, the British colleges abroad, and the missions in Northern Germany are constant topics. The editor has searched not only the Propaganda Archives, but he gives us many precious documents gathered from the secret archives of the Vatican. Benedict XIV. as is known, sometimes wrote letters to the officials of the Roman Congregations, pointing out the principles which should guide the Cardinals in giving their decisions; Father de Martinis presents us with some weighty letters to Monsignor Lercari, secretary to the Propaganda, who in 1736, was Internuncio at Paris, and from the French capital furnished the Holy See with valuable information about the Irish College in Paris, and the reception of the Bull *Unigenitus* by the French clergy. Both of these latter documents have been printed in the third volume of my "History of the Catholic Church in Ireland."

BELLESHEIM.

Doctoris Seraphici S. BONAVENTURÆ Opera Omnia. Jussu et auctoritate Rmi. P. BERNARDINI a Portu Romatino totius Ordinis Minorum S. P. Francisci, Ministri Generalis edita, Studio et cura PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura. Vol. I.-IV. *Commentaria S. BONAVENTURÆ in quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi* (1882-1889). Vol. V., *Opuscula varia Theologica*. 1891. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi): Ex. Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventuræ.

THE new edition of St. Bonaventure's works, which was decided on soon after the Vatican Council, has now reached its fifth volume. Of the critical value of the edition little need be said. As soon as the edition was determined on, the General of the Franciscans commissioned Father Fidelis a Fanna to search the principal libraries of Europe for MSS. containing any works of St. Bonaventure. The celebrated book, "*Ratio novæ collectionis Operum Omnium S. Bonaventuræ*," &c., published at Turin in 1874, embodied the results of Father Fidelis's labours, and earned for him the high encomiums of scholars. Unfortunately he died soon after, and his place was taken by Father Ignatius Jeiler, the best scholar of the German Province of his Order, who was also appointed rector of the newly erected college of Quaracchi, near Florence. A splendid printing house, furnished with the newest appliances, was placed at his disposal, and a devoted band of laborious young German Franciscans gathered round him for this enormous undertaking. After seven years of hard work the first volume made its appearance in 1882. It is a *chef-d'œuvre*, both for its historical and critical method, and for the immense learning displayed in the wide field of mediæval theology and philosophy, and is, naturally, vastly superior to preceding editions, not excepting the Vatican and the Vives (Paris) editions. The grave questions as to genuine and spurious works of the Saint in the new edition are discussed, and perhaps finally settled, or nearly so. Tables attached to the preface show the conflict of opinion among the editors of the Vatican edition of 1588-1599, and later editors. Some reputed works of the saint are now rejected, and, on the other hand, others hitherto overlooked are now located among the acknowledged genuine writings. Thus, *ex. gr.*, in the fifth volume of this Quaracchi edition are to be found the treatises, "*Questiones disputatæ de Scientiâ Christi, de Mysterio SS. Trinitatis, et de Perfectione Evangelicâ*," which were discovered by Father Fidelis, and are now first published. Next, it may be mentioned that St. Bonaventure, in quoting the ancient philosophers and the Fathers of the Church, usually gives only in general the name of the book he refers to, and former editors have been content to leave references in this obscurity. The present learned editors, however, at cost of enormous labour, have verified every quotation, and given exact references. This undertaking, too, postulated a familiar acquaintance with the MSS., and the reader will no doubt marvel at the immense amount of them which have been utilised. In correcting the text of the Saints' Commentaries on Peter

Lombard, in the first volume, for example, thirty-four codices have been carefully examined, collated, and are at some length described, for the benefit of the scholar, after which come twenty-two "codices a nobis non collati:" and footnotes give the chief variant readings. The "Scholia" of the editors of this new edition also call for special mention. After each commentary of the saint the editors give a "scholion"—a brief but learned and clever exposition of the saints' teaching, its relation to that of the scholastics generally, and to St. Thomas in particular, and tracing the influence of St. Bonaventure on the development of theology. I would more especially direct attention (in the first volume) to the scholion to Dist. III. (art. unit. qu. 1, page 70) as laying down the saint's opinion on Ontologism; and in the second volume to the scholion to Dists. III. and XII. (pages 92, 301) as a masterly survey of the scholastic doctrine on "matter and form," or, again, to that (p. 733) which gives a view of the schoolmen's system of Nature. Indeed, to be brief, these scholia are storehouses of learning, and a key opening the sanctuary of thought and principles, and bringing within appreciative nearness to us one of the most gifted scholars of the Middle Ages.

The first four volumes contain the saint's commentaries on the Master of the Sentences, and we have his views on Creation, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, &c.; and the fifth volume gives us seven "opuscula," viz., 1. *Questiones disputatæ de scientia Christi*. 2. *Breviloquium*. 3. *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*. 4. *De reductione artis ad theologiam*. 5. *Collationes in Hexæmeron*. 6. *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*. 7. *De decem præceptis*. 8. *Sermones selecti de rebus theologicis*. Not the scholar only, but the preacher, may gather profitably from these writings of the "Doctor Seraphicus." Prolegomena and indices make reference easy, whilst the type, printed on the famous Carta Fabriana, is exceptionally beautiful. To the first four volumes (on Peter Lombard's Sentences) a Special General Index will be shortly issued.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Victorian Poets. By AMY SHARR. (University Extension Series.) Methuen & Co. 1891.

THIS is a sketchy, scrappy book of the kind that furnishes the reader with ready-made opinions on a score of poets, justified by a few short quotations from their works. Some of these quotations might well have been spared. One of them is perhaps the most utterly blasphemous passage that Swinburne ever wrote, and Miss (or is it Mrs.) Sharp makes matters worse by apologising for the poet's "attitude of scornful derision" as something that "closely resembles that which is commonly tolerated in Elijah when he mocked the priests and worshippers of Baal."

1. *Cardinal Newman : Reminiscences of Fifty Years since.* By one of his oldest living disciples, WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon. To which is added an Essay on the more recent phases of the Oxford Movement. London : Burns & Oates. 1891.
2. *St. Etheldreda's and Old London.* By Father LOCKHART. London : Burns & Oates.
3. *Non Possumus ; or, the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope, and "the Roman Question."* By WILLIAM LOCKHART, Priest of the Order of Charity. London : Burns & Oates. 1890.
4. *The Communion of Saints ; or, the Catholic Doctrine concerning our relation to the Blessed Virgin, the Angels, and the Saints.* 3rd Edition. Same Author and Publishers.
5. *Rosmini's Sketch of Modern Philosophies, and of his own System.* With a few words of Introduction, a Dialogue on the Light of Natural Reason, and Appendix. 2nd Edition. Same Author and Publishers.
6. *Who is the Antichrist of Prophecy ?* Four Lectures. Same Author and Publishers.

1. SINCE the death of Cardinal Newman, much has been written of him by many pens, but a singularly striking interest necessarily attaches to Father Lockhart's recollections, because of his early associations with the then Dr. Newman at Littlemore. Those who have read the three articles here reproduced, which were severally contributed to the *Paternoster Review*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and the DUBLIN REVIEW, must have felt their charm, and will be glad of this reprint. To them is added "A Review of Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon," reprinted from the second edition of 1866.

2. Is a valuable historical record of the restoration and reconciliation to Catholic worship of St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place. The Blessed Sacrament was replaced in the tabernacle and High Mass sung after an interval of 300 years, on June 23, 1879. In the account of this important event is happily included the sermon preached at vespers on that day by the Rev. Father Grant, S.J., an eloquent discourse, both historically and doctrinally instructive. Father Lockhart tells an amusing story of the removal of the Royal Arms from the church, "which had probably been placed there in the time of Archbishop Laud, taken down and perhaps partly broken in the days of Cromwell, and re-erected on the restoration of Charles II." "Burke," said I, "go into the church and remove the Royal Arms." "Indeed, it's myself is the proud man to-day," he said, as he came out, bearing the heavy oak carved lion and unicorn, relics of the royal supremacy, festooned with the dust and cobwebs of nearly two centuries. "There," as he set it down, "that's the finest job of work I ever did, and I won't forget it to my dying day, glory be to God." The Royal Arms hang now in the porch outside the south door of the church, and underneath is the inscription : "This emblem of the royal supremacy was removed from

the Church of St. Etheldreda when it was restored to the Roman obedience."

3 to 6 are new editions of some portions of Father Lockhart's well-known excellent writings. Of "Non Possumus," the late Bishop Brown, of Newport and Menevia, wrote, so far back as 1868, "Methodical, well-reasoned, moderate, and conclusive." And of the rest, we may say that the need of new editions is proof of the continued recognition of their merit. Their present welcome reappearance, in uniform size and tasteful cloth binding, makes them more easy of reference.

Novum Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi Latine secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit J. WORDSWORTH, S.T.P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis. Evangelium Secundum Marcum. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCCXCI. (7s. 6d.)

THE Council of Trent orders the reception as sacred and canonical of the books named in the list of the Council . . . "prout in vetere vulgata editione habentur," "entirely with all their parts, as they are contained in the old Vulgate edition," it is therefore a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain clearly what the old Vulgate edition contained, when it emanated from the pen of the great doctor, St. Jerome. It is true that in the edition of Clement VIII. we possess a work which, as Vercellone remarks, "displays an exquisite and most admirable wisdom," and which certainly may be relied on as far as regards the integrity of the translations, and all matters of faith and morals; still, it is admitted by grave theologians, that the authorised edition of the Vulgate, perfect though it be, is susceptible of improvement, with the aid of greater labour and research. It is not, therefore, in any way at all derogatory to the value of the Clementine edition to say that we regard the work of Dr. Wordsworth as a useful and valuable addition to the many works already available for those anxious to devote themselves to the textual criticism of the four Gospels. The author has collated for the purposes of his revision the most celebrated codices, he has made use of the many editions that have preceded his own, and, besides the reading finally adopted, he has given in foot-notes the readings of other authorities. As a further assistance to the student, the old version from the Brixian codex—because, it is most probably, very like the edition which St. Jerome had by him, in making his recension—is printed in full below the new revision of the text. In regard to his use of authorities, Dr. Wordsworth tells us that, in deciding differences of reading, he devoted his attention rather to a few well-known and, what may be called, representative codices than to a multitude of less important witnesses. Perhaps it is right to add, in conclusion, that H. J. White, Vice-Principal of the Theological College at Salisbury, took part with Dr. Wordsworth in preparing and editing the present edition.

Order in the Physical World, and its First Cause, according to Modern Science. From the French. By J. T. SLEVIN. London: John Hodges. 1891.

THIS little volume is a vindication of the argument for the existence of God from final causes. It is difficult to form any idea of the merit of the original, for it has been evidently translated by some one very imperfectly acquainted with English. But if the French is correctly rendered, it must contain many serious inaccuracies, especially in the biological part of the work, which would render it a very unsafe guide in controversy, or in satisfying a candid inquirer. This is unfortunate, as the collected testimonies of men of science to the teleological argument might otherwise have been useful.

The Visible and Invisible Worlds. By Rev. J. W. VAHEY. Milwaukee. 1890.

THE object of this little volume is to show "by philosophical argument the harmony that exists between true science and divine revelation." The author's purpose is praiseworthy, and the greater part of the book states the ordinary arguments used by Christian apologists in plain, straightforward language. It is the more to be regretted that Fr. Vahey should have indulged in speculations—such as those on Hell and Purgatory—which are at least unnecessary, and suggest more questions than they answer. Theological language is also used, which, though in itself correct, is likely to puzzle and mislead the ordinary reader. The paper and type of the volume do great credit to the town where it was published; but the press errors, uncorrected, are unusually numerous.

A Short History of Greek Philosophy. By JOHN MARSHALL, M.A., LL.D., Rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh. London: Percival & Co. 1891. (6s.)

THE main purpose" of the author, to use his own words, "has been to present an account of Greek philosophy, which, within strict limits of brevity, shall be at once authentic and interesting." It is no small praise to be able to say without reserve that Dr. Marshall appears to us to have attained his object very satisfactorily. The book is likely to attract many to the study of philosophy who would be repelled by abstractions and formulæ, for it is brightly and gracefully written. There is no attempt to shirk the difficult questions that occur: they are stated very clearly, and the whole is pervaded by a reverent, Christian spirit that contrasts with most works of the kind. Reference is made in the margin throughout to the pages of Ritter and Zeller's *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, so as to facilitate further study. Of course opinions will differ as to the

amount of relative space that should be allotted to the several schools of thought, our belief being that the less important systems might have been described even more briefly, and the space so gained have been devoted to Aristotle and Stoicism. Both of these subjects seem to us to be obscure from compression; and we believe that a beginner would need assistance to grasp the author's full meaning. With such help from a teacher of Catholic philosophy, the book is admirably calculated to give an idea of the source whence St. Thomas's system starts. We would remark particularly on the fundamental unity which is shown to lie under the differences between Aristotle and Plato, as showing how completely the philosophy of the Church has inherited all that is best in pre-Christian thought.

Pre-Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God. An Exposition and a Criticism. By C. CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Western College, Plymouth. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

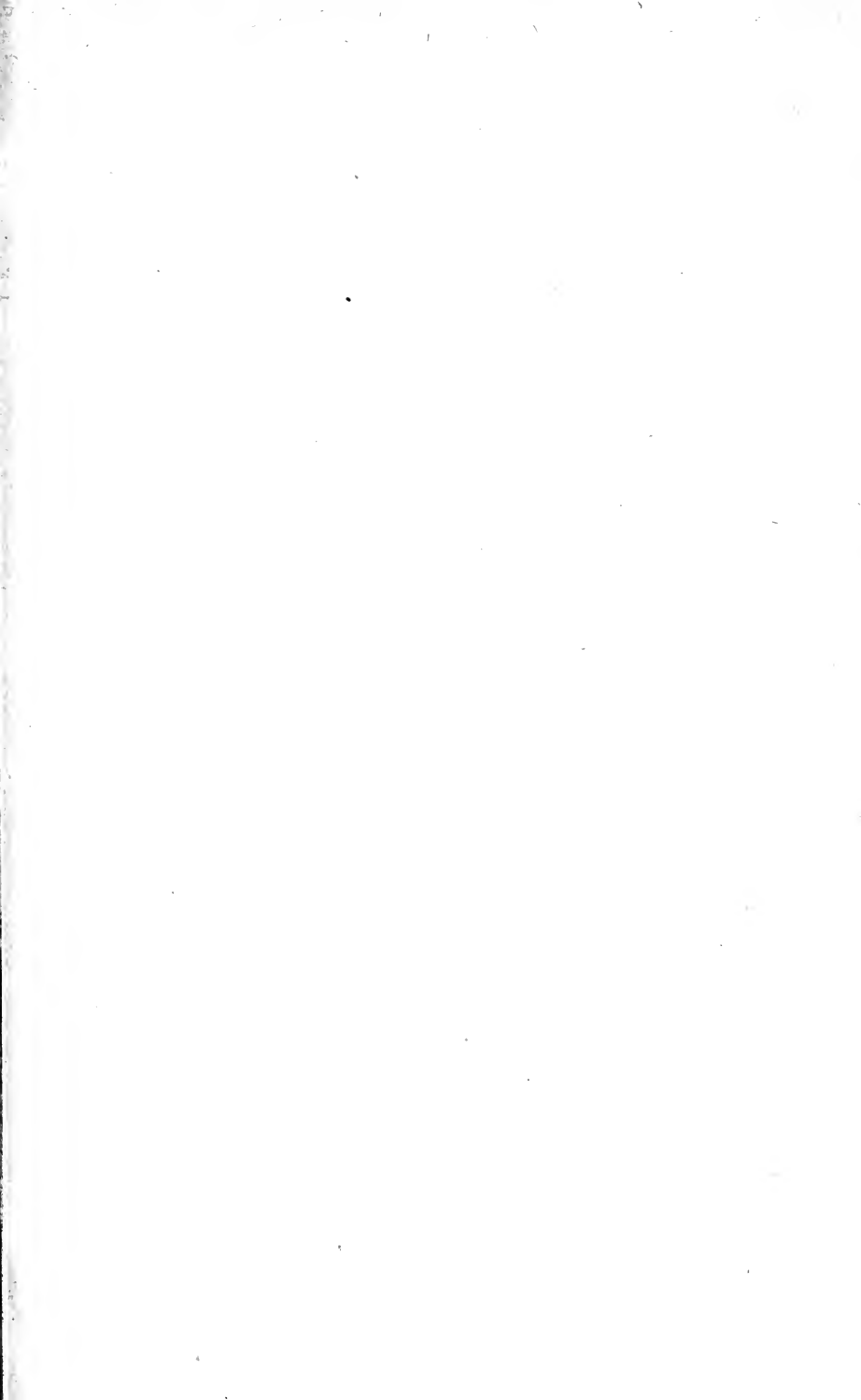
THIS is an argument to show that Mr. Herbert Spencer's doctrine of Evolution implies and demands the pre-existence of a Rational Creative Will, and therefore of a personal Creator. The author appears to prove conclusively that, before evolution began at all, and as a condition of its possibility, there were existing adjustments, which can only be accounted for as produced by an Intelligence. The volume follows throughout the Spencerian terminology, and seems well adapted to convince an intelligent Agnostic that his position is not logically tenable.

Essays on French Novelists. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London: Percival & Co. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THIS study of French novelists by a highly qualified English critic is an extremely interesting book, and to the student of literature a most helpful one. In some instances a Catholic critic would take exception to Mr. Saintsbury's view—a purely literary view—and pass a less lenient judgment on works which he hesitates to condemn; but in most cases he shows the instinct of the true critic, and refuses to accept the perverted canons of the modern school that would have the artist choose for his subjects the ugly and the vicious, on the assumption that what is true to life must be unpleasant and repulsive.

Percy Wynn; or, Making a Boy of Him. By FRANCIS J. FINN, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

A BRIGHT story of boy life in the United States, by a writer who has already produced not a few successful books for Catholic boys and girls.





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